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HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD

OF

MONTEREY AND SAN BENITO COUNTIES

AND

HISTORY OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

CONTAINING BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL-KNOWN
CITIZENS OF THE PAST AND PRESENT

STATE HISTORY BY

J. M. GUINN, A. M.

Secretary and late President of the Historical Society of Southern California, and Member of the American Historical Association of Washington, D. C.

ILLUSTRATED. COMPLETE IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

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HISTORICAL

PREFACE.

FEW states of the Union have a more varied, a more interesting or a more instructive history than California, and few have done so little to preserve their history. In this statement I do not contrast California with older states of the Atlantic seaboard, but draw a parallel between our state and the more recently created states of the far west, many years younger in statehood than the Golden State of the Pacific.

When Kansas and Nebraska were uninhabited except by buffaloes and Indians, California was a populous state pouring fifty millions of gold yearly into the world's coffers. For more than a quarter of a century these states, from their public funds, have maintained state historical societies that have gathered and are preserving valuable historical material, while California, without a protest, has allowed literary pot hunters and speculative curio collectors to rob her of her historical treasures. When Washington, Montana and the two Dakotas were Indian hunting grounds, California was a state of a quarter million inhabitants; each of these states now has its State Historical Society supported by appropriations from its public funds.

California, of all the states west of the Mississippi river, spends nothing from its public funds to collect and preserve its history.

To a lover of California, this is humiliating; to a student of her history exasperating. While preparing this History of California I visited all the large public libraries of the state. I found in all of them a very limited collection of books on California, and an almost entire absence of manuscripts and of the rarer books of the earlier eras. Evidently the demand for works pertaining to California history is not very insistent. If it were, more of an effort would be put forth to procure them.

The lack of interest in our history is due largely to the fact that California was settled by one nation and developed by another. In the rapid development of the state by the conquering nation, the trials, struggles and privations of the first colonists who were of another nation have been ignored or forgotten. No forefathers' day keeps their memory green, no observance celebrates the anniversary of their landing. To many of its people the history of California begins with the discovery of gold, and all before that time is regarded as of little importance.

The race characteristics of the two peoples who have dominated California, differ widely; and from this divergence arises the lack of sympathetic unison. Perhaps no better expression for this difference can be given than is found in the popular by-words of each. The "poco tiempo" (by and by) of the Spaniard is significant of a people who are willing to wait—who would defer action till *mañana*—to-morrow—rather than act with haste to-day. The "go ahead" of the American is indicative of hurry, of rush, of a strenuous existence, of a people impatient of present conditions.

In narrating the story of California, I have endeavored to deal justly with the different eras and episodes of its history; to state facts; to tell the truth without favoritism or prejudice; to give

credit where credit is due and censure where it is deserved. In the preparation of this history I have endeavored to make it readable and reliable.

The subject matter is presented by topic and much of it in monographic form. I have deemed it better to treat fully important topics even if by so doing some minor events be excluded. In gathering material for this work, I have examined the collections in a number of libraries, public and private, have consulted state, county and city archives, and have scanned thousands of pages of newspapers and magazines. Where extracts have been made from authorities, due credit has been given in the body of the work. I have received valuable assistance from librarians, from pioneers of the state, from city and county officials, from editors and others. To all who have assisted me I return my sincere thanks.

J. M. Guinn.

Los Angeles, February 1, 1910.

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J. M. Guinn

CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER I.

SPANISH EXPLORATIONS AND DISCOVERIES.

FOR centuries there had been a vague tradition of a land lying somewhere in the seemingly limitless expanse of ocean stretching westward from the shores of Europe. The poetical fancy of the Greeks had located in it the Garden of Hesperides, where grew the Golden Apples. The myths and superstitions of the middle ages had peopled it with gorgons and demons and made it the abode of lost souls.

When Columbus proved the existence of a new world beyond the Atlantic, his discovery did not altogether dispel the mysteries and superstitions that for ages had enshrouded the fabled Atlantis, the lost continent of the Hesperides. Romance and credulity had much to do with hastening the exploration of the newly discovered western world. Its interior might hold wonderful possibilities for wealth, fame and conquest to the adventurers who should penetrate its dark unknown. The dimly told traditions of the natives were translated to fit the cupidity or the credulity of adventurers, and sometimes served to promote enterprises that produced results far different from those originally intended.

The fabled fountain of youth lured Ponce de Leon over many a league in the wilds of Florida; and although he found no spring spouting forth the elixir of life, he explored a rich and fertile country, in which the Spaniards planted the first settlement ever made within the territory now held by the United States. The legend of El Dorado, the gilded man of the golden lake, stimulated adventurers to brave the horrors of the miasmatic forests of the Amazon and the Orinoco; and the search for that gold-covered hombre hastened, perhaps, by a hundred years, the exploration of the tropical regions of South America. Although the myth of Quivira that sent Coronado wandering over desert, mountain and plain, far into the interior of North America, and his quest for the seven cities of Cibola, that a romancing monk, Marcos de Niza, "led by the Holy Ghost," imagined he saw in the wilds of Pimeria, brought neither wealth nor pride of conquest to that adventurous explorer, yet these myths were the indirect cause of giving to the world an early knowledge of the vast regions to the north of Mexico.

When Cortés' lieutenant, Gonzalo de Sandoval, gave his superior officer an account of a wonderful island ten days westward from the Pacific coast of Mexico, inhabited by women only, and exceedingly rich in pearls and gold, although he no doubt derived his story from Montalvo's romance, "The Sergas of Esplandian," a popular novel of that day, yet Cortés seems to have given credence to his subordinate's tale, and kept in view the conquest of the island.

To the energy, the enterprise and the genius of Hernan Cortés is due the early exploration of the northwest coast of North America. In 1522, eighty-five years before the English planted their first colony in America, and nearly a century before the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth rock, Cortés had established a shipyard at Zacatula, the most northern port on the Pacific coast of the country that he had just conquered. Here he intended to build ships to explore the upper coast of the South Sea (as

the Pacific Ocean was then called), but his good fortune, that had hitherto given success to his undertakings, seemed to have deserted him, and disaster followed disaster. His warehouse, filled with material for shipbuilding, that with great labor and expense had been packed on muleback from Vera Cruz, took fire and all was destroyed. It required years to accumulate another supply. He finally, in 1527, succeeded in launching four ships. Three of these were taken possession of by the king's orders for service in the East Indies. The fourth and the smallest made a short voyage up the coast. The commander, Maldonado, returned with glowing reports of a rich country he had discovered. He imagined he had seen evidence of the existence of gold and silver, but he brought none with him.

In 1528 Cortés was unjustly deprived of the government of the country he had conquered. His successor, Nuno de Guzman, president of the royal audiencia, as the new form of government for New Spain (Mexico) was called, had pursued him for years with the malignity of a demon. Cortés returned to Spain to defend himself against the rancorous and malignant charges of his enemies. He was received at court with a show of high honors, but which in reality were hollow professions of friendship and insincere expressions of esteem.. He was rewarded by the bestowal of an empty title. He was empowered to conquer and colonize countries at his own expense, for which he was to receive the twelfth part of the revenue. Cortés returned to Mexico and in 1532 he had two ships fitted out, which sailed from Acapulco, in June of that year, up the coast of Jalisco. Portions of the crews of each vessel mutinied. The mutineers were put aboard of the vessel commanded by Mazuela and the other vessels, commanded by Hurtardo, continued the voyage as far as the Yaqui country. Here, having landed in search of provisions, the natives massacred the commander and all the crew. The crew of the other vessel shared the same fate lower down the coast. The stranded vessel was afterwards plundered and dismantled by Nuno de Guzman, who was about as much of a savage as the predatory and murderous natives.

In 1533 Cortés, undismayed by his disasters, fitted out two more ships for the exploration of the northern coast of Mexico. On board one of these ships, commanded by Bercerra de Mendoza, the crew, headed by the chief pilot, Jiminez, mutinied. Mendoza was killed and all who would not join the mutineers were forced to go ashore on the coast of Jalisco. The mutineers, to escape punishment by the authorities, under the command of the pilot, Fortuno Jiminez, sailed westerly away from the coast of the main land. After several days' sailing out of sight of land, they discovered what they supposed to be an island. They landed at a place now known as La Paz, Lower California. Here Jiminez and twenty of his confederates were killed by the Indians, or their fellow mutineers, it is uncertain which. The survivors of the ill-fated expedition managed to navigate the vessel back to Jalisco, where they reported the discovery of an island rich in gold and pearls. This fabrication doubtlessly saved their necks. There is no record of their punishment for mutiny. Cortés' other ship accomplished even less than the one captured by the mutineers. Grixalvo, the commander of this vessel, discovered a desolate island, forty leagues south of Cape San Lucas, which he named Santo Tomas. But the discovery that should immortalize Grixalvo, and place him in the category with the romancing Monk, de Niza and Sandoval of the Amazonian isle, was the seeing of a merman. It swam about about the ship for a long time, playing antics like a monkey for the amusement of the sailors, washing its face with its hands, combing its hair with its fingers; at last, frightened by a sea bird, it disappeared.

Cortés, having heard of Jiminez's discovery, and possibly believing it to be Sandoval's isle of the Amazons, rich with gold and pearls, set about building more ships for exploration and for the colonization of the island. He ordered the building of three ships at Tehauntepec. The royal audencia having failed to give him any redress or protection against his enemy, Nuno de Guzman, he determined to punish him himself. Collecting a considerable force of cavaliers and soldiers, he marched to Chiametla. There he found his vessel, La Concepcion, lying

on her beam ends, a wreck, and plundered of everything of value. He failed to find Guzman, that worthy having taken a hasty departure before his arrival. His ships having come up from Tehauntepec, he embarked as many soldiers and settlers as his vessels would carry, and sailed away for Jiminez's island. May 3, 1535, he landed at the port where Jiminez and his fellow mutineers were killed, which he named Santa Cruz. The colonists were landed on the supposed island and the ships were sent back to Chiametla for the remainder of the settlers. His usual ill luck followed him. The vessels became separated on the gulf in a storm and the smaller of the three returned to Santa Cruz. Embarking in it, Cortés set sail to find his missing ships. He found them at the port of Guayabal, one loaded with provisions, the other dismantled and run ashore. Its sailors had deserted and those of the other ship were about to follow. Cortés stopped this, took command of the vessels and had them repaired. When the repairs were completed he set sail for his colony. But misfortune followed him. His chief pilot was killed by the falling of a spar when scarce out of sight of land. Cortés took command of the vessels himself. Then the ships encountered a terrific storm that threatened their destruction. Finally they reached their destination, Santa Cruz. There again misfortune awaited him. The colonists could obtain no sustenance from the barren soil of the desolate island. Their provisions exhausted, some of them died of starvation and the others killed themselves by over-eating when relief came.

Cortés, finding the interior of the supposed island as desolate and forbidding as the coast, and the native inhabitants degraded and brutal savages, without houses or clothing, living on vermin, insects and the scant products of the sterile land, determined to abandon his colonization scheme. Gathering together the wretched survivors of his colony, he embarked them on his ships and in the early part of 1537 landed them in the port of Acapulco.

At some time between 1535 and 1537 the name California was applied to the supposed island, but whether applied by Cortés to encourage his disappointed colonists, or whether given by them in derision, is an unsettled question. The name itself is derived from a Spanish romance, the "Sergas de Esplandian," written by Ordonez de Montalvo and published in Seville, Spain, about the year 1510. The passage in which the name California occurs is as follows: "Know that on the right hand of the Indies there is an island called California, very near the terrestrial paradise, which was peopled with black women, without any men among them, because they were accustomed to live after the fashion of Amazons. They were of strong and hardened bodies, of ardent courage and great force. The island was the strongest in the world from its steep rocks and great cliffs. Their arms were all of gold and so were the caparison of the wild beasts which they rode, after having trained them, for in all the island there is no other metal." The "steep rocks and great cliffs" of Jiminez's island may have suggested to Cortés or to his colonists some fancied resemblance to the California of Montalvo's romance, but there was no other similarity.

For years Cortés had been fitting out expeditions by land and sea to explore the unknown regions northward of that portion of Mexico which he had conquered, but disaster after disaster had wrecked his hopes and impoverished his purse. The last expedition sent out by him was one commanded by Francisco Ulloa, who, in 1539, with two ships, sailed up the Gulf of California, or Sea of Cortés, on the Sonora side, to its head. Thence he proceeded down the inner coast of Lower California to the cape at its southern extremity, which he doubled, and then sailed up the outer coast to Cabo del Engano, the "Cape of Deceit." Failing to make any progress against the head winds, April 5, 1540, the two ships parted company in a storm. The smaller one, the Santa Agueda, returned safely to Santiago. The larger, La Trinidad, after vainly endeavoring to continue the voyage, turned back. The fate of Ulloa and of the vessel too, is uncertain. One authority says he was assassinated after reaching the coast of Jalisco by one of his soldiers, who, for some trivial cause, stabbed him to death; another account says that nothing is known of his fate, nor is it certainly known

whether his vessel ever returned. The only thing accomplished by this voyage was to demonstrate that Lower California was a peninsula. Even this fact, although proved by Ulloa's voyage, was not fully admitted by geographers until two centuries later.

In 1540 Cortes returned to Spain to obtain, if possible, some recognition and recompense from the king for his valuable services. His declining years had been filled with bitter disappointments. Shipwreck and mutiny at sea; disaster and defeat to his forces on land; the treachery of his subordinates and the jealousy of royal officials continually thwarted his plans and wasted his substance. After expending nearly a million dollars in explorations, conquests and attempts at colonization, fretted and worried by the indifference and the ingratitude of a monarch for whom he had sacrified so much, disappointed, disheartened, impoverished, he died at an obscure hamlet near Seville, Spain, in December, 1547.

The next exploration that had something to do with the discovery of California was that of Hernando de Alarcon. With two ships he sailed from Acapulco, May 9, 1540, up the Gulf of California. His object was to co-operate with the expedition of Coronado. Coronado, with an army of four hundred men, had marched from Culiacan, April 22, 1540, to conquer the seven cities of Cibola. In the early part of 1537 Alvaro Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and three companions (the only survivors of six hundred men that Panfilo de Narvaes, ten years before, had landed in Florida for the conquest of that province) after almost incredible sufferings and hardships arrived in Culiacan on the Pacific coast. On their long journey passing from one Indian tribe to another they had seen many wondrous things and had heard of many more. Among others they had been told of seven great cities in a country called Cibola that were rich in gold and silver and precious stones.

A Franciscan friar, Marcos de Niza, having heard their wonderful stories determined to find the seven cities. Securing the service of Estevanico, a negro slave, who was one of Cabeza de Vaca's party, he set out in quest of the cities. With a number of Indian porters and Estevanico as a guide, he traveled northward a hundred leagues when he came to a desert that took four days to cross. Beyond this he found natives who told him of people four days further away who had gold in abundance. He sent the negro to investigate and that individual sent back word that Cibola was yet thirty days' journey to the northward. Following the trail of his guide, Niza travelled for two weeks crossing several deserts. The stories of the magnificence of the seven cities increased with every tribe of Indians through whose country he passed. At length, when almost to the promised land, a messenger brought the sad tidings that Estevanico had been put to death with all of his companions but two by the inhabitants of Cibola. To go forward meant death to the monk and all his party, but before turning back he climbed a high mountain and looked down upon the seven cities with their high houses and teeming populations thronging their streets. Then he returned to Culiacan to tell his wonderful stories. His tales fired the ambition and stimulated the avarice of a horde of adventurers. At the head of four hundred of these Coronado penetrated the wilds of Pimeria (now Arizona). He found seven Indian towns but no lofty houses, no great cities, no gold or silver. Cibola was a myth. Hearing of a country called Quivira far to the north, richer than Cibola, with part of his force he set out to find it. In his search he penetrated inland as far as the plains of Kansas, but Quivira proved to be as poor as Cibola, and Coronado returned disgusted. The Friar de Niza had evidently drawn on his imagination which seemed to be quite rich in cities.

Alarcon reached the head of the Gulf of California. Seeing what he supposed to be an inlet, but the water proving too shallow for his ships to enter it, he manned two boats and found his supposed inlet to be the mouth of a great river. He named it Buena Guia (Good Guide) now the Colorado. He sailed up it some distance and was probably the first white man to set foot upon the soil of Upper California. He heard of Coronado in the interior but was unable to establish communication with him. He descended the river in his boats, embarked on his vessels and returned to Mexico. The Viceroy

Mendoza, who had fitted out the expedition of Alarcon, was bitterly disappointed on the return of that explorer. He had hoped to find the ships loaded with the spoils of the seven cities. The report of the discovery of a great river did not interest his sordid soul. Alarcon found himself a disgraced man. He retired to private life and not long after died a broken hearted man.

CHAPTER II.

ALTA OR NUEVA CALIFORNIA.

WHILE Coronado was still wandering in the interior of the continent searching for Quivira and its king, Tatarrax, who wore a long beard, adored a golden cross and worshipped an image of the queen of heaven, Pedro de Alvarado, one of Cortés' former lieutenants, arrived from Guatemala, of which country he was governor, with a fleet of twelve ships. These were anchored in the harbor of Navidad. Mendoza, the viceroy, had been intriguing with Alvarado against Cortés; obtaining an interest in the fleet, he and Alvarado began preparations for an extensive scheme of exploration and conquest. Before they had perfected their plans an insurrection broke out among the Indians of Jalisco, and Pedro de Alvarado in attempting to quell it was killed. Mendoza fell heir to the fleet. The return of Coronado about this time dispelled the popular beliefs in Cibola and Quivira and put an end to further explorations of the inland regions of the northwest.

It became necessary for Mendoza to find something for his fleet to do. The Islas de Poiniente, or Isles of the Setting Sun (now the Philippines), had been discovered by Magellan. To these Mendoza dispatched five ships of the fleet under command of Lopez de Villalobos to establish trade with the natives. Two ships of the fleet, the San Salvador and the Vitoria, were placed under the command of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, reputed to be a Portuguese by birth and dispatched to explore the northwest coast of the Pacific. Cabrillo sailed from Navidad, June 27, 1542. Rounding the southern extremity of the peninsula of Lower California, he sailed up its outer coast. August 20 he reached Cabo del Engano, the most northerly point of Ulloa's exploration. On the 28th of September, 1542, he entered a bay which he named San Miguel (now San Diego), where he found "a land locked and very good harbor." He remained in this harbor until October 3. Continuing his voyage he sailed along the coast eighteen leagues, discovering two islands about seven leagues from the main land. These he named San Salvador and Vitoria after his ships (now Santa Catalina and San Clemente). On the 8th of October he crossed the channel between the islands and main land and anchored in a bay which he named Bahia de los Fumos y Fuegos, the Bay of Smokes and Fires (now known as the Bay of San Pedro). Heavy clouds of smoke hung over the headlands of the coast; and inland, fierce fires were raging. The Indians either through accident or design had set fire to the long dry grass that covered the plains at this season of the year.

After sailing six leagues further up the coast he anchored in a large ensenada or bight, now the Bay of Santa Monica. It is uncertain whether he landed at either place. The next day he sailed eight leagues to an Indian town which he named the Pueblo de las Canoas (the town of Canoes). This town was located on or near the present site of San Buenaventura. Sailing northwestward he passed through the Santa Barbara Channel, discovering the islands of Santa Cruz, Santa Rosa and San Miguel. Continuing up the coast he passed a long narrow point of land extending into the sea, which from its resemblance to a galley boat he named Cabo de la Galera, the Cape of the Galley (now called Point Concepcion). Baffled by head winds, the explorers slowly beat their way up the coast. On the 17th of November, they cast anchor in a large bay which they named Bahia de los Pinos, the Bay of Pines (now the Bay of Monterey). Finding it impossible to land on

account of the heavy sea, Cabrillo continued his voyage northward. After reaching a point on the coast in 40 degrees north latitude, according to his reckoning, the increasing cold and the storms becoming more frequent, he turned back and ran down the coast to the island of San Miguel, which he reached November 23. Here he decided to winter.

While on the island in October, he had broken his arm by a fall. Suffering from his broken arm he had continued in command. Exposure and unskilful surgery caused his death. He died January 3, 1543, and was buried on the island. His last resting place is supposed to be on the shore of Cuyler's harbor, on the island of San Miguel. No trace of his grave has ever been found. His companions named the island Juan Rodriguez, but he has been robbed of even this slight tribute to his memory. It would be a slight token of regard if the state would name the island Cabrillo. Saint Miguel has been well remembered in California and could spare an island.

Cabrillo on his death bed urged his successor in command, the pilot Bartolome Ferrolo, to continue the exploration. Ferrolo prosecuted the voyage of discovery with a courage and daring equal to that of Cabrillo. About the middle of February he left the harbor where he had spent most of the winter and after having made a short voyage in search of more islands he sailed up the coast. February 28, he discovered a cape which he named Mendocino in honor of the viceroy, a name it still bears. Passing the cape he encountered a fierce storm which drove him violently to the northeast, greatly endangering his ships. On March 1st, the fog partially lifting, he discovered a cape which he named Blanco, in the southern part of what is now the state of Oregon. The weather continuing stormy and the cold increasing as he sailed northward, Ferrolo reluctantly turned back. Running down the coast he reached the island of San Clemente. There in a storm the ships parted company and Ferrolo, after a search, gave up the Vitoria as lost. The ships, however, came together at Cerros island and from there, in sore distress for provisions, the explorers reached Navidad April 18, 1543. On the discoveries made by Cabrillo and Ferrolo the Spaniards claimed the territory on the Pacific coast of North America up to the forty-second degree of north latitude, a claim that they maintained for three hundred years.

The next navigator who visited California was Francis Drake, an Englishman. He was not seeking new lands, but a way to escape the vengeance of the Spaniards. Francis Drake, the "Sea King of Devon," was one of the bravest men that ever lived. Early in his maritime life he had suffered from the cruelty and injustice of the Spaniards. Throughout his subsequent career, which reads more like romance than reality, he let no opportunity slip to punish his old-time enemies. It mattered little to Drake whether his country was at peace or war with Spain; he considered a Spanish ship or a Spanish town his legitimate prey. On one of his predatory expeditions he captured a Spanish town on the isthmus of Panama named El Nombre de Dios, The Name of God. Its holy name did not protect it from Drake's rapacity. While on the isthmus he obtained information of the Spanish settlements of the South Pacific and from a high point of land saw the South sea, as the Pacific ocean was then called. On his return to England he announced his intention of fitting out a privateering expedition against the Spaniards of the South Pacific. Although Spain and England were at peace, he received encouragement from the nobility, even Queen Elizabeth herself secretly contributing a thousand crown towards the venture.

Drake sailed out of Plymouth harbor, England, December 13, 1577, in command of a fleet of five small vessels, bound for the Pacific coast of South America. Some of his vessels were lost at sea and others turned back, until when he emerged from the Straits of Magellan he had but one left, the Pelican. He changed its name to the Golden Hind. It was a ship of only one hundred tons' burden. Sailing up the South Pacific coast, he spread terror and devastation among the Spanish settlements, robbing towns and capturing ships until, in the quaint language of a chronicler of the expedition, he "had loaded his vessel with a fabulous amount of fine wares of Asia, precious stones, church ornaments,

gold plate and so mooch silver as did ballas the Goulden Hinde."

From one treasure ship, the Caca Fuego, he obtained thirteen chests of silver, eighty pounds weight of gold, twenty-six tons of uncoined silver, two silver drinking vessels, precious stones and a quantity of jewels; the total value of his prize amounted to three hundred and sixty thousand pesos (dollars). Having spoiled the Spaniards of treasure amounting to "eight hundred sixty-six thousand pesos of silver * * * a hundred thousand pesos of gold * * * and other things of great worth, he thought it not good to return by the streight (Magellan) * * * least the Spaniards should there waite and attend for him in great numbers and strength, whose hands, he being left but one ship, he could not possibly escape."

Surfeited with spoils and his ship loaded with plunder, it became necessary for him to find the shortest and safest route home. To return by the way he came was to invite certain destruction to his ship and death to all on board. At an island off the coast of Nicaragua he overhauled and refitted his ship. He determined to seek the Straits of Anian that were believed to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Striking boldly out on an unknown sea, he sailed more than a thousand leagues northward. Encountering contrary winds and the cold increasing as he advanced, he gave up his search for the mythical straits, and, turning, he ran down the northwest coast of North America to latitude 38°, where "hee found a harborrow for his ship." He anchored in it June 17, 1579. This "convenient and fit harborrow" is under the lee of Point Reyes and is now known as Sir Francis Drake's Bay.

Fletcher, the chronicler of Drake's voyage, in his narrative, "The World Encompassed," says: "The 3rd day following, viz., the 21st, our ship having received a leake at sea was brought to anchor neerer the shoare that her goods being landed she might be repaired; but for that we were to prevent any danger that might chance against our safety our Generall first of all landed his men with necessary provision to build tents and make a fort for defense of ourselves and goods; and that we might under the shelter of it with more safety (whatsoever should befall) end our business."

The ship was drawn upon the beach, careened on its side, caulked and refitted. While the crew were repairing the ship the natives visited them in great numbers. From some of their actions Drake inferred that they regarded himself and his men as gods. To disabuse them of this idea, Drake ordered his chaplain, Fletcher, to perform divine service according to the English Church Ritual and preach a sermon. The Indians were greatly delighted with the psalm singing, but their opinion of Fletcher's sermon is not known.

From certain ceremonial performance Drake imagined that the Indians were offering him the sovereignty of their land and themselves as subjects of the English crown. Drake gladly accepted their proffered allegiance and formally took possession of the country in the name of the English sovereign, Queen Elizabeth. He named it New Albion, "for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes which ly towardes the sea; and the other because it might have some affinitie with our own country in name which sometimes was so called."

Having completed the repairs to his ship, Drake made ready to depart, but before leaving "Our Generall with his company made a journey up into the land. The inland we found to be farre different from the shoare; a goodly country and fruitful soyle, stored with many blessings fit for the use of man; infinite was the company of very large and fat deere which there we saw by thousands as we supposed in a heard."* They saw great numbers of small burrowing animals, which they called conies, but which were probably ground squirrels. Before departing, Drake set up a monument to show that he had taken possession of the country. To a large post firmly set in the ground he nailed a brass plate on which was engraved the name of the English Queen, the date of his arrival and the statement that the king and people of the country had voluntarily become vassals of the English crown; a new sixpence was fastened to the plate to show the Queen's likeness.

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*World Encompassed.

After a stay of thirty-six days, Drake took his departure, much to the regret of the Indians. He stopped at the Farallones islands for a short time to lay in a supply of seal meat; then he sailed for England by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. After encountering many perils, he arrived safely at Plymouth, the port from which he sailed nearly three years before, having "encompassed" or circumnavigated the globe. His exploits and the booty he brought back made him the most famous naval hero of his time. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth and accorded extraordinary honors by the nation. He believed himself to be the first discoverer of the country he called New Albion. "The Spaniards never had any dealings or so much as set foote in this country; the utmost of their discoveries reaching only to many degrees southward of this place."* The English founded no claim on Drake's discoveries. The land hunger that characterizes that nation now had not then been developed.

Fifty years passed after Cabrillo's visit to California before another attempt was made by the Spaniards to explore her coast. Through all these years on their return voyage far out beyond the islands the Manila galleons, freighted with the wealth of "Ormus and Ind," sailed down the coast of Las Californias from Cape Mendocino to Acapulco. Often storm-tossed and always scourged with that dread malady of the sea, the scurvy, there was no harbor of refuge for them to put into because his most Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain, had no money to spend in exploring an unknown coast where there was no return to be expected except perhaps the saving of a few sailors' lives.

In 1593, the question of a survey of the California coast for harbors to accommodate the increasing Philippine trade was agitated and Don Luis de Velasco, viceroy of New Spain, in a letter dated at Mexico, April 8, 1593, thus writes to his majesty: "In order to make the exploration or demarcation of the harbors of this main as far as the Philippine islands, as your majesty orders, money is lacking, and if it be not taken from the royal strong box it cannot be supplied, as for some time past a great deal of money has been owing to the royal treasury on account of fines forfeited to it, legal cost and the like." Don Luis fortunately discovers a way to save the contents of the royal strong box and hastens to acquaint his majesty with his plan. In a letter written to the king from the City of Mexico, April 6, 1594, he says: "I ordered the navigator who at present sails in the flag ship, who is named Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño, and who is a man of experience in his calling, one who can be depended upon and who has means of his own, although he is a Portuguese, there being no Spaniards of his profession whose services are available, that he should make the exploration and demarcation, and I offered, if he would do this, to give him his remuneration in the way of taking on board merchandise; and I wrote to the governor (of the Philippines) that he should allow him to put on board the ship some tons of cloth that he might have the benefit of the freight-money." The result of Don Luis's economy and the outcome of attempting to explore an unknown coast in a heavily laden merchant ship are given in a paragraph taken from a letter written by a royal officer from Acapulco, February 1, 1596, to the viceroy Conde de Monterey, the successor of Velasco: "On Wednesday, the 31st of January of this year, there entered this harbor a vessel of the kind called in the Philippines a viroco, having on board Juan de Morgana, navigating officer, four Spanish sailors, five Indians and a negro, who brought tidings that the ship San Agustin, of the exploring expedition, had been lost on a coast where she struck and went to pieces, and that a barefooted friar and another person of those on board had been drowned and that the seventy men or more who embarked in this small vessel only these came in her, because the captain of said ship, Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño, and the others went ashore at the port of Navidad, and, as they understand, have already arrived in that city (Mexico). An account of the voyage and of the loss of the ship, together with the statement made under oath by said navigating officer, Juan de Morgana, accompany this. We visited officially the vessel, finding no kind of merchandise on board,

*The World Encompassed.

and that the men were almost naked. The vessel being so small it seems miraculous that she should have reached this country with so many people on board." A viroco was a small vessel without a deck, having one or two square sails, and propelled by sweeps. Its hull was formed from a single tree, hollowed out and having the sides built up with planks. The San Agustin was wrecked in what is now called Francis Drake's Bay, about thirty miles north of San Francisco. To make a voyage from there to Acapulco in such a vessel, with seventy men on board, and live to tell the tale, was an exploit that exceeded the most hazardous undertakings of the Argonauts of '49.

The viceroy, Conde de Monte Rey, in a letter dated at Mexico, April 19, 1596, gives the king tidings of the loss of the San Agustin. He writes: "Touching the loss of the ship, San Agustin, which was on its way from the islands of the west (the Philippines) for the purpose of making the exploration of the coast of the South Sea, in accordance with your Majesty's orders to Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, I wrote to Your Majesty by the second packet (mailship) what I send as duplicate with this." He then goes on to tell how he had examined the officers in regard to the loss of the vessel and that they tried to inculpate one another. The navigating officer even in the viroco tried to explore the principal bays which they crossed, but on account of the hunger and illness they experienced he was compelled to hasten the voyage. The viceroy concludes: "Thus I take it, as to this exploration the intention of Your Majesty has not been carried into effect. It is the general opinion that this enterprise should not be attempted on the return voyage from the islands and with a laden ship, but from this coast and by constantly following along it." The above account of the loss of the San Agustin is taken from Volume II, Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California, and is the only correct account published. In September, 1595, just before the viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, was superseded by Conde de Monte Rey, he entered into a contract with certain parties of whom Sebastian Viscaino, a ship captain, was the principal, to make an expedition up the Gulf of California "for the purpose of fishing for pearls." There was also a provision in the contract empowering Viscaino to make explorations and take possession of his discoveries for the crown of Spain. The Conde de Monte Rey seems, from a letter written to the King, to have seriously doubted whether Viscaino was the right man for so important an expedition, but finally allowed him to depart. In September, 1596, Viscaino sailed up the gulf with a fleet of three vessels, the flag ship San Francisco, the San José and á Lancha. The flag ship was disabled and left at La Paz. With the other two vessels he sailed up the gulf to latitude 29°. He encountered severe storms. At some island he had trouble with the Indians and killed several. As the long boat was departing an Indian wounded one of the rowers with an arrow. The sailor dropped his oar, the boat careened and upset, drowning twenty of the twenty-six soldiers and sailors in it.

Viscaino returned without having procured any pearls or made any important discoveries. He proposed to continue his explorations of the Californias, but on account of his misfortunes his request was held in abeyance. He wrote a letter to the king in 1597, setting forth what supplies he required for the voyage. His inventory of the items needed is interesting, but altogether too long for insertion here. Among the items were "$35,000 in money"; "eighty arrobas of powder"; "twenty quintals of lead"; "four pipes of wine for mass and sick friars"; "vestments for the clergy and $2,000 to be invested in trifles for the Indians for the purpose of attracting them peaceably to receive the holy gospel." Viscaino's request was not granted at that time. The viceroy and the royal audiencia at one time ordered his commission revoked. Philip II died in 1598 and was succeeded by Philip III. After five years' waiting, Viscaino was allowed to proceed with his explorations. From Acapulco on the 5th of May, 1602, he writes to the king that he is ready to sail with his ships "for the discovery of harbors and bays of the coast of the South Sea as far as Cape Mendocino." "I report," he says, "merely that the said Viceroy (Conde de Monterey) has entrusted to me the accomplishment of the same

in two ships, a lancha and a barcoluengo, manned with sailors and soldiers and provisioned for eleven months. To-day being Sunday, the 5th of May, I sail at five o'clock in the names of God and his blessed mother and your majesty."

Viscaino followed the same course marked out by Cabrillo sixty years before. November 10, 1602, he anchored in Cabrillo's Bay of San Miguel. Whether the faulty reckoning of Cabrillo left him in doubt of the points named by the first discoverer, or whether it was that he might receive the credit of their discovery, Viscaino changed the names given by Cabrillo to the islands, bays and headlands along the California coast. Cabrillo's Bahia San Miguel became the Bay of San Diego; San Salvador and Vitoria were changed to Santa Catalina and San Clemente, and Cabrillo's Bahia de los Fumos y Fuegos appears on Viscaino's map as the Ensenada de San Andres, but in a description of the voyage compiled by the cosmographer, Cabrero Bueno, it is named San Pedro. It is not named for the Apostle St. Peter, but for St. Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, whose day in the Catholic calendar is November 26, the day of the month Viscaino anchored in the Bay of San Pedro.

Sailing up the coast, Viscaino passed through the Santa Barbara channel, which was so named by Antonio de la Ascencion, a Carmelite friar, who was chaplain of one of the ships. The expedition entered the channel December 4, which is the day in the Catholic calendar dedicated to Santa Barbara. He visited the mainland near Point Concepcion where the Indian chief of a populous rancheria offered each Spaniard who would become a resident of his town ten wives. This generous offer was rejected. December 15, 1602, he reached Point Pinos, so named by Cabrillo, and cast anchor in the bay formed by its projection. This bay he named Monterey, in honor of the viceroy, Conde de Monte Rey. Many of his men were sick with the scurvy and his provisions were becoming exhausted; so, placing the sick and disabled on the San Tomas, he sent them back to Acapulco; but few of them ever reached their destination. On the 3d of January, 1603, with two ships, he proceeded on his search for Cape Mendocino, the northern limit of his survey. The Manila galleons on their return voyage from the Philippines sailed up the Asiatic coast to the latitude of Japan, when, taking advantage of the westerly winds and the Japan current, they crossed the Pacific, striking the North American coast in about the latitude of Cape Mendocino, and from there they ran down the coast of Las Californias and across the gulf to Acapulco. After leaving Point Reyes a storm separated his ships and drove him as far north as Cape Blanco. The smaller vessel, commanded by Martin de Aguilar, was driven north by the storm to latitude 43°, where he discovered what seemed to be the mouth of a great river; attempting to enter it, he was driven back by the swift current. Aguilar, believing he had discovered the western entrance of the Straits of Anian, sailed for New Spain to report his discovery. He, his chief pilot and most of his crew died of scurvy before the vessel reached Navidad. Viscaino, after sighting Cape Blanco, turned and sailed down the coast of California, reaching Acapulco March 21, 1603.

Viscaino, in a letter to the King of Spain, dated at the City of Mexico, May 23, 1603, grows enthusiastic over California climate and productions. It is the earliest known specimen of California boom literature. After depicting the commodiousness of Monterey Bay as a port of safety for the Philippine ships, he says: "This port is sheltered from all winds, while on the immediate shores there are pines, from which masts of any desired size can be obtained, as well as live oaks and white oaks, rosemary, the vine, the rose of Alexandria, a great variety of game, such as rabbits, hare, partridges and other sorts and species found in Spain. This land has a genial climate, its waters are good and it is fertile, judging from the varied and luxuriant growth of trees and plants; and it is thickly settled with people whom I found to be of gentle disposition, peaceable and docile. * * * Their food consists of seeds which they have in great abundance and variety, and of the flesh of game such as deer, which are larger than cows, and bear, and of neat cattle and bisons and many other animals. The Indians are of good stature and

fair complexion, the women being somewhat less in size than the men, and of pleasing countenance. The clothing of the people of the coast lands consists of the skins of the sea wolves (otter) abounding there, which they tan and dress better than is done in Castile; they possess also in great quantity flax like that of Castile, hemp and cotton, from which they make fishing lines and nets for rabbits and hares. They have vessels of pine wood, very well made, in which they go to sea with fourteen paddlemen of a side, with great dexterity in very stormy weather. * * * They are well acquainted with gold and silver and said that these were found in the interior."

The object of Viscaino's boom literature of three hundred years ago was the promotion of a colony scheme for the founding of a settlement on Monterey Bay. He visited Spain to obtain the consent of the king and assistance in planting a colony. After many delays, Philip III, in 1606, ordered the viceroy of New Spain to fit out immediately an expedition to be commanded by Viscaino for the occupation and settlement of the port of Monterey. Before the expedition could be gotten ready Viscaino died and his colonization scheme died with him. Had he lived to carry out his scheme, the settlement of California would have antedated that of Jamestown, Va., by one year.

CHAPTER III.

COLONIZATION OF ALTA CALIFORNIA.

A HUNDRED and sixty years passed after the abandonment of Viscaino's colonization scheme before the Spanish crown made another attempt to utilize its vast possessions in Alta California. The Manila galleons sailed down the coast year after year for more than a century and a half, yet in all this long space of time none of them so far as we know ever entered a harbor or bay on the upper California coast. Spain still held her vast colonial possessions in America, but with a loosening grasp. As the years went by she had fallen from her high estate. Her power on sea and land had weakened. Those brave old sea kings, Drake, Hawkins and Frobisher, had destroyed her invincible Armada and burned her ships in her very harbors. The English and Dutch privateers had preyed upon her commerce on the high seas and the buccaneers had robbed her treasure ships and devastated her settlements on the islands and the Spanish main, while the freebooters of many nations had time and again captured her galleons and ravished her colonies on the Pacific coast. The energy and enterprise that had been a marked characteristic of her people in the days of Cortés and Pizarro were ebbing away. The age of luxury that began with the influx of the wealth which flowed into the mother country from her American colonies engendered intrigue and official corruption among her rulers, demoralized her army and prostrated her industries. While her kings and her nobles were revelling in luxury the poor were crying for bread. Proscriptive laws and the fear of her Holy Inquisition had driven into exile many of the most enterprising and most intelligent of her people. These baneful influences had palsied the bravery and spirit of adventure that had been marked characteristics of the Spaniards in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Other nations stood ready to take advantage of her decadence. Her old-time enemy, England, which had gained in power as Spain had lost, was ever on the alert to take advantage of her weakness; and another power, Russia, almost unknown among the powers of Europe when Spain was in her prime, was threatening her possessions in Alta California. To hold this vast country it must be colonized, but her restrictions on commerce and her proscriptive laws against foreign immigrants had shut the door to her colonial possessions against colonists from all other nations. Her sparse settlements in Mexico could spare no colonists. The native in-

habitants of California must be converted to Christianity and made into citizens. Poor material indeed were these degraded savages, but Spain's needs were pressing and missionary zeal was powerful. Indeed, the pristine courage and daring of the Spanish soldier seemed to have passed to her missionary priest.

The Jesuits had begun missionary work in 1697 among the degraded inhabitants of Lower California. With a perseverance that was highly commendable and a bravery that was heroic, under their devoted leaders, Salvatierra, Kino, Ugarte, Piccolo and their successors, they founded sixteen missions on the peninsula. Father Kino (or Kuhn), a German Jesuit, besides his missionary work, between 1694 and 1702, had made explorations around the head of the Gulf of California and up the Rio Colorado to the mouth of the Gila, which had clearly demonstrated that Lower California was a peninsula and not an island. Although Ulloa had sailed down the inner coast and up the outer coast of Lower California and Domingo del Castillo, a Spanish pilot, had made a correct map showing it to be a peninsula, so strong was the belief in the existence of the Straits of Anian that one hundred and sixty years after Ulloa's voyage Las Californias were still believed to be islands and were sometimes called Islas Carolinas, or the Islands of Charles, named so for Charles II. of Spain. Father Kino had formed the design of establishing a chain of missions from Sonora around the head of the gulf and down the inner coast of Lower California to Cape San Lucas. He did not live to complete his ambitious project. The Jesuit missions of Baja California never grew rich in flocks and herds. The country was sterile and the few small valleys of fertile land around the missions gave the padres and the neophytes at best but a frugal return for their labors.

For years there had been, in the Catholic countries of Europe, a growing fear and distrust of the Jesuits. Portugal had declared them traitors to the government and had banished them in 1759 from her dominions. France had suppressed the order in her domains in 1764. In 1767, King Carlos III., by a pragmatic sanction or decree, ordered their expulsion from Spain and all her American colonies. So great and powerful was the influence of the order that the decree for their expulsion was kept secret until the moment of its execution. Throughout all parts of the kingdom, at a certain hour of the night, a summons came to every college, monastery or other establishment where members of the order dwelt, to assemble by command of the king in the chapel or refectory immediately. The decree of perpetual banishment was then read to them. They were hastily bundled into vehicles that were awaiting them outside and hurried to the nearest seaport, where they were shipped to Rome. During their journey to the sea-coast they were not allowed to communicate with their friends nor permitted to speak to persons they met on the way. By order of the king, any subject who should undertake to vindicate the Jesuits in writing should be deemed guilty of treason and condemned to death.

The Lower California missions were too distant and too isolated to enforce the king's decree with the same haste and secrecy that was observed in Spain and Mexico. To Governor Gaspar de Portolá was entrusted the enforcement of their banishment. These missions were transferred to the Franciscans, but it took time to make the substitution. He proceeded with great caution and care lest the Indians should become rebellious and demoralized. It was not until February, 1768, that all the Jesuit missionaries were assembled at La Paz; from there they were sent to Mexico and on the 13th of April, at Vera Cruz, they bade farewell to the western continent.

At the head of the Franciscan contingent that took charge of the abandoned missions of Baja California, was Father Junipero Serra, a man of indomitable will and great missionary zeal. Miguel José Serra was born on the island of Majoriea in the year 1713. After completing his studies in the Lullian University, at the age of eighteen he became a monk and was admitted into the order of Franciscans. On taking orders he assumed the name of Junipero (Juniper). Among the disciples of St. Francis was a very zealous and devoted monk who bore the name of Junipero, of whom St. Francis once said,

"Would to God, my brothers, that I had a whole forest of such Junipers." Serra's favorite study was the "Lives of the Saints," and no doubt the study of the life of the original Junipero influenced him to take that saint's name. Serra's ambition was to become a missionary, but it was not until he was nearly forty years of age that his desire was gratified. In 1749 he came to Mexico and January 1, 1750, entered the College of San Fernando. A few months later he was given charge of an Indian mission in the Sierra Gorda mountains, where, with his assistant and lifelong friend, Father Palou, he remained nine years. Under his instructions the Indians were taught agriculture and the mission became a model establishment of its kind. From this mountain mission Serra returned to the city of Mexico. He spent seven years in doing missionary work among the Spanish population of the capital and surrounding country. His success as a preacher and his great missionary zeal led to his selection as president of the missions of California, from which the Jesuits had been removed. April 2, 1768, he arrived in the port of Loreto with fifteen associates from the College of San Fernando. These were sent to the different missions of the peninsula. These missions extended over a territory seven hundred miles in length and it required several months to locate all the missionaries.

The scheme for the occupation and colonization of Alta California was to be jointly the work of church and state. The representative of the state was José de Galvez, visitador-general of New Spain, a man of untiring energy, great executive ability, sound business sense and, as such men are and ought to be, somewhat arbitrary. Galvez reached La Paz in July, 1768. At once he began investigating the condition of the peninsular missions and supplying their needs. This done, he turned his attention to the northern colonization. Establishing his headquarters at Santa Ana near La Paz, he summoned Father Junipero for consultation in regard to the founding of missions in Alta California. It was decided to proceed to the initial points, San Diego and Monterey, by land and sea. Three ships were to be dispatched carrying the heavier articles, such as agricultural implements, church ornaments, and a supply of provisions for the support of the soldiers and priest after their arrival in California. The expedition by land was to take along cattle and horses to stock the country. This expedition was divided into two detachments, the advance one under the command of Rivera y Moncada, who had been a long time in the country, and the second division under Governor Gaspar de Portolá, who was a newcomer. Captain Rivera was sent northward to collect from the missions all the live stock and supplies that could be spared and take them to Santa Maria, the most northern mission of the peninsula. Stores of all kinds were collected at La Paz. Father Serra made a tour of the missions and secured such church furniture, ornaments and vestments as could be spared.

The first vessel fitted out for the expedition by sea was the San Carlos, a ship of about two hundred tons burden, leaky and badly constructed. She sailed from La Paz January 9, 1769, under the command of Vicente Vila. In addition to the crew there were twenty-five Catalonian soldiers, commanded by Lieutenant Fages, Pedro Prat, the surgeon, a Franciscan friar, two blacksmiths, a baker, a cook and two tortilla makers. Galvez in a small vessel accompanied the San Carlos to Cape San Lucas, where he landed and set to work to fit out the San Antonio. On the 15th of February this vessel sailed from San José del Cabo (San José of the Cape), under the command of Juan Perez, an expert pilot, who had been engaged in the Philippine trade. On this vessel went two Franciscan friars, Juan Viscaino and Francisco Gomez. Captain Rivera y Moncada, who was to pioneer the way, had collected supplies and cattle at Velicatá on the northern frontier. From here, with a small force of soldiers, a gang of neophytes and three muleteers, and accompanied by Padre Crespi, he began his march to San Diego on the 24th of March, 1769.

The second land expedition, commanded by Governor Gaspar de Portolá in person, began its march from Loreto, March 9, 1769. Father Serra, who was to have accompanied it, was detained at Loreto by a sore leg. He joined the expedition at Santa Maria, May 5, where it had

been waiting for him some time. It then proceeded to Rivera's camp at Velicatá, sixty miles further north, where Serra founded a mission, naming it San Fernando. Campa Coy, a friar who had accompanied the expedition thus far, was left in charge. This mission was intended as a frontier post in the travel between the peninsular missions and the Alta California settlements. On the 15th of May Portolá began his northern march, following the trail of Rivera. Galvez had named, by proclamation, St. Joseph as the patron saint of the California expeditions. Santa Maria was designated as the patroness of conversions.

The San Antonia, the last vessel to sail, was the first to arrive at San Diego. It anchored in the bay April 11, 1769, after a prosperous voyage of twenty-four days. There she remained at anchor, awaiting the arrival of the San Carlos, the flag ship of the expedition, which had sailed more than a month before her. On the 29th of April the San Carlos, after a disastrous voyage of one hundred and ten days, drifted into the Bay of San Diego, her crew prostrated with the scurvy, not enough able-bodied men being left to man a boat. Canvas tents were pitched and the afflicted men taken ashore. When the disease had run its course nearly all of the crew of the San Carlos, half of the soldiers who had come on her, and nine of the sailors of the San Antonio, were dead.

On the 14th of May Captain Rivera y Moncada's detachment arrived. The expedition had made the journey from Velicatá in fifty-one days. On the first of July the second division, commanded by Portolá, arrived. The journey had been uneventful. The four divisions of the grand expedition were now united, but its numbers had been greatly reduced. Out of two hundred and nineteen who had set out by land and sea only one hundred and twenty-six remained; death from scurvy and the desertion of the neophytes had reduced the numbers nearly one-half. The ravages of the scurvy had destroyed the crew of one of the vessels and greatly crippled that of the other, so it was impossible to proceed by sea to Monterey, the second objective point of the expedition. A council of the officers was held and it was decided to send the San Antonia back to San Blas for supplies and sailors to man the San Carlos. The San Antonia sailed on the 9th of July and after a voyage of twenty days reached her destination; but short as the voyage was, half of the crew died of the scurvy on the passage. In early American navigation the scurvy was the most dreaded scourge of the sea, more to be feared than storm and shipwreck. These might happen occasionally, but the scurvy always made its appearance on long voyages, and sometimes destroyed the whole ship's crew. Its appearance and ravages were largely due to the neglect of sanitary precautions and to the utter indifference of those in authority to provide for the comfort and health of the sailors. The intercession of the saints, novenas, fasts and penance were relied upon to protect and save the vessel and her crew, while the simplest sanitary measures were utterly disregarded. A blind, unreasoning faith that was always seeking interposition from some power without to preserve and ignoring the power within, was the bane and curse of that age of superstition.

If the mandates of King Carlos III. and the instructions of the visitador-general, José de Galvez, were to be carried out, the expedition for the settlement of the second point designated (Monterey) must be made by land; accordingly Governor Portolá set about organizing his forces for the overland journey. On the 14th of July the expedition began its march. It consisted of Governor Portolá, Padres Crespi and Gomez, Captain Rivera y Moncada, Lieutenant Pedro Fages, Engineer Miguel Constansó, soldiers, muleteers and Indian servants, numbering in all sixty-two persons.

On the 16th of July, two days after the departure of Governor Portolá, Father Junipero, assisted by Padres Viscaino and Parron, founded the mission of San Diego. The site selected was in what is now Old Town, near the temporary presidio, which had been hastily constructed before the departure of Governor Portolá. A hut of boughs had been constructed and in this the ceremonies of founding were held. The Indians, while interested in what was going on, manifested no desire to be converted. They were willing to receive gifts, particularly

of cloth, but would not taste the food of the Spaniards, fearing that it contained poison and attributing the many deaths among the soldiers and sailors to the food. The Indians had a great liking for pieces of cloth, and their desire to obtain this led to an attack upon the people of the mission. On the 14th of August, taking advantage of the absence of Padre Parron and two soldiers, they broke into the mission and began robbing it and the beds of the sick. The four soldiers, a carpenter and a blacksmith rallied to the defense, and after several of their numbers had fallen by the guns of the soldiers, the Indians fled. A boy servant of the padres was killed and Father Viscaino wounded in the hand. After this the Indians were more cautious.

We now return to the march of Portolá's expedition. As the first exploration of the main land of California was made by it, I give considerable space to the incidents of the journey. Crespi, Constansó and Fages kept journals of the march. I quote from those of Constansó and Crespi. Lieutenant Constansó thus describes the order of the march. "The setting-forth was on the 14th day of June* of the cited year of '69. The two divisions of the expedition by land marched in one, the commander so arranging because the number of horse-herd and packs was much, since of provisions and victuals alone they carried one hundred packs, which he estimated to be necessary to ration all the folk during six months; thus providing against a delay of the packets, altho' it was held to be impossible that in this interval some one of them should fail to arrive at Monterey. On the marches the following order was observed: At the head went the commandant with the officers, the six men of the Catalonia volunteers, who added themselves at San Diego, and some friendly Indians, with spades, mattocks, crowbars, axes and other implements of pioneers, to chop and open a passage whenever necessary. After them followed the pack-train, divided into four bands with the muleteers and a competent number of garrison soldiers for their escort with each band. In the rear guard with the rest of the troops and friendly Indians came the captain, Don Fernando Rivera, convoying the horse-herd and the mule herd for relays."

* * *

"It must be well considered that the marches of these troops with such a train and with such embarrassments thro' unknown lands and unused paths could not be long ones; leaving aside the other causes which obliged them to halt and camp early in the afternoon, that is to say, the necessity of exploring the land one day for the next, so as to regulate them (the marches) according to the distance of the watering-places and to take in consequence the proper precautions; setting forth again on special occasions in the evening, after having given water to the beasts in that same hour upon the sure information that in the following stretch there was no water or that the watering place was low, or the pasture scarce. The restings were measured by the necessity, every four days, more or less, according to the extraordinary fatigue occasioned by the greater roughness of the road, the toil of the pioneers, or the wandering off of the beasts which were missing from the horse herd and which it was necessary to seek by their tracks. At other times, by the necessity of humoring the sick, when there were any, and with time there were many who yielded up their strength to the continued fatigue, the excessive heat and cruel cold. In the form and according to the method related the Spaniards executed their marches; traversing immense lands more fertile and more pleasing in proportion as they penetrated more to the north. All in general are peopled with a multitude of Indians, who came out to meet them and in some parts accompanied them from one stage of the journey to the next; a folk very docile and tractable chiefly from San Diego onward."

Constansó's description of the Indians of Santa Barbara will be found in the chapter on the "Aborigines of California." "From the channel of Santa Barbara onward the lands are not so populous nor the Indians so industrious, but they are equally affable and tractable. The Spaniards pursued their voyage without opposition up to the Sierra of Santa Lucia, which they contrived to cross with much hardship. At the

*Evidently an error; it should be July 14th.

foot of said Sierra on the north side is to be found the port of Monterey, according to ancient reports, between the Point of Pines and that of Año Nuevo (New Year). The Spaniards caught sight of said points on the 1st of October of the year '69, and, believing they had arrived at the end of their voyage, the commandant sent the scouts forward to reconnoitre the Point of Pines; in whose near vicinity lies said Port in 36 degrees and 40 minutes North Latitude. But the scant tokens and equivocal ones which are given of it by the Pilot Cabrera Bueno, the only clue of this voyage, and the character of this Port, which rather merits the name of Bay, being spacious (in likeness to that of Cadiz), not corresponding with ideas which it is natural to form in reading the log of the aforementioned Cabrera Bueno, nor with the latitude of 37 degrees in which he located it, the scouts were persuaded that the Port must be farther to the north and they returned to the camp which our people occupied with the report that what they sought was not to be seen in those parts."

They decided that the Port was still further north and resumed their march. Seventeen of their number were sick with the scurvy, some of whom, Constansó says, seemed to be in their last extremity; these had to be carried in litters. To add to their miseries, the rains began in the latter part of October, and with them came an epidemic of diarrhea, "which spread to all without exception; and it came to be feared that this sickness which prostrated their powers and left the persons spiritless, would finish with the expedition altogether. But it turned out quite to the contrary." Those afflicted with the scurvy began to mend and in a short time they were restored to health. Constansó thus describes the discovery of the Bay of San Francisco: "The last day of October the Expedition by land came in sight of Punta de Los Reyes and the Farallones of the Port of San Francisco, whose landmarks, compared with those related by the log of the Pilot Cabrera Bueno, were found exact. Thereupon it became of evident knowledge that the Port of Monterey had been left behind; there being few who stuck to the contrary opinion. Nevertheless the commandant resolved to send to reconnoitre the land as far as Point de los Reyes. The scouts who were commissioned for this purpose found themselves obstructed by immense estuaries, which run extraordinarily far back into the land and were obliged to make great detours to get around the heads of these. * * * Having arrived at the end of the first estuary and reconnoitered the land that would have to be followed to arrive at the Point de Los Reyes, interrupted with new estuaries, scant pasturage and firewood and having recognized, besides this, the uncertainty of the news and the misapprehension the scouts had labored under, the commandant, with the advice of his officers, resolved upon a retreat to the Point of Pines in hopes of finding the Port of Monterey and encountering in it the Packet San José or the San Antonia, whose succor already was necessary; since of the provisions which had been taken in San Diego no more remained than some few sacks of flour of which a short ration was issued to each individual daily."

"On the eleventh day of November was put into execution the retreat in search of Monterey. The Spaniards reached said port and the Point of Pines on the 28th of November. They maintained themselves in this place until the 10th of December without any vessel having appeared in this time. For which reason and noting also a lack of victuals, and that the sierra of Santa Lucia was covering itself with snow, the commandant, Don Gaspar de Portolá, saw himself obliged to decide to continue the retreat unto San Diego, leaving it until a better occasion to return to the enterprise. On this retreat the Spaniards experienced some hardships and necessities, because they entirely lacked provisions, and because the long marches, which necessity obliged to make to reach San Diego, gave no time for seeking sustenance by the chase, nor did game abound equally everywhere. At this juncture they killed twelve mules of the pack-train on whose meat the folk nourished themselves unto San Diego, at which new establishment they arrived, all in health, on the 24th of January, 1770."

The San José, the third ship fitted out by Visitador-General Galvez, and which Governor Portolá expected to find in the Bay of Monte-

rey, sailed from San José del Cabo in May, 1770, with supplies and a double crew to supply the loss of sailors on the other vessels, but nothing was ever heard of her afterwards. Provisions were running low at San Diego, no ship had arrived, and Governor Portolá had decided to abandon the place and return to Loreto. Father Junipero was averse to this and prayed unceasingly for the intercession of Saint Joseph, the patron of the expedition. A novena or nine days' public prayer was instituted to terminate with a grand ceremonial on March 19th, which was the saint's own day. But on the 23rd of March, when all were ready to depart, the packet San Antonia arrived. She had sailed from San Blas the 20th of December. She encountered a storm which drove her four hundred leagues from the coast; then she made land in 35 degrees north latitude. Turning her prow southward, she ran down to Point Concepcion, where at an anchorage in the Santa Barbara channel the captain, Perez, took on water and learned from the Indians of the return of Portolá's expedition. The vessel then ran down to San Diego, where its opportune arrival prevented the abandonment of that settlement.

With an abundant supply of provisions and a vessel to carry the heavier articles needed in forming a settlement at Monterey, Portolá organized a second expedition. This time he took with him only twenty soldiers and one officer, Lieutenant Pedro Fages. He set out from San Diego on the 17th of April and followed his trail made the previous year. Father Serra and the engineer, Constansó, sailed on the San Antonia, which left the port of San Diego on the 16th of April. The land expedition reached Monterey on the 23d of May and the San Antonia on the 31st of the same month. On the 3d of June, 1770, the mission of San Carlos Borromeo de Monterey was formally founded with solemn church ceremonies, accompanied by the ringing of bells, the crack of musketry and the roar of cannon. Father Serra conducted the church services. Governor Portolá took possession of the land in the name of King Carlos III. A presidio or fort of palisades was built and a few huts erected. Portolá, having formed the nucleus of a settlement, turned over the command of the territory to Lieutenant Fages. On the 9th of July, 1770, he sailed on the San Antonia for San Blas. He never returned to Alta California.

CHAPTER IV.

ABORIGINES OF CALIFORNIA.

WHETHER the primitive California Indian was the low and degraded being that some modern writers represent him to have been, admits of doubt. A mission training continued through three generations did not elevate him in morals at least. When freed from mission restraint and brought in contact with the white race he lapsed into a condition more degraded and more debased than that in which the missionaries found him. Whether it was the inherent fault of the Indian or the fault of his training is a question that is useless to discuss now. If we are to believe the accounts of the California Indian given by Viscaino and Constansó, who saw him before he had come in contact with civilization he was not inferior in intelligence to the nomad aborigines of the country east of the Rocky mountains.

Sebastian Viscaino thus describes the Indians he found on the shores of Monterey Bay three hundred years ago:

"The Indians are of good stature and fair complexion, the women being somewhat less in size than the men and of pleasing countenance. The clothing of the people of the coast lands consists of the skins of the sea-wolves (otter) abounding there, which they tan and dress better than is done in Castile; they possess also, in great quantity, flax like that of Castile, hemp and cotton, from which they make fishing-lines

and nets for rabbits and hares. They have vessels of pine wood very well made, in which they go to sea with fourteen paddle men on a side with great dexterity, even in stormy weather."

Indians who could construct boats of pine boards that took twenty-eight paddle men to row were certainly superior in maritime craft to the birch bark canoe savages of the east. We might accuse Viscaino, who was trying to induce King Philip III. to found a colony on Monterey Bay, of exaggeration in regard to the Indian boats were not his statements confirmed by the engineer, Miguel Constansó, who accompanied Portolá's expedition one hundred and sixty-seven years after Viscaino visited the coast. Constansó, writing of the Indians of the Santa Barbara Channel, says, "The dexterity and skill of these Indians is surpassing in the construction of their launches made of pine planking. They are from eight to ten varas (twenty-three to twenty-eight feet) in length, including their rake and a vara and a half (four feet three inches) beam. Into their fabric enters no iron whatever, of the use of which they know little. But they fasten the boards with firmness, one to another, working their drills just so far apart and at a distance of an inch from the edge, the holes in the upper boards corresponding with those in the lower, and through these holes they pass strong lashings of deer sinews. They pitch and calk the seams, and paint the whole in sightly colors. They handle the boats with equal cleverness, and three or four men go out to sea to fish in them, though they have capacity to carry eight or ten. They use long oars with two blades and row with unspeakable lightness and velocity. They know all the arts of fishing, and fish abound along their coasts as has been said of San Diego. They have communication and commerce with the natives of the islands, whence they get the beads of coral which are current in place of money through these lands, although they hold in more esteem the glass beads which the Spaniards gave them, and offered in exchange for these whatever they had like trays, otter skins, baskets and wooden plates. * * *

"They are likewise great hunters. To kill deer and antelope they avail themselves of an admirable ingenuity. They preserve the hide of the head and part of the neck of some one of these animals, skinned with care and leaving the horns attached to the same hide, which they stuff with grass or straw to keep its shape. They put this said shell like a cap upon the head and go forth to the woods with this rare equipage. On sighting the deer or antelope they go dragging themselves along the ground little by little with the left hand. In the right they carry the bow and four arrows. They lower and raise the head, moving it to one side and the other, and making other demonstrations so like these animals that they attract them without difficulty to the snare; and having them within a short distance, they discharge their arrows at them with certainty of hitting."

In the two chief occupations of the savage, hunting and fishing, the Indians of the Santa Barbara Channel seem to have been the equals if not the superiors of their eastern brethren. In the art of war they were inferior. Their easy conquest by the Spaniards and their tame subjection to mission rule no doubt had much to do with giving them a reputation for inferiority.

The Indians of the interior valleys and those of the coast belonged to the same general family. There were no great tribal divisions like those that existed among the Indians east of the Rocky mountains. Each rancheria was to a certain extent independent of all others, although at times they were known to combine for war or plunder. Although not warlike, they sometimes resisted the whites in battle with great bravery. Each village had its own territory in which to hunt and fish and its own section in which to gather nuts, seeds and herbs. While their mode of living was somewhat nomadic they seem to have had a fixed location for their rancherias.

The early Spanish settlers of California and the mission padres have left but very meager accounts of the manners, customs, traditions, government and religion of the aborigines. The padres were too intent upon driving out the old religious beliefs of the Indian and instilling new ones to care much what the aborigine had formerly believed or what traditions or myths he

had inherited from his ancestors. They ruthlessly destroyed his fetiches and his altars wherever they found them, regarding them as inventions of the devil.

The best account that has come down to us of the primitive life of the Southern California aborigines is found in a series of letters written by Hugo Reid and published in the *Los Angeles Star* in 1851-52. Reid was an educated Scotchman, who came to Los Angeles in 1834. He married an Indian woman, Dona Victoria, a neophyte of the San Gabriel mission. She was the daughter of an Indian chief. It is said that Reid had been crossed in love by some high toned Spanish señorita and married the Indian woman because she had the same name as his lost love. It is generally believed that Reid was the putative father of Helen Hunt Jackson's heroine, Ramona.

From these letters, now in the possession of the Historical Society of Southern California, I briefly collate some of the leading characteristics of the Southern Indians:

GOVERNMENT.

"Before the Indians belonging to the greater part of this country were known to the whites they comprised, as it were, one great family under distinct chiefs; they spoke nearly the same language, with the exception of a few words, and were more to be distinguished by a local intonation of the voice than anything else. Being related by blood and marriage war was never carried on between them. When war was consequently waged against neighboring tribes of no affinity it was a common cause."

"The government of the people was invested in the hands of their chiefs, each captain commanding his own lodge. The command was hereditary in a family. If the right line of descent ran out they elected one of the same kin nearest in blood. Laws in general were made as required, with some few standing ones. Robbery was never known among them. Murder was of rare occurrence and punished with death. Incest was likewise punished with death, being held in such abhorrence that marriages between kinsfolk were not allowed. The manner of putting to death was by shooting the delinquent with arrows. If a quarrel ensued between two parties the chief of the lodge took cognizance in the case and decided according to the testimony produced. But if a quarrel occurred between parties of distinct lodges, each chief heard the witnesses produced by his own people, and then, associated with the chief of the opposite side, they passed sentence. In case they could not agree an impartial chief was called in, who heard the statements made by both and he alone decided. There was no appeal from his decision. Whipping was never resorted to as a punishment. All fines and sentences consisted in delivering shells, money, food and skins."

RELIGION.

"They believed in one God, the Maker and Creator of all things, whose name was and is held so sacred among them as hardly ever to be used, and when used only in a low voice. That name is Qua-o-ar. When they have to use the name of the supreme being on an ordinary occasion they substitute in its stead the word Y-yo-ha-rory-nain or the Giver of Life. They have only one word to designate life and soul."

"The world was at one time in a state of chaos, until God gave it its present formation, fixing it on the shoulders of seven giants, made expressly for this end. They have their names, and when they move themselves an earthquake is the consequence. Animals were then formed, and lastly man and woman were formed, separately from earth and ordered to live together. The man's name was Tobahar and the woman's Probavit. God ascended to Heaven immediately afterward, where he receives the souls of all who die. They had no bad spirits connected with their creed, and never heard of a 'devil' or a 'hell' until the coming of the Spaniards. They believed in no resurrection whatever."

MARRIAGE.

"Chiefs had one, two or three wives, as their inclination dictated, the subjects only one. When a person wished to marry and had selected a suitable partner, he advertised the same to all his relatives, even to the nineteenth cousin. On a day appointed the male portion of the lodge

brought in a collection of money beads. All the relations having come in with their share, they (the males) proceeded in a body to the residence of the bride, to whom timely notice had been given. All of the bride's female relations had been assembled and the money was equally divided among them, the bride receiving nothing, as it was a sort of purchase. After a few days the bride's female relations returned the compliment by taking to the bridegroom's dwelling baskets of meal made of chia, which was distributed among the male relatives. These preliminaries over, a day was fixed for the ceremony, which consisted in decking out the bride in innumerable strings of beads, paint, feathers and skins. On being ready she was taken up in the arms of one of her strongest male relatives, who carried her, dancing, towards her lover's habitation. All of her family, friends and neighbors accompanied, dancing around, throwing food and edible seeds at her feet at every step. These were collected in a scramble by the spectators as best they could. The relations of the bridegroom met them half way, and, taking the bride, carried her themselves, joining in the ceremonious walking dance. On arriving at the bridegroom's (who was sitting within his hut) she was inducted into her new residence by being placed alongside of her husband, while baskets of seeds were liberally emptied on their heads to denote blessings and plenty. This was likewise scrambled for by the spectators, who, on gathering up all the bride's seed cake, departed, leaving them to enjoy their honeymoon according to usage. A grand dance was given on the occasion, the warriors doing the dancing, the young women doing the singing. The wife never visited her relatives from that day forth, although they were at liberty to visit her."

BURIALS.

"When a person died all the kin collected to mourn his or her loss. Each one had his own peculiar mode of crying or howling, as easily distinguished the one from the other as one song is from another. After lamenting awhile a mourning dirge was sung in a low whining tone, accompanied by a shrill whistle produced by blowing into the tube of a deer's leg bone. Dancing can hardly be said to have formed a part of the rites, as it was merely a monotonous action of the foot on the ground. This was continued alternately until the body showed signs of decay, when it was wrapped in the covering used in life. The hands were crossed upon the breast and the body tied from head to foot. A grave having been dug in their burial ground, the body was deposited with seeds, etc., according to the means of the family. If the deceased were the head of the family or a favorite son, the hut in which he lived was burned up, as likewise were all his personal effects."

FEUDS—THE SONG FIGHTS.

"Animosity between persons or families was of long duration, particularly between those of different tribes. These feuds descended from father to son until it was impossible to tell of how many generations. They were, however, harmless in themselves, being merely a war of songs, composed and sung against the conflicting party, and they were all of the most obscene and indecent language imaginable. There are two families at this day (1851) whose feud commenced before the Spaniards were ever dreamed of and they still continue singing and dancing against each other. The one resides at the mission of San Gabriel and the other at San Juan Capistrano; they both lived at San Bernardino when the quarrel commenced. During the singing they continue stamping on the ground to express the pleasure they would derive from tramping on the graves of their foes. Eight days was the duration of the song fight."

UTENSILS.

"From the bark of nettles was manufactured thread for nets, fishing lines, etc. Needles, fishhooks, awls and many other articles were made of either bone or shell; for cutting up meat a knife of cane was invariably used. Mortars and pestles were made of granite. Sharp stones and perseverance were the only things used in their manufacture, and so skillfully did they combine the two that their work was always remarkably uniform. Their pots to cook in were made of soapstone of about an inch in thickness and procured from the Indians of Santa Catalina.

Their baskets, made out of a certain species of rush, were used only for dry purposes, although they were water proof. The vessels in use for liquids were roughly made of rushes and plastered outside and in with bitumen or pitch."

INDIANS OF THE SANTA BARBARA CHANNEL.

Miguel Constansó, the engineer who accompanied Portolá's expedition in 1769, gives us the best description of the Santa Barbara Indians extant.

"The Indians in whom was recognized more vivacity and industry are those that inhabit the islands and the coast of the Santa Barbara channel. They live in pueblos (villages) whose houses are of spherical form in the fashion of a half orange covered with rushes. They are up to twenty varas (fifty-five feet) in diameter. Each house contains three or four families. The hearth is in the middle and in the top of the house they leave a vent or chimney to give exit for the smoke. In nothing did these gentiles give the lie to the affability and good treatment which were experienced at their hands in other times (1602) by the Spaniards who landed upon those coasts with General Sebastian Vizcayno. They are men and women of good figure and aspect, very much given to painting and staining their faces and bodies with red ochre.

"They use great head dresses of feathers and some panderellas (small darts) which they bind up amid their hair with various trinkets and beads of coral of various colors. The men go entirely naked, but in time of cold they sport some long capes of tanned skins of nutrias (otters) and some mantles made of the same skins cut in long strips, which they twist in such a manner that all the fur remains outside; then they weave these strands one with another, forming a weft, and give it the pattern referred to.

"The women go with more decency, girt about the waist with tanned skins of deer which cover them in front and behind more than half down the leg, and with a mantelet of nutria over the body. There are some of them with good features. These are the Indian women who make the trays and vases of rushes, to which they give a thousand different forms and graceful patterns, according to the uses to which they are destined, whether it be for eating, drinking, guarding their seeds, or for other purposes; for these peoples do not know the use of earthen ware as those of San Diego use it.

"The men work handsome trays of wood, with finer inlays of coral or of bone; and some vases of much capacity, closing at the mouth, which appear to be made with a lathe—and with this machine they would not come out better hollowed nor of more perfect form. They give the whole a luster which appears the finished handiwork of a skilled artisan. The large vessels which hold water are of a very strong weave of rushes pitched within; and they give them the same form as our water jars.

"To eat the seeds which they use in place of bread they toast them first in great trays, putting among the seeds some pebbles or small stones heated until red; then they move and shake the tray so it may not burn; and getting the seed sufficiently toasted they grind it in mortars or almireses of stone. Some of these mortars were of extraordinary size, as well wrought as if they had had for the purpose the best steel tools. The constancy, attention to trifles, and labor which they employ in finishing these pieces are well worthy of admiration. The mortars are so appreciated among themselves that for those who, dying, leave behind such handiworks, they are wont to place them over the spot where they are buried, that the memory of their skill and application may not be lost.

"They inter their dead. They have their cemeteries within the very pueblo. The funerals of their captains they make with great pomp, and set up over their bodies some rods or poles, extremely tall, from which they hang a variety of utensils and chattels which were used by them. They likewise put in the same place some great planks of pine, with various paintings and figures in which without doubt they explain the exploits and prowesses of the personage.

"Plurality of wives is not lawful among these peoples. Only the captains have a right to marry two. In all their pueblos the attention was taken by a species of men who lived like the women, kept company with them, dressed in the same garb, adorned themselves with beads, pen-

dants, necklaces and other womanish adornments, and enjoyed great consideration among the people. The lack of an interpreter did not permit us to find out what class of men they were, or to what ministry they were destined, though all suspect a defect in sex, or some abuse among those gentiles.

"In their houses the married couples have their separate beds on platforms elevated from the ground. Their mattresses are some simple petates (mats) of rushes and their pillows are of the same petates rolled up at the head of the bed. All these beds are hung about with like mats, which serve for decency and protect from the cold."

From the descriptions given by Viscaino and Constansó of the coast Indians they do not appear to have been the degraded creatures that some modern writers have pictured them. In mechanical ingenuity they were superior to the Indians of the Atlantic seaboard or those of the Mississippi valley. Much of the credit that has been given to the mission padres for the patient training they gave the Indians in mechanical arts should be given to the Indian himself. He was no mean mechanic when the padres took him in hand.

Bancroft says "the Northern California Indians were in every way superior to the central and southern tribes." The difference was more in climate than in race. Those of Northern California living in an invigorating climate were more active and more warlike than their sluggish brethren of the south. They gained their living by hunting larger game than those of the south whose subsistence was derived mostly from acorns, seeds, small game and fish. Those of the interior valleys of the north were of lighter complexion and had better forms and features than their southern kinsmen. They were divided into numerous small tribes or clans, like those of central and Southern California. The Spaniards never penetrated very far into the Indian country of the north and consequently knew little or nothing about the habits and customs of the aborigines there. After the discovery of gold the miners invaded their country in search of the precious metal. The Indians at first were not hostile, but ill treatment soon made them so. When they retaliated on the whites a war of extermination was waged against them. Like the mission Indians of the south they are almost extinct.

All of the coast Indians seem to have had some idea of a supreme being. The name differed with the different tribes. According to Hugo Reid the god of the San Gabriel Indian was named Quaoàr. Father Boscana, who wrote "A Historical Account of the Origin, Customs and Traditions of the Indians" at the missionary establishment of San Juan Capistrano, published in Alfred Robinson's "Life in California," gives a lengthy account of the religion of those Indians before their conversion to Christianity. Their god was Chinigchinich. Evidently the three old men from whom Boscana derived his information mixed some of the religious teachings of the padres with their own primitive beliefs, and made up for the father a nondescript religion half heathen and half Christian. Boscana was greatly pleased to find so many allusions to Scriptural truths, evidently never suspecting that the Indians were imposing upon him.

The religious belief of the Santa Barbara Channel Indians appears to have been the most rational of any of the beliefs held by the California aborigines. Their god, Chupu, was the deification of good; and Nunaxus, their Satan, the personification of evil. Chupu the all-powerful created Nunaxus, who rebelled against his creator and tried to overthrow him; but Chupu, the almighty, punished him by creating man who, by devouring the animal and vegetable products of the earth, checked the physical growth of Nunaxus, who had hoped by liberal feeding to become like unto a mountain. Foiled in his ambition, Nunaxus ever afterwards sought to injure mankind. To secure Chupu's protection, offerings were made to him and dances were instituted in his honor. Flutes and other instruments were played to attract his attention. When Nunaxus brought calamity upon the Indians in the shape of dry years, which caused a dearth of animal and vegetable products, or sent sickness to afflict them, their old men interceded with Chupu to protect them; and to exorcise their Satan they shot arrows and threw

stones in the direction in which he was supposed to be.

Of the Indian myths and traditions Hugo Reid says: "They were of incredible length and contained more metamorphoses than Ovid could have engendered in his brain had he lived a thousand years."

The Cahuilla tribes who formerly inhabited the mountain districts of the southeastern part of the state had a tradition of their creation. According to this tradition the primeval Adam and Eve were created by the Supreme Being in the waters of a northern sea. They came up out of the water upon the land, which they found to be soft and miry. They traveled southward for many moons in search of land suitable for their residence and where they could obtain sustenance from the earth. This they found at last on the mountain sides in Southern California.

Some of the Indian myths when divested of their crudities and ideas clothed in fitting language are as poetical as those of Greece or Scandinavia. The following one which Hugo Reid found among the San Gabriel Indians bears a striking resemblance to the Grecian myths of Orpheus and Eurydice but it is not at all probable that the Indians ever heard the Grecian fable. Ages ago, so runs this Indian myth, a powerful people dwelt on the banks of the Arroyo Seco and hunted over the hills and plains of what are now our modern Pasadena and the valley of San Fernando. They committed a grievous crime against the Great Spirit. A pestilence destroyed them all save a boy and girl who were saved by a foster mother possessed of supernatural powers. They grew to manhood and womanhood and became husband and wife. Their devotion to each other angered the foster mother, who fancied herself neglected. She plotted to destroy the wife. The young woman, divining her fate, told her husband that should he at any time feel a tear drop on his shoulder, he might know that she was dead. While he was away hunting the dread signal came. He hastened back to destroy the hag who had brought death to his wife, but the sorceress had escaped. Disconsolate he threw himself on the grave of his wife. For three days he neither ate nor drank. On the third day a whirlwind arose from the grave and moved toward the south. Perceiving in it the form of his wife, he hastened on until he overtook it. Then a voice came out of the cloud saying: "Whither I go, thou canst not come. Thou art of earth but I am dead to the world. Return, my husband, return!" He plead piteously to be taken with her. She consenting, he was wrapt in the cloud with her and borne across the illimitable sea that separates the abode of the living from that of the dead. When they reached the realms of ghosts a spirit voice said: "Sister, thou comest to us with an odor of earth; what dost thou bring?" Then she confessed that she had brought her living husband. "Take him away!" said a voice stern and commanding. She plead that he might remain and recounted his many virtues. To test his virtues, the spirits gave him four labors. First to bring a feather from the top of a pole so high that its summit was invisible. Next to split a hair of great length and exceeding fineness; third to make on the ground a map of the constellation of the lesser bear and locate the north star and last to slay the celestial deer that had the form of black beetles and were exceedingly swift. With the aid of his wife he accomplished all the tasks.

But no mortal was allowed to dwell in the abodes of death. "Take thou thy wife and return with her to the earth," said the spirit. "Yet remember, thou shalt not speak to her; thou shalt not touch her until three suns have passed. A penalty awaits thy disobedience." He promised. They pass from the spirit land and travel to the confines of matter. By day she is invisible but by the flickering light of his camp-fire he sees the dim outline of her form. Three days pass. As the sun sinks behind the western hills he builds his camp-fire. She appears before him in all the beauty of life. He stretches forth his arms to embrace her. She is snatched from his grasp. Although invisible to him yet the upper rim of the great orb of day hung above the western verge. He had broken his promise. Like Orpheus, disconsolate, he wandered over the earth until, relenting, the spirits sent their servant Death to bring him to Tecupar (Heaven).

The following myth of the mountain Indians

of the north bears a strong resemblance to the Norse fable of Gyoll the River of Death and its glittering bridge, over which the spirits of the dead pass to Hel, the land of spirits. The Indian, however, had no idea of any kind of a bridge except a foot log across a stream. The myth in a crude form was narrated to me many years ago by an old pioneer.

According to this myth when an Indian died his spirit form was conducted by an unseen guide over a mountain trail unknown and inaccessible to mortals, to the rapidly flowing river which separated the abode of the living from that of the dead. As the trail descended to the river it branched to the right and left. The right hand path led to a foot bridge made of the massive trunk of a rough barked pine which spanned the Indian styx; the left led to a slender, fresh peeled birch pole that hung high above the roaring torrent. At the parting of the trail an inexorable fate forced the bad to the left, while the spirit form of the good passed on to the right and over the rough barked pine to the happy hunting grounds, the Indian heaven. The bad reaching the river's brink and gazing longingly upon the delights beyond, essayed to cross the slippery pole—a slip, a slide, a clutch at empty space, and the ghostly spirit form was hurled into the mad torrent below, and was borne by the rushing waters into a vast lethean lake where it sunk beneath the waves and was blotted from existence forever.

CHAPTER V.

FRANCISCAN MISSIONS OF ALTA CALIFORNIA.

San Diego de Alcalá.

THE two objective points chosen by Visitador General Galvez and President Junipero Serra to begin the spiritual conquest and civilization of the savages of Alta California, were San Diego and Monterey. The expeditions sent by land and sea were all united at San Diego July 1, 1769. Father Serra lost no time in beginning the founding of missions. On the 16th of July, 1769, he founded the mission of San Diego de Alcalá. It was the first link in the chain of missionary establishments that eventually stretched northward from San Diego to Solano, a distance of seven hundred miles, a chain that was fifty-five years in forging. The first site of the San Diego mission was at a place called by the Indians "Cosoy." It was located near the presidio established by Governor Portolá before he set out in search of Monterey. The locality is now known as Old Town.

Temporary buildings were erected here, but the location proving unsuitable, in August, 1774, the mission was removed about two leagues up the San Diego river to a place called by the natives "Nipaguay." Here a dwelling for the padres, a store house, a smithy and a wooden church 18x57 feet were erected.

The mission buildings at Cosoy were given up to the presidio except two rooms, one for the visiting priests and the other for a temporary store room for mission supplies coming by sea. The missionaries had been fairly successful in the conversions of the natives and some progress had been made in teaching them to labor. On the night of November 4, 1775, without any previous warning, the gentiles or unconverted Indians in great numbers attacked the mission. One of the friars, Fray Funster, escaped to the soldiers' quarters; the other, Father Jaume, was killed by the savages. The blacksmith also was killed; the carpenter succeeded in reaching the soldiers. The Indians set fire to the buildings which were nearly all of wood. The soldiers, the priest and carpenter were driven into a small adobe building that had been used as a kitchen. Two of the soldiers were wounded. The corporal, one soldier and the carpenter were all that were left to hold at bay a thousand howling fiends. The corporal, who was a sharp shooter, did deadly execution on the savages.

Father Funster saved the defenders from being blown to pieces by the explosion of a fifty pound sack of gunpowder. He spread his cloak over the sack and sat on it, thus preventing the powder from being ignited by the sparks of the burning building. The fight lasted till daylight, when the hostiles fled. The Christian Indians who professed to have been coerced by the savages then appeared and made many protestations of sorrow at what had happened. The military commander was not satisfied that they were innocent but the padres believed them. New buildings were erected at the same place, the soldiers of the presidio for a time assisting the Indians in their erection.

The mission was fairly prosperous. In 1800 the cattle numbered 6,960 and the agricultural products amounted to 2,600 bushels. From 1769 to 1834 there were 6,638 persons baptized and 4,428 buried. The largest number of cattle possessed by the mission at one time was 9,245 head in 1822. The old building now standing on the mission site at the head of the valley is the third church erected there. The first, built of wood and roofed with tiles, was erected in 1774; the second, built of adobe, was completed in 1780 (the walls of this were badly cracked by an earthquake in 1803); the third was begun in 1808 and dedicated November 12, 1813. The mission was secularized in 1834.

SAN CARLOS DE BORROMEO.

As narrated in a former chapter, Governor Portolá, who with a small force had set out from San Diego to find Monterey Bay, reached that port May 24, 1770. Father Serra, who came up by sea on the San Antonia, arrived at the same place May 31. All things being in readiness the Presidio of Monterey and the mission of San Carlos de Borromeo were founded on the same day—June 3, 1770. The boom of artillery and the roar of musketry accompaniments to the service of the double founding frightened the Indians away from the mission and it was some time before the savages could muster courage to return. In June, 1771, the site of the mission was moved to the Carmelo river. This was done by Father Serra to remove the neophytes from the contaminating influence of the soldiers at the presidio. The erection of the stone church still standing was begun in 1793. It was completed and dedicated in 1797. The largest neophyte population at San Carlos was reached in 1794, when it numbered nine hundred and seventy-one. Between 1800 and 1810 it declined to seven hundred and forty-seven. In 1820 the population had decreased to three hundred and eighty-one and at the end of the next decade it had fallen to two hundred and nine. In 1834, when the decree of secularization was put in force, there were about one hundred and fifty neophytes at the mission. At the rate of decrease under mission rule, a few more years would have produced the same result that secularization did, namely, the extinction of the mission Indian.

SAN ANTONIO DE PADUA.

The third mission founded in California was San Antonio de Padua. It was located about twenty-five leagues from Monterey. Here, on the 14th of June, 1771, in La Canada de los Robles, the cañon of oaks beneath a shelter of branches, Father Serra performed the services of founding. The Indians seem to have been more tractable than those of San Diego or Monterey. The first convert was baptized one month after the establishment of the mission. San Antonio attained the highest limit of its neophyte population in 1805, when it had twelve hundred and ninety-six souls within its fold. In 1831 there were six hundred and sixty-one Indians at or near the mission. In 1834, the date of secularization, there were five hundred and sixty-seven. After its disestablishment the property of the mission was quickly squandered through inefficient administrators. The buildings are in ruins.

SAN GABRIEL ARCANGEL.

San Gabriel Arcángel was the fourth mission founded in California. Father Junipero Serra, as previously narrated, had gone north in 1770 and founded the mission of San Carlos Borromeo on Monterey Bay and the following year he established the mission of San Antonio de Padua on the Salinas river about twenty-five leagues south of Monterey.

On the 6th of August, 1771, a cavalcade of soldiers and musketeers escorting Padres Somero and Cambon set out from San Diego over the trail made by Portolá's expedition in 1769 (when it went north in search of Monterey Bay) to found a new mission on the River Jesus de los Temblores or to give it its full name, El Rio del Dulcisimo Nombre de Jesus de los Temblores, the river of the sweetest name of Jesus of the Earthquakes. Not finding a suitable location on that river (now the Santa Ana) they pushed on to the Rio San Miguel, also known as the Rio de los Temblores. Here they selected a site where wood and water were abundant. A stockade of poles was built inclosing a square within which a church was erected, covered with boughs.

September 8, 1771, the mission was formally founded and dedicated to the archangel Gabriel. The Indians who at the coming of the Spaniards were docile and friendly, a few days after the founding of the mission suddenly attacked two soldiers who were guarding the horses. One of these soldiers had outraged the wife of the chief who led the attack. The soldier who committed the crime killed the chieftain with a musket ball and the other Indians fled. The soldiers then cut off the chief's head and fastened it to a pole at the presidio gate. From all accounts the soldiers at this mission were more brutal and barbarous than the Indians and more in need of missionaries to convert them than the Indians. The progress of the mission was slow. At the end of the second year only seventy-three children and adults had been baptized. Father Serra attributed the lack of conversions to the bad conduct of the soldiers.

The first buildings at the mission Vieja were all of wood. The church was 45x18 feet, built of logs and covered with tule thatch. The church and other wooden buildings used by the padres stood within a square inclosed by pointed stakes. In 1776, five years after its founding, the mission was moved from its first location to a new site about a league distant from the old one. The old site was subject to overflow by the river. The adobe ruins pointed out to tourists as the foundations of the old mission are the debris of a building erected for a ranch house about sixty years ago. The buildings at the mission Vieja were all of wood and no trace of them remains. A chapel was first built at the new site. It was replaced by a church built of adobes one hundred and eight feet long by twenty-one feet wide. The present stone church, begun about 1794, and completed about 1806, is the fourth church erected.

The mission attained the acme of its importance in 1817, when there were seventeen hundred and one neophytes in the mission fold.

The largest grain crop raised at any mission was that harvested at San Gabriel in 1821, which amounted to 29,400 bushels. The number of cattle belonging to the mission in 1830 was 25,725. During the whole period of the mission's existence, i. e., from 1771 to 1834, according to statistics compiled by Bancroft from mission records, the total number of baptisms was 7,854, of which 4,355 were Indian adults and 2,459 were Indian children and the remainder gente de razon or people of reason. The deaths were 5,656, of which 2,916 were Indian adults and 2,363 Indian children. If all the Indian children born were baptized it would seem (if the statistics are correct) that but very few ever grew up to manhood and womanhood. In 1834, the year of its secularization, its neophyte population was 1,320.

The missionaries of San Gabriel established a station at old San Bernardino about 1820. It was not an asistencia like pala, but merely an agricultural station or ranch headquarters. The buildings were destroyed by the Indians in 1834.

SAN LUIS OBISPO DE TOLOSA.

On his journey southward in 1782, President Serra and Padre Cavaller, with a small escort of soldiers and a few Lower California Indians, on September 1, 1772, founded the mission of San Luis Obispo de Tolosa (St. Louis, Bishop of Tolouse). The site selected was on a creek twenty-five leagues southerly from San Antonio. The soldiers and Indians were set at work to erect buildings. Padre Cavaller was left in charge of the mission, Father Serra continuing his journey southward. This mission was never a very important one. Its greatest population was in 1803, when there were eight

hundred and fifty-two neophytes within its jurisdiction. From that time to 1834 their number declined to two hundred and sixty-four. The average death rate was 7.30 per cent of the population—a lower rate than at some of the more populous missions. The adobe church built in 1793 is still in use, but has been so remodeled that it bears but little resemblance to the church of mission days.

SAN FRANCISCO DE ASIS.

The expedition under command of Portolá in 1769 failed to find Monterey Bay but it passed on and discovered the great bay of San Francisco. So far no attempt had been made to plant a mission or presidio on its shores. Early in 1775, Lieutenant Ayala was ordered to explore the bay with a view to forming a settlement near it. Rivera had previously explored the land bordering on the bay where the city now stands. Captain Anza, the discoverer of the overland route from Mexico to California via the Colorado river, had recruited an expedition of two hundred persons in Sonora for the purpose of forming a settlement at San Francisco. He set out in 1775 and reached Monterey March 10, 1776. A quarrel between him and Rivera, who was in command at Monterey, defeated for a time the purpose for which the settlers had been brought, and Anza, disgusted with the treatment he had received from Rivera, abandoned the enterprise. Anza had selected a site for a presidio at San Francisco. After his departure Rivera changed his policy of delay that had frustrated all of Anza's plans and decided at once to proceed to the establishment of a presidio. The presidio was formally founded September 17, 1776, at what is now known as Fort Point. The ship San Carlos had brought a number of persons; these with the settlers who had come up from Monterey made an assemblage of more than one hundred and fifty persons.

After the founding of the presidio Lieutenant Moraga in command of the military and Captain Quiros of the San Carlos, set vigorously at work to build a church for the mission. A wooden building having been constructed on the 9th of October, 1776, the mission was dedicated, Father Palou conducting the service, assisted by Fathers Cambon, Nocedal and Peña. The site selected for the mission was on the Laguna de los Dolores. The lands at the mission were not very productive. The mission, however, was fairly prosperous. In 1820 it owned 11,240 cattle and the total product of wheat was 114,480 bushels. In 1820 there were 1,252 neophytes attached to it. The death rate was very heavy—the average rate being 12.4 per cent of the population. In 1832 the population had decreased to two hundred and four and at the time of secularization it had declined to one hundred and fifty. A number of neophytes had been taken to the new mission of San Francisco Solano.

SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO.

The revolt of the Indians at San Diego delayed the founding of San Juan Capistrano a year. October 30, 1775, the initiatory services of the founding had been held when a messenger came with the news of the uprising of the savages and the massacre of Father Jaume and others. The bells which had been hung on a tree were taken down and buried. The soldiers and the padres hastened to San Diego. November 1, 1776, Fathers Serra, Mugartegui and Amurrio, with an escort of soldiers, arrived at the site formerly selected. The bells were dug up and hung on a tree, an enramada of boughs was constructed and Father Serra said mass. The first location of the mission was several miles northeasterly from the present site at the foot of the mountain. The abandoned site is still known a la Mision Vieja (the Old Mission). Just when the change of location was made is not known.

The erection of a stone church was begun in February, 1797, and completed in 1806. A master builder had been brought from Mexico and under his superintendence the neophytes did the mechanical labor. It was the largest and handsomest church in California and was the pride of mission architecture. The year 1812 was known in California as el ano de los temblores—the year of earthquakes. For months the seismic disturbance was almost continuous. On Sunday, December 8, 1812, a severe shock threw down the lofty church tower, which crashed through the vaulted roof on the congre-

gation below. The padre who was celebrating mass escaped through the sacristy. Of the fifty persons present only five or six escaped. The church was never rebuilt. "There is not much doubt," says Bancroft, "that the disaster was due rather to faulty construction than to the violence of the temblor." The edifice was of the usual cruciform shape, about 90x180 feet on the ground, with very thick walls and arched dome-like roof all constructed of stones imbedded in mortar or cement. The stones were not hewn, but of irregular size and shape, a kind of structure evidently requiring great skill to ensure solidity. The mission reached its maximum in 1819; from that on till the date of its secularization there was a rapid decline in the numbers of its live stock and of its neophytes.

This was one of the missions in which Governor Figueroa tried his experiment of forming Indian pueblos of the neophytes. For a time the experiment was a partial success, but eventually it went the way of all the other missions. Its lands were granted to private individuals and the neophytes scattered. Its picturesque ruins are a great attraction to tourists.

SANTA CLARA.

The mission of Santa Clara was founded January 12, 1777. The site had been selected some time before and two missionaries designated for service at it, but the comandante of the territory, Rivera y Moncada, who was an exceedingly obstinate person, had opposed the founding on various pretexts, but positive orders coming from the viceroy Rivera did not longer delay, so on the 6th of January, 1777, a detachment of soldiers under Lieutenant Moraga, accompanied by Father Peña, was sent from San Francisco to the site selected which was about sixteen leagues south of San Francisco. Here under an enramada the services of dedication were held. The Indians were not averse to receiving a new religion and at the close of the year sixty-seven had been baptized.

The mission was quite prosperous and became one of the most important in the territory. It was located in the heart of a rich agricultural district. The total product of wheat was 175,800 bushels. In 1828 the mission flocks and herds numbered over 30,000 animals. The neophyte population in 1827 was 1,464. The death rate was high, averaging 12.63 per cent of the population. The total number of baptisms was 8,640; number of deaths 6,950. In 1834 the population had declined to 800. Secularization was effected in 1837.

SAN BUENAVENTURA.

The founding of San Buenaventura had been long delayed. It was to have been among the first missions founded by Father Serra; it proved to be his last. On the 26th of March, 1782, Governor de Neve, accompanied by Father Serra (who had come down afoot from San Carlos), and Father Cambon, with a convoy of soldiers and a number of neophytes, set out from San Gabriel to found the mission. At the first camping place Governor de Neve was recalled to San Gabriel by a message from Col. Pedro Fages, informing him of the orders of the council of war to proceed against the Yumas who had the previous year destroyed the two missions on the Colorado river and massacred the missionaries.

On the 29th, the remainder of the company reached a place on the coast named by Portolá in 1769, Asuncion de Nuestra Señora, which had for some time been selected for a mission site. Near it was a large Indian rancheria. On Easter Sunday, March 31st, the mission was formally founded with the usual ceremonies and dedicated to San Buenaventura (Giovanni de Fidanza of Tuscany), a follower of St. Francis, the founder of the Franciscans.

The progress of the mission was slow at first, only two adults were baptized in 1782, the year of its founding. The first buildings built of wood were destroyed by fire. The church still used for service, built of brick and adobe, was completed and dedicated, September 9, 1809. The earthquake of December 8, 1812, damaged the church to such an extent that the tower and part of the façade had to be rebuilt. After the earthquake the whole site of the mission for a time seemed to be sinking. The inhabitants, fearful of being engulfed by the sea, removed to San Joaquin y Santa Ana, where they remained several months. The mission at-

SANTA BARBARA MISSION, FOUNDED IN 1786

tained its greatest prosperity in 1816, when its neophyte population numbered 1,330 and it owned 23,400 cattle.

SANTA BARBARA.

Governor Felipe de Neve founded the presidio of Santa Barbara April 21, 1782. Father Serra had hoped to found the mission at the same time, but in this he was disappointed. His death in 1784 still further delayed the founding and it was not until the latter part of 1786 that everything was in readiness for the establishing of the new mission. On the 22d of November Father Lasuen, who had succeeded Father Serra as president of the missions, arrived at Santa Barbara, accompanied by two missionaries recently from Mexico. He selected a site about a mile distant from the presidio. The place was called Taynagan (Rocky Hill) by the Indians. There was a plentiful supply of stone on the site for building and an abundance of water for irrigation.

On the 15th of December, 1786, Father Lasuen, in a hut of boughs, celebrated the first mass; but December 4, the day that the fiesta of Santa Barbara is commemorated, is considered the date of its founding. Part of the services were held on that day. A chapel built of adobes and roofed with thatch was erected in 1787. Several other buildings of adobe were erected the same year. In 1788, tile took the place of thatch. In 1789, a second church, much larger than the first, was built. A third church of adobe was commenced in 1793 and finished in 1794. A brick portico was added in 1795 and the walls plastered.

The great earthquake of December, 1812, demolished the mission church and destroyed nearly all the buildings. The years 1813 and 1814 were spent in removing the debris of the ruined buildings and in preparing for the erection of new ones. The erection of the present mission church was begun in 1815. It was completed and dedicated September 10, 1820.

Father Caballeria, in his History of Santa Barbara, gives the dimensions of the church as follows: "Length (including walls), sixty varas; width, fourteen varas; height, ten varas (a vara is thirty-four inches)." The walls are of stone and rest on a foundation of rock and cement They are six feet thick and are further strengthened by buttresses. Notwithstanding the building has withstood the storms of four score years, it is still in an excellent state of preservation. Its exterior has not been disfigured by attempts at modernizing.

The highest neophyte population was reached at Santa Barbara in 1803, when it numbered 1,792. The largest number of cattle was 5,200 in 1809. In 1834, the year of secularization, the neophytes numbered 556, which was a decrease of 155 from the number in 1830. At such a rate of decrease it would not, even if mission rule had continued, have taken more than a dozen years to depopulate the mission.

LA PURISIMA CONCEPCION.

Two missions, San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara, had been founded on the Santa Barbara channel in accordance with Neve's report of 1777, in which he recommended the founding of three missions and a presidio in that district. It was the intention of General La Croix to conduct these on a different plan from that prevailing in the older missions. The natives were not to be gathered into a missionary establishment, but were to remain in their rancherias, which were to be converted into mission pueblos. The Indians were to receive instruction in religion, industrial arts and self-government while comparatively free from restraint. The plan which no doubt originated with Governor de Neve, was a good one theoretically, and possibly might have been practically. The missionaries were bitterly opposed to it. Unfortunately it was tried first in the Colorado river missions among the fierce and treacherous Yumas. The massacre of the padres and soldiers of these missions was attributed to this innovation.

In establishing the channel missions the missionaries opposed the inauguration of this plan and by their persistence succeeded in setting it aside; and the old system was adopted. La Purisima Coñcepcion, or the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, the third of the channel missions, was founded December 8, 1787, by Father Lasuen at a place called by the natives Algsacupi. Its location is about twelve

miles from the ocean on the Santa Ynez river. Three years after its founding three hundred converts had been baptized but not all of them lived at the mission. The first church was a temporary structure. The second church, built of adobe and roofed with tile, was completed in 1802. December 21, 1812, an earthquake demolished the church and also about one hundred adobe houses of the neophytes. A site across the river and about four miles distant from the former one, was selected for new buildings. A temporary building for a church was erected there. A new church, built of adobe and roofed with tile, was completed and dedicated in 1818.

The Indians revolted in 1824 and damaged the building. They took possession of it and a battle lasting four hours was fought between one hundred and thirty soldiers and four hundred Indians. The neophytes cut loop holes in the church and used two old rusty cannon and a few guns they possessed; but, unused to fire arms, they were routed with the loss of several killed. During the revolt which lasted several months four white men and fifteen or twenty Indians were killed. The hostiles, most of whom fled to the Tulares, were finally subdued. The leaders were punished with imprisonment and the others returned to their missions.

This mission's population was largest in 1804, when it numbered 1,520. In 1834 there were but 407 neophytes connected with it. It was secularized in February, 1835. During mission rule from 1787 to 1834, the total number of Indian children baptized was 1,492; died 902, which was a lower death rate than at most of the southern missions.

SANTA CRUZ.

Santa Cruz, one of the smallest of the twenty-one missions of California, was founded September 25, 1790. The mission was never very prosperous. In 1798 many of the neophytes deserted and the same year a flood covered the planting fields and damaged the church. In 1812 the neophytes murdered the missionary in charge, Padre Andrès Quintana. They claimed that he had treated them with great cruelty. Five of those implicated in the murder received two hundred lashes each and were sentenced to work in chains from two to ten years. Only one survived the punishment. The maximum of its population was reached in 1798, when there were six hundred and forty-four Indians in the mission fold. The total number baptized from the date of its founding to 1834 was 2,466; the total number of deaths was 2,034. The average death rate was 10.93 per cent of the population. At the time of its secularization in 1834 there were only two hundred and fifty Indians belonging to the mission.

LA SOLEDAD.

The mission of our Lady of Solitude was founded September 29, 1791. The site selected had borne the name Soledad (solitude) ever since the first exploration of the country. The location was thirty miles northeast of San Carlos de Monterey. La Soledad, by which name it was generally known, was unfortunate in its early missionaries. One of them, Padre Gracia, was supposed to be insane and the other, Padre Rubi, was very immoral. Rubi was later on expelled from his college for licentiousness. At the close of the century the mission had become fairly prosperous, but in 1802 an epidemic broke out and five or six deaths occurred daily. The Indians in alarm fled from the mission. The largest population of the mission was seven hundred and twenty-five in 1805. At the time of secularization its population had decreased to three hundred. The total number of baptisms during its existence was 2,222; number of deaths 1,803.

SAN JOSE.

St. Joseph had been designated by the visitador General Galvez and Father Junipero Serra as the patron saint of the mission colonization of California. Thirteen missions had been founded and yet none had been dedicated to San José. Orders came from Mexico that one be established and named for him. Accordingly a detail of a corporal and five men, accompanied by Father Lasuen, president of the missions, proceeded to the site selected, which was about twelve miles northerly from the pueblo of San José. There, on June 11, 1797, the mission was founded. The mission was well located agriculturally and became one of the most prosperous in California. In 1820 it had a population of

SAN LUIS REY MISSION, FOUNDED IN 1798

1,754, the highest of any mission except San Luis Rey. The total number of baptisms from its founding to 1834 was 6,737; deaths 5,109. Secularization was effected in 1836-37. The total valuation of the mission property, not including lands or the church, was $155,000.

SAN JUAN BAUTISTA.

In May, 1797, Governor Borica ordered the comandante at Monterey to detail a corporal and five soldiers to proceed to a site that had been previously chosen for a mission which was about ten leagues northeast from Monterey. Here the soldiers erected of wood a church, priest's house, granary and guard house. June 24, 1797, President Lasuen, assisted by Fathers Catala and Martiari, founded the mission of San Juan Bautista (St. John the Baptist). At the close of the year, eighty-five converts had been baptized. The neighboring Indian tribes were hostile and some of them had to be killed before the others learned to behave themselves. A new church, measuring 60x160 feet, was completed and dedicated in 1812. San Juan was the only mission whose population increased between 1820 and 1830. This was due to the fact that its numbers were recruited from the eastern tribes, its location being favorable for obtaining new recruits from the gentiles. The largest population it ever reached was 1,248 in 1823. In 1834 there were but 850 neophytes at the mission.

SAN MIGUEL.

Midway between the old missions of San Antonio and San Luis Obispo, on the 25th of July, 1797, was founded the mission of San Miguel Arcangel. The two old missions contributed horses, cattle and sheep to start the new one. The mission had a propitious beginning; fifteen children were baptized on the day the mission was founded. At the close of the century the number of converts reached three hundred and eighty-five, of whom fifty-three had died. The mission population numbered 1,076 in 1814; after that it steadily declined until, in 1834, there were only 599 attached to the establishment. Total number of baptisms was 2,588; deaths 2,038. The average death rate was 6.91 per cent of the population, the lowest rate in any of the missions. The mission was secularized in 1836.

SAN FERNANDO REY DE ESPANA.

In the closing years of the century explorations were made for new mission sites in California. These were to be located between missions already founded. Among those selected at that time was the site of the mission San Fernando on the Encino Rancho, then occupied by Francisco Reyes. Reyes surrendered whatever right he had to the land and the padres occupied his house for a dwelling while new buildings were in the course of erection.

September 8, 1797, with the usual ceremonies, the mission was founded by President Lasuen, assisted by Father Dumetz. According to instructions from Mexico it was dedicated to San Fernando Rey de España (Fernando III., King of Spain, 1217-1251). At the end of the year 1797, fifty-five converts had been gathered into the mission fold and at the end of the century three hundred and fifty-two had been baptized.

The adobe church began before the close of the century was completed and dedicated in December, 1806. It had a tiled roof. It was but slightly injured by the great earthquakes of December, 1812, which were so destructive to the mission buildings at San Juan Capistrano, Santa Barbara, La Purisima and Santa Ynez. This mission reached its greatest prosperity in 1819, when its neophyte population numbered 1,080. The largest number of cattle owned by it at one time was 12,800 in 1819.

Its decline was not so rapid as that of some of the other missions, but the death rate, especially among the children, was fully as high. Of the 1,367 Indian children baptized there during the existence of mission rule 965, or over seventy per cent, died in childhood. It was not strange that the fearful death rate both of children and adults at the missions sometimes frightened the neophytes into running away.

SAN LUIS REY DE FRANCIA.

Several explorations had been made for a mission site between San Diego and San Juan Capistrano. There was quite a large Indian

population that had not been brought into the folds of either mission. In October, 1797, a new exploration of this territory was ordered and a site was finally selected, although the agricultural advantages were regarded as not satisfactory.

Governor Borica, February 28, 1798, issued orders to the comandante at San Diego to furnish a detail of soldiers to aid in erecting the necessary buildings. June 13, 1798, President Lasuen, the successor of President Serra, assisted by Fathers Peyri and Santiago, with the usual services, founded the new mission. It was named San Luis Rey de Francia (St. Louis, King of France). Its location was near a river on which was bestowed the name of the mission. The mission flourished from its very beginning. Its controlling power was Padre Antonio Peyri. He remained in charge of it from its founding almost to its downfall, in all thirty-three years. He was a man of great executive abilities and under his administration it became one of the largest and most prosperous missions in California. It reached its maximum in 1826, when its neophyte population numbered 2,869, the largest number at one time connected with any mission in the territory.

The asistencia or auxiliary mission of San Antonio was established at Pala, seven leagues easterly from the parent mission. A chapel was erected here and regular services held. One of the padres connected with San Luis Rey was in charge of this station. Father Peyri left California in 1831, with the exiled Governor Victoria. He went to Mexico and from there to Spain and lastly to Rome, where he died. The mission was converted into an Indian pueblo in 1834, but the pueblo was not a success. Most of the neophytes drifted to Los Angeles and San Gabriel. During the Mexican conquest American troops were stationed there. It has recently been partially repaired and is now used for a Franciscan school under charge of Father J. J. O'Keefe.

SANTA YNEZ.

Santa Ynez was the last mission founded in Southern California. It was established September 17, 1804. Its location is about forty miles northwesterly from Santa Barbara, on the easterly side of the Santa Ynez mountains and eighteen miles southeasterly from La Purisima. Father Tapis, president of the missions from 1803 to 1812, preached the sermon and was assisted in the ceremonies by Fathers Cipies, Calzada and Gutierrez. Carrillo, the comandante at the presidio, was present, as were also a number of neophytes from Santa Barbara and La Purisima. Some of these were transferred to the new mission.

The earthquake of December, 1812, shook down a portion of the church and destroyed a number of the neophytes' houses. In 1815 the erection of a new church was begun. It was built of adobes, lined with brick, and was completed and dedicated July 4, 1817. The Indian revolt of 1824, described in the sketch of La Purisima, broke out first at this mission. The neophytes took possession of the church. The mission guard defended themselves and the padre. At the approach of the troops from Santa Barbara the Indians fled to La Purisima.

San Ynez attained its greatest population, 770, in 1816. In 1834 its population had decreased to 334. From its founding in 1804 to 1834, when the decrees of secularization were put in force, 757 Indian children were baptized and 519 died, leaving only 238, or about thirty per cent of those baptized to grow up.

SAN RAFAEL.

San Rafael was the first mission established north of the Bay of San Francisco. It was founded December 14, 1817. At first it was an asistencia or branch of San Francisco. An epidemic had broken out in the Mission Dolores and a number of the Indians were transferred to San Rafael to escape the plague. Later on it attained to the dignity of a mission. In 1828 its population was 1,140. After 1830 it began to decline and at the time of its secularization in 1834 there were not more than 500 connected with it. In the seventeen years of its existence under mission rule there were 1,873 baptisms and 698 deaths. The average death rate was 6.09 per cent of the population. The mission was secularized in 1834. All traces of the mission building have disappeared.

SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO.

The mission of San Francisco de Asis had fallen into a rapid decline. The epidemic that had carried off a number of the neophytes and had caused the transfer of a considerable number to San Rafael had greatly reduced its population. Besides, the sterility of the soil in the vicinity of the mission necessitated going a long distance for agricultural land and pasturage for the herds and flocks. On this account and also for the reason that a number of new converts might be obtained from the gentiles living in the district north of the bay, Governor Arguello and the mission authorities decided to establish a mission in that region. Explorations were made in June and July, 1823. On the 4th of July a site was selected, a cross blessed and raised, a volley of musketry fired and mass said at a place named New San Francisco, but afterwards designated as the Mission of San Francisco Solano. On the 25th of August work was begun on the mission building and on the 4th of April, 1824, a church, 24x105 feet, built of wood, was dedicated.

It had been intended to remove the neophytes from the old mission of San Francisco to the new; but the padres of the old mission opposed its depopulation and suppression. A compromise was effected by allowing all neophytes of the old mission who so elected to go to the new. Although well located, the Mission of Solano was not prosperous. Its largest population, 996, was reached in 1832. The total number of baptisms were 1,315; deaths, 651. The average death rate was 7.8 per cent of the population. The mission was secularized in 1835, at which time there were about 550 neophytes attached to it.

The architecture of the missions was Moorish —that is, if it belonged to any school. The padres in most cases were the architects and master builders. The main feature of the buildings was massiveness. Built of adobe or rough stone, their walls were of great thickness. Most of the church buildings were narrow, their width being out of proportion to their length. This was necessitated by the difficulty of procuring joists and rafters of sufficient length for wide buildings. The padres had no means or perhaps no knowledge of trussing a roof, and the width of the building had to be proportioned to the length of the timbers procurable. Some of the buildings were planned with an eye for the picturesque, others for utility only. The sites selected for the mission buildings in nearly every case commanded a fine view of the surrounding country. In their prime, their white walls looming up on the horizon could be seen at long distance and acted as beacons to guide the traveler to their hospitable shelter.

Col. J. J. Warner, who came to California in 1831, and saw the mission buildings before they had fallen into decay, thus describes their general plan: "As soon after the founding of a mission as circumstances would permit, a large pile of buildings in the form of a quadrangle, composed in part of burnt brick, but chiefly of sun-dried ones, was erected around a spacious court. A large and capacious church, which usually occupied one of the outer corners of the quadrangle, was a conspicuous part of the pile. In this massive building, covered with red tile, was the habitation of the friars, rooms for guests and for the major domos and their families. In other buildings of the quadrangle were hospital wards, storehouses and granaries, rooms for carding, spinning and weaving of woolen fabrics, shops for blacksmiths, joiners and carpenters, saddlers, shoemakers and soap boilers, and cellars for storing the product (wine and brandy) of the vineyards. Near the habitation of the friars another building of similar material was placed and used as quarters for a small number —about a corporal's guard—of soldiers under command of a non-commissioned officer, to hold the Indian neophytes in check as well as to protect the mission from the attacks of hostile Indians." The Indians, when the buildings of the establishment were complete, lived in adobe houses built in lines near the quadrangle. Some of the buildings of the square were occupied by the alcaldes or Indian bosses. When the Indians were gathered into the missions at first they lived in brush shanties constructed in the same manner as their forefathers had built them for generations. In some of the missions these huts were not replaced by adobe buildings for a generation or more. Vancouver, who visited

the Mission of San Francisco in 1792, sixteen years after its founding, describes the Indian village with its brush-built huts. He says: "These miserable habitations, each of which was allotted for the residence of a whole family, were erected with some degree of uniformity about three or four feet asunder in straight rows, leaving lanes or passageways at right angles between them; but these were so abominably infested with every kind of filth and nastiness as to be rendered no less offensive than degrading to the human species."

Of the houses at Santa Clara, Vancouver says: "The habitations were not so regularly disposed nor did it (the village) contain so many as the village of San Francisco, yet the same horrid state of uncleanliness and laziness seemed to pervade the whole." Better houses were then in the course of construction at Santa Clara. "Each house would contain two rooms and a garret with a garden in the rear." Vancouver visited San Carlos de Monterey in 1792, twenty-two years after its founding. He says: "Notwithstanding these people are taught and employed from time to time in many of the occupations most useful to civil society, they had not made themselves any more comfortable habitations than those of their forefathers; nor did they seem in any respect to have benefited by the instruction they had received."

Captain Beechey, of the English navy, who visited San Francisco and the missions around the bay in 1828, found the Indians at San Francisco still living in their filthy hovels and grinding acorns for food. "San José (mission)," he says, "on the other hand, was all neatness, cleanliness and comfort." At San Carlos he found that the filthy hovels described by Vancouver had nearly all disappeared and the Indians were comfortably housed. He adds: "Sickness in general prevailed to an incredible extent in all the missions."

CHAPTER VI.

PRESIDIOS OF CALIFORNIA.

San Diego.

THE presidio was an essential feature of the Spanish colonization of America. It was usually a fortified square of brick or stone, inside of which were the barracks of the soldiers, the officers' quarters, a church, store houses for provisions and military supplies. The gates at the entrance were closed at night, and it was usually provisioned for a siege. In the colonization of California there were four presidios established, namely: San Diego, Monterey, San Francisco and Santa Barbara. Each was the headquarters of a military district and besides a body of troops kept at the presidio it furnished guards for the missions in its respective district and also for the pueblos if there were any in the district. The first presidio was founded at San Diego. As stated in a previous chapter, the two ships of the expedition by sea for the settlement of California arrived at the port of San Diego in a deplorable condition from scurvy. The San Antonia, after a voyage of fifty-nine days, arrived on April 11; the San Carlos, although she had sailed a month earlier, did not arrive until April 29, consuming one hundred and ten days in the voyage. Don Miguel Constansó, the engineer who came on this vessel, says in his report: "The scurvy had infected all without exception; in such sort that on entering San Diego already two men had died of the said sickness; most of the seamen, and half of the troops, found themselves prostrate in their beds; only four mariners remained on their feet, and attended, aided by the troops, to trimming and furling the sails and other working of the ship." "The San Antonia," says Constansó, "had the half of its crew equally affected by the scurvy, of which illness two men had likewise died." This vessel, although it had arrived at the port on the 11th of April, had evidently not landed any of its sick. On the 1st of

May, Don Pedro Fages, the commander of the troops, Constansó and Estorace, the second captain of the San Carlos, with twenty-five soldiers, set out to find a watering place where they could fill their barrels with fresh water. "Following the west shore of the port, after going a matter of three leagues, they arrived at the banks of a river hemmed in with a fringe of willows and cottonwoods. Its channel must have been twenty varas wide and it discharges into an estuary which at high tide could admit the launch and made it convenient for accomplishing the taking on of water." * * * "Having reconnoitered the watering place, the Spaniards betook themselves back on board the vessels and as these were found to be very far away from the estuary in which the river discharges, their captains, Vicente Vila and Don Juan Perez, resolved to approach it as closely as they could in order to give less work to the people handling the launches. These labors were accomplished with satiety of hardship; for from one day to the next the number of the sick kept increasing, along with the dying of the most aggravated cases and augmented the fatigue of the few who remained on their feet."

"Immediate to the beach on the side toward the east a scanty enclosure was constructed formed of a parapet of earth and fascines, which was garnished with two cannons. They disembarked some sails and awnings from the packets with which they made two tents capacious enough for a hospital. At one side the two officers, the missionary fathers and the surgeon put up their own tents; the sick were brought in launches to this improvised presidio and hospital." "But these diligencies," says Constansó, "were not enough to procure them health." * * * "The cold made itself felt with rigor at night in the barracks and the sun by day, alternations which made the sick suffer cruelly, two or three of them dying every day. And this whole expedition, which had been composed of more than ninety men, saw itself reduced to only eight soldiers and as many mariners in a state to attend to the safeguarding of the barks, the working of the launches, custody of the camp and service of the sick."

Rivera y Moncada, the commander of the first detachment of the land expedition, arrived at San Diego May 14. It was decided by the officers to remove the camp to a point near the river. This had not been done before on account of the small force able to work and the lack of beasts of burden. Rivera's men were all in good health and after a day's rest "all were removed to a new camp, which was transferred one league further north on the right side of the river upon a hill of middling height."

Here a presidio was built, the remains of which can still be seen. It was a parapet of earth similar to that thrown up at the first camp, which, according to Bancroft, was probably within the limits of New Town and the last one in Old Town or North San Diego.

While Portolá's expedition was away searching for the port of Monterey, the Indians made an attack on the camp at San Diego, killed a Spanish youth and wounded Padre Viscaino, the blacksmith, and a Lower California neophyte. The soldiers remaining at San Diego surrounded the buildings with a stockade. Constansó says, on the return of the Spaniards of Portolá's expedition: "They found in good condition their humble buildings, surrounded with a palisade of trunks of trees, capable of a good defense in case of necessity."

"In 1782, the presidial force at San Diego, besides the commissioned officers, consisted of five corporals and forty-six soldiers. Six men were constantly on duty at each of the three missions of the district, San Diego, San Juan Capistrano and San Gabriel; while four served at the pueblo of Los Angeles, thus leaving a sergeant, two corporals and about twenty-five men to garrison the fort, care for the horses and a small herd of cattle, and to carry the mails, which latter duty was the hardest connected with the presidio service in time of peace. There were a carpenter and blacksmith constantly employed, besides a few servants, mostly natives. The population of the district in 1790, not including Indians, was 220."*

Before the close of the century the wooden palisades had been replaced by a thick adobe

*Bancroft's History of California, Vol. I.

wall, but even then the fort was not a very formidable defense. Vancouver, the English navigator, who visited it in 1793, describes it as "irregularly built on very uneven ground, which makes it liable to some inconveniences without the obvious appearance of any object for selecting such a spot." It then mounted three small brass cannon.

Gradually a town grew up around the presidio. Robinson, who visited San Diego in 1829, thus describes it: "On the lawn beneath the hill on which the presidio is built stood about thirty houses of rude appearance, mostly occupied by retired veterans, not so well constructed in respect either to beauty or stability as the houses at Monterey, with the exception of that belonging to our Administrador, Don Juan Bandini, whose mansion, then in an unfinished state, bid fair, when completed, to surpass any other in the country."

Under Spain there was attempt at least to keep the presidio in repair, but under Mexican domination it fell into decay. Dana describes it as he saw it in 1836: "The first place we went to was the old ruinous presidio, which stands on rising ground near the village which it overlooks. It is built in the form of an open square, like all the other presidios, and was in a most ruinous state, with the exception of one side, in which the comandante lived with his family. There were only two guns, one of which was spiked and the other had no carriage. Twelve half clothed and half starved looking fellows composed the garrison; and they, it was said, had not a musket apiece. The small settlement lay directly below the fort composed of about forty dark brown looking huts or houses and three or four larger ones whitewashed, which belonged to the gente de razon."

THE PRESIDIO OF MONTEREY.

In a previous chapter has been narrated the story of Portolá's expedition in search of Monterey Bay, how the explorers, failing to recognize it, passed on to the northward and discovered the great Bay of San Francisco. On their return they set up a cross at what they supposed was the Bay of Monterey; and at the foot of the cross buried a letter giving information to any ship that might come up the coast in search of them that they had returned to San Diego. They had continually been on the lookout for the San José, which was to co-operate with them, but that vessel had been lost at sea with all on board. On their return to San Diego, in January, 1770, preparations were made for a return as soon as a vessel should arrive. It was not until the 16th of April that the San Antonia, the only vessel available, was ready to depart for the second objective point of settlement. On the 17th of April, Governor Portolá, Lieutenant Fages, Father Crespi and nineteen soldiers took up their line of march for Monterey. They followed the trail made in 1769 and reached the point where they had set up the cross April 24. They found it decorated with feathers, bows and arrows and a string of fish. Evidently the Indians regarded it as the white man's fetich and tried to propitiate it by offerings.

The San Antonia, bearing Father Serra, Pedro Prat, the surgeon, and Miguel Constansó, the civil engineer, and supplies for the mission and presidio, arrived the last day of May. Portolá was still uncertain whether this was really Monterey Bay. It was hard to discover in the open roadstead stretching out before them Viscaino's land-locked harbor, sheltered from all winds. After the arrival of the San Antonia the officers of the land and sea expedition made a reconnaissance of the bay and all concurred that at last they had reached the destined port. They located the oak under whose wide-spreading branches Padre Ascension, Viscaino's chaplain, had celebrated mass in 1602, and the springs of fresh water near by. Preparations were begun at once for the founding of mission and presidio. A shelter of boughs was constructed, an altar raised and the bells hung upon the branch of a tree. Father Serra sang mass and as they had no musical instrument, salvos of artillery and volleys of musketry furnished an accompaniment to the service. After the religious services the royal standard was raised and Governor Portolá took possession of the country in the name of King Carlos III., King of Spain. The ceremony closed with the pulling of grass and the casting of stones around, significant of en-

tire possession of the earth and its products. After the service all feasted.

Two messengers were sent by Portolá with dispatches to the city of Mexico. A day's journey below San Diego they met Rivera and twenty soldiers coming with a herd of cattle and a flock of sheep to stock the mission pastures. Rivera sent back five of his soldiers with Portolá's carriers. The messengers reached Todos Santos near Cape San Lucas in forty-nine days from Monterey. From there the couriers were sent to San Blas by ship, arriving at the city of Mexico August 10. There was great rejoicing at the capital. Marquis Le Croix and Visitador Galvez received congratulations in the King's name for the extension of his domain.

Portolá superintended the building of some rude huts for the shelter of the soldiers, the officers and the padres. Around the square containing the huts a palisade of poles was constructed. July 9, Portolá having turned over the command of the troops to Lieutenant Fages, embarked on the San Antonia for San Blas; with him went the civil engineer, Constansó, from whose report I have frequently quoted. Neither of them ever returned to California.

The difficulty of reaching California by ship on account of the head winds that blow down the coast caused long delays in the arrival of vessels with supplies. This brought about a scarcity of provisions at the presidios and missions.

In 1772 the padres of San Gabriel were reduced to a milk diet and what little they could obtain from the Indians. At Monterey and San Antonio the padres and the soldiers were obliged to live on vegetables. In this emergency Lieutenant Fages and a squad of soldiers went on a bear hunt. They spent three months in the summer of 1772 killing bears in the Cañada de los Osos (Bear Cañon). The soldiers and missionaries had a plentiful supply of bear meat. There were not enough cattle in the country to admit of slaughtering any for food. The presidial walls which were substituted for the palisades were built of adobes and stone. The inclosure measured one hundred and ten yards on each side. The buildings were roofed with tiles. "On the north were the main entrance, the guard house, and the warehouses; on the west the houses of the governor comandante and other officers, some fifteen apartments in all; on the east nine houses for soldiers, and a blacksmith shop; and on the south, besides nine similar houses, was the presidio church, opposite the main gateway."*

The military force at the presidio consisted of cavalry, infantry and artillery, their numbers varying from one hundred to one hundred and twenty in all. These soldiers furnished guards for the missions of San Carlos, San Antonio, San Miguel, Soledad and San Luis Obispo. The total population of gente de razon in the district at the close of the century numbered four hundren and ninety. The rancho "del rey" or rancho of the king was located where Salinas City now stands. This rancho was managed by the soldiers of presidio and was intended to furnish the military with meat and a supply of horses for the cavalry. At the presidio a number of invalided soldiers who had served out their time were settled; these were allowed to cultivate land and raise cattle on the unoccupied lands of the public domain. A town gradually grew up around the presidio square.

Vancouver, the English navigator, visited the presidio of Monterey in 1792 and describes it as it then appeared: "The buildings of the presidio form a parallelogram or long square comprehending an area of about three hundred yards long by two hundred and fifty wide, making one entire enclosure. The external wall is of the same magnitude and built with the same materials, and except that the officers' apartments are covered with red tile made in the neighborhood, the whole presents the same lonely, uninteresting appearance as that already described at San Francisco. Like that establishment, the several buildings for the use of the officers, soldiers, and for the protection of stores and provisions are erected along the walls on the inside of the inclosure, which admits of but one entrance for carriages or persons on horseback; this, as at San Francisco, is on the side of the square fronting the church which was rebuilding with stone like that at San Carlos."

* * *

*Bancroft's History of California, Vol. I.

"At each corner of the square is a small kind of block house raised a little above the top of the wall where swivels might be mounted for its protection. On the outside, before the entrance into the presidio, which fronts the shores of the bay, are placed seven cannon, four nine and three three-pounders, mounted. The guns are planted on the open plain ground without breastwork or other screen for those employed in working them or the least protection from the weather."

THE PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO.

In a previous chapter I have given an account of the discovery of San Francisco Bay by Portolá's expedition in 1769. The discovery of that great bay seems to have been regarded as an unimportant event by the governmental officials. While there was great rejoicing at the city of Mexico over the founding of a mission for the conversion of a few naked savages, the discovery of the bay was scarcely noticed, except to construe it into some kind of a miracle. Father Serra assumed that St. Francis had concealed Monterey from the explorers and led them to the discovery of the bay in order that he (St. Francis) might have a mission named for him. Indeed, the only use to which the discovery could be put, according to Serra's ideas, was a site for a mission on its shores, dedicated to the founder of the Franciscans. Several explorations were made with this in view. In 1772, Lieutenant Fages, Father Crespi and sixteen soldiers passed up the western side of the bay and in 1774 Captain Rivera, Father Palou and a squad of soldiers passed up the eastern shore, returning by way of Monte Diablo, Amador valley and Alameda creek to the Santa Clara valley.

In the latter part of the year 1774, viceroy Bucureli ordered the founding of a mission and presidio at San Francisco. Hitherto all explorations of the bay had been made by land expeditions. No one had ventured on its waters. In 1775 Lieutenant Juan de Ayala of the royal navy was sent in the old pioneer mission ship, the San Carlos, to make a survey of it. August 5, 1775, he passed through the Golden Gate. He moored his ship at an island called by him Nuestra Señora de los Angeles, now Angel Island. He spent forty days in making explorations. His ship was the first vessel to sail upon the great Bay of San Francisco.

In 1774, Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, commander of the presidio of Tubac in Sonora, had made an exploration of a route from Sonora via the Colorado river, across the desert and through the San Gorgonia pass to San Gabriel mission. From Tubac to the Colorado river the route had been traveled before but from the Colorado westward the country was a terra incognita. He was guided over this by a lower California neophyte who had deserted from San Gabriel mission and alone had reached the rancherias on the Colorado.

After Anza's return to Sonora he was commissioned by the viceroy to recruit soldiers and settlers for San Francisco. October 23, 1775, Anza set out from Tubac with an expedition numbering two hundred and thirty-five persons, composed of soldiers and their families, colonists, musketeers and vaqueros. They brought with them large herds of horses, mules and cattle. The journey was accomplished without loss of life, but with a considerable amount of suffering. January 4, 1776, the immigrants arrived at San Gabriel mission, where they stopped to rest, but were soon compelled to move on, provisions at the mission becoming scarce. They arrived at Monterey, March 10. Here they went into camp. Anza with an escort of soldiers proceeded to San Francisco to select a presidio site. Having found a site he returned to Monterey. Rivera, the commander of the territory, had manifested a spirit of jealousy toward Anza and had endeavored to thwart him in his attempts to found a settlement. Disgusted with the action of the commander, Anza, leaving his colonists to the number of two hundred at Monterey took his departure from California. Anza in his explorations for a presidio site had fixed upon what is now Fort Point.

After his departure Rivera experienced a change of heart and instead of trying to delay the founding he did everything to hasten it. The imperative orders of the viceroy received at about this time brought about the change. He ordered Lieutenant Moraga, to whom Anza had

turned over the command of his soldiers and colonists, to proceed at once to San Francisco with twenty soldiers to found the fort. The San Carlos, which had just arrived at Monterey, was ordered to proceed to San Francisco to assist in the founding. Moraga with his soldiers arrived June 27, and encamped on the Laguna de los Dolores, where the mission was a short time afterwards founded. Moraga decided to located the presidio at the site selected by Anza but awaited the arrival of the San Carlos before proceeding to build. August 18 the vessel arrived. It had been driven down the coast to the latitude of San Diego by contrary winds and then up the coast to latitude 42 degrees. On the arrival of the vessel work was begun at once on the fort. A square of ninety-two varas (two hundred and forty-seven feet) on each side was inclosed with palisades. Barracks, officers' quarters and a chapel were built inside the square. September 17, 1776, was set apart for the services of founding, that being the day of the "Sores of our seraphic father St. Francis." The royal standard was raised in front of the square and the usual ceremony of pulling grass and throwing stones was performed. Possession of the region round about was taken in the name of Carlos III., King of Spain. Over one hundred and fifty persons witnessed the ceremony. Vancouver, who visited the presidio in November, 1792, describes it as a "square area whose sides were about two hundred yards in length, enclosed by a mud wall and resembling a pound for cattle. Above this wall the thatched roofs of the low small houses just made their appearance." The wall was "about fourteen feet high and five feet in breadth and was first formed by upright and horizontal rafters of large timber, between which dried sods and moistened earth were pressed as close and hard as possible, after which the whole was cased with the earth made into a sort of mud plaster which gave it the appearance of durability."

In addition to the presidio there was another fort at Fort Point named Castillo de San Joaquin. It was completed and blessed December 8, 1794. "It was of horseshoe shape, about one hundred by one hundred and twenty feet." The structure rested mainly on sand; the brick-faced adobe walls crumbled at the shock whenever a salute was fired; the guns were badly mounted and for the most part worn out, only two of the thirteen twenty-four-pounders being serviceable or capable of sending a ball across the entrance of the fort.*

PRESIDIO OF SANTA BARBARA.

Cabrillo, in 1542, found a large Indian population inhabiting the main land of the Santa Barbara channel. Two hundred and twenty-seven years later, when Portolá made his exploration, apparently there had been no decrease in the number of inhabitants. No portion of the coast offered a better field for missionary labor and Father Serra was anxious to enter it. In accordance with Governor Felipe de Neve's report of 1777, it had been decided to found three missions and a presidio on the channel. Various causes had delayed the founding and it was not until April 17, 1782, that Governor de Neve arrived at the point where he had decided to locate the presidio of Santa Barbara. The troops that were to man the fort reached San Gabriel in the fall of 1781. It was thought best for them to remain there until the rainy season was over. March 26, 1782, the governor and Father Serra, accompanied by the largest body of troops that had ever before been collected in California, set out to found the mission of San Buenaventura and the presidio. The governor, as has been stated in a former chapter, was recalled to San Gabriel. The mission was founded and the governor having rejoined the cavalcade a few weeks later proceeded to find a location for the presidio.

"On reaching a point nine leagues from San Buenaventura, the governor called a halt and in company with Father Serra at once proceeded to select a site for the presidio. The choice resulted in the adoption of the square now formed by city blocks 139, 140, 155 and 156, and bounded in common by the following streets: Figueroa, Cañon Perdido, Garden and Anacapa. A large community of Indians were residing there but orders were given to leave them undisturbed. The soldiers were at once

*Bancroft's "History of California," Vol. I.

directed to hew timbers and gather brush to erect temporary barracks which, when completed, were also used as a chapel. A large wooden cross was made that it might be planted in the center of the square and possession of the country was taken in the name of the cross, the emblem of Christianity.

April 21, 1782, the soldiers formed a square and with edifying solemnity raised the cross and secured it in the earth. Father Serra blessed and consecrated the district and preached a sermon. The royal standard of Spain was unfurled."*

An inclosure, sixty varas square, was made of palisades. The Indians were friendly, and through their chief Yanoalit, who controlled thirteen rancherias, details of them were secured to assist the soldiers in the work of building. The natives were paid in food and clothing for their labor.

Irrigation works were constructed, consisting of a large reservoir made of stone and cement, with a zanja for conducting water to the presidio. The soldiers, who had families, cultivated small gardens which aided in their support. Lieutenant Ortega was in command of the presidio for two years after its founding. He was succeeded by Lieutenant Felipe de Goycoechea. After the founding of the mission in 1786, a bitter feud broke out between the padres and the comandante of the presidio. Goycoechea claimed the right to employ the Indians in the building of the presidio as he had done before the coming of the friars. This they denied. After an acrimonious controversy the dispute was finally compromised by dividing the Indians into two bands, a mission band and a presidio band.

Gradually the palisades were replaced by an adobe wall twelve feet high. It had a stone foundation and was strongly built. The plaza or inclosed square was three hundred and thirty feet on each side. On two sides of this inclosure were ranged the family houses of the soldiers, averaging in size 15x25 feet. On one side stood the officers' quarters and the church. On the remaining side were the main entrance four varas wide, the store rooms, soldiers' quarters and a guard room; and adjoining these outside the walls were the corrals for cattle and horses. A force of from fifty to sixty soldiers was kept at the post. There were bastions at two of the corners for cannon.

The presidio was completed about 1790, with the exception of the chapel, which was not finished until 1797. Many of the soldiers when they had served out their time desired to remain in the country. These were given permission to build houses outside the walls of the presidio and in course of time a village grew up around it.

At the close of the century the population of the gente de razon of the district numbered three hundred and seventy. The presidio when completed was the best in California. Vancouver, the English navigator, who visited it in November, 1793, says of it: "The buildings appeared to be regular and well constructed; the walls clean and white and the roofs of the houses were covered with a bright red tile. The presidio excels all the others in neatness, cleanliness and other smaller though essential comforts; it is placed on an elevated part of the plain and is raised some feet from the ground by a basement story which adds much to its pleasantness."

During the Spanish régime the settlement at the presidio grew in the leisurely way that all Spanish towns grew in California. There was but little immigration from Mexico and about the only source of increase was from invalid soldiers and the children of the soldiers growing up to manhood and womanhood. It was a dreary and monotonous existence that the soldiers led at the presidios. A few of them had their families with them. These when the country became more settled had their own houses adjoining the presidio and formed the nuclei of the towns that grew up around the different forts. There was but little fighting to do and the soldiers' service consisted mainly of a round of guard duty at the forts and missions. Occasionally there were conquistas into the Indian country to secure new material for converts from the gentiles. The soldiers were oc-

*Father Cabelleria's History of Santa Barbara.

casionally employed in hunting hindas or runaways from the missions. These when brought back were thoroughly flogged and compelled to wear clogs attached to their legs. Once a month the soldier couriers brought up from Loreta a budget of mail made up of official bandos and a few letters. These contained about all the news that reached them from their old homes in Mexico. But few of the soldiers returned to Mexico when their term of enlistment expired. In course of time these and their descendants formed the bulk of California's population.

CHAPTER VII.

PUEBLOS.

THE pueblo plan of colonization so common in Hispano-American countries did not originate with the Spanish-American colonists. It was older even than Spain herself. In early European colonization, the pueblo plan, the common square in the center of the town, the house lots grouped round it, the arable fields and the common pasture lands beyond, appears in the Aryan village, in the ancient German mark and in the old Roman praesidium. The Puritans adopted this form in their first settlements in New England. Around the public square or common where stood the meeting house and the town house, they laid off their home lots and beyond these were their cultivated fields and their common pasture lands. This form of colonization was a combination of communal interests and individual ownership. Primarily, no doubt, it was adopted for protection against the hostile aborigines of the country, and secondly for social advantage. It reversed the order of our own western colonization. The town came first, it was the initial point from which the settlement radiated; while with our western pioneers the town was an afterthought, a center point for the convenience of trade.

When it had been decided to send colonists to colonize California the settlements naturally took the pueblo form. The difficulty of obtaining regular supplies for the presidios from Mexico, added to the great expense of shipping such a long distance, was the principal cause that influenced the government to establish pueblos de gente de razon. The presidios received their shipments of grain for breadstuff from San Blas by sailing vessels. The arrival of these was uncertain. Once when the vessels were unusually long in coming, the padres and the soldiers at the presidios and missions were reduced to living on milk, bear meat and what provisions they could obtain from the Indians. When Felipe de Neve was made governor of Alta or Nueva California in 1776 he was instructed by the viceroy to make observations on the agricultural possibilities of the country and the feasibility of founding pueblos where grain could be produced to supply the military establishments.

On his journey from San Diego to San Francisco in 1777 he carefully examined the country; and as a result of his observations recommended the founding of two pueblos; one on the Rio de Porciuncula in the south, and the other on the Rio de Guadalupe in the north. On the 29th of November, 1777, the Pueblo of San José de Guadelupe was founded. The colonists were nine of the presidio soldiers from San Francisco and Monterey, who had some knowledge of farming and five of Anza's pobladores who had come with his expedition the previous years to found the presidio of San Francisco, making with their families sixty-one persons in all. The pueblo was named for the patron saint of California, San José (St. Joseph), husband of Santa Maria, Queen of the Angeles.

The site selected for the town was about a mile and a quarter north of the center of the present city. The first houses were built of palisades and the interstices plastered with mud. These huts were roofed with earth and the floor was the hard beaten ground. Each head of a family was given a suerte or sowing lot of two

hundred varas square, a house lot, "ten dollars a month and a soldier's rations." Each, also, received a yoke of oxen, two cows, a mule, two sheep and two goats, together with the necessary implements and seed, all of which were to be repaid in products of the soil delivered at the royal warehouse. The first communal work done by the pobladores (colonists) was to dam the river, and construct a ditch to irrigate their sowing fields. The dam was not a success and the first sowing of grain was lost. The site selected for the houses was low and subject to overflow.

During wet winters the inhabitants were compelled to take a circuitous route of three leagues to attend church service at the mission of Santa Clara. After enduring this state of affairs through seven winters they petitioned the governor for permission to remove the pueblo further south on higher ground. The governor did not have power to grant the request. The petition was referred to the comandante-general of the Intendencia in Mexico in 1785. He seems to have studied over the matter two years and having advised with the asesor-general "finally issued a decree, June 21, 1787, to Governor Fages, authorizing the settlers to remove to the "adjacent loma (hill) selected by them as more useful and advantageous without changing or altering, for this reason, the limits and boundaries of the territory or district assigned to said settlement and to the neighboring Mission of Santa Clara, as there is no just cause why the latter should attempt to appropriate to herself that land."

Having frequently suffered from floods, it would naturally be supposed that the inhabitants, permission being granted, moved right away. They did nothing of the kind. Ten years passed and they were still located on the old marshy site, still discussing the advantages of the new site on the other side of the river. Whether the padres of the Mission of Santa Clara opposed the moving does not appear in the records, but from the last clause of the comandante-general's decree in which he says "there is not just cause why the latter (the Mission of Santa Clara) should attempt to appropriate to herself the land," it would seem that the mission padres were endeavoring to secure the new site or at least prevent its occupancy. There was a dispute between the padres and the pobladores over the boundary line between the pueblo and mission that outlived the century. After having been referred to the titled officials, civil and ecclesiastical, a boundary line was finally established, July 24, 1801, that was satisfactory to both. "According to the best evidence I have discovered," says Hall in his History of San José, "the removal of the pueblo took place in 1797," just twenty years after the founding. In 1798 the juzgado or town hall was built. It was located on Market street near El Dorado street.

The area of a pueblo was four square leagues (Spanish) or about twenty-seven square miles. This was sometimes granted in a square and sometimes in a rectangular form. The pueblo lands were divided into classes: Solares, house lots; suertes (chance), sowing fields, so named because they were distributed by lot; propios, municipal lands or lands the rent of which went to defray municipal expenses; ejidas, vacant suburbs or commons; dehesas, pasture where the large herds of the pueblo grazed; realenges, royal lands also used for raising revenue; these were unappropriated lands.

From various causes the founding of the second pueblo had been delayed. In the latter part of 1779, active preparations were begun for carrying out the plan of founding a presidio and three missions on the Santa Barbara Channel and a pueblo on the Rio Porciuncula to be named "Reyna de Los Angeles." The comandante-general of the Four Interior Provinces of the West (which embraced the Californias, Sonora, New Mexico and Viscaya), Don Teodoro de Croix or "El Cavallero de Croix," "The Knight of the Cross," as he usually styled himself, gave instructions to Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada to recruit soldiers and settlers for the proposed presidio and pueblo in Nueva California. He, Rivera, crossed the gulf and began recruiting in Sonora and Sinaloa. His instructions were to secure twenty-four settlers, who were heads of families. They must be robust and well behaved, so that they might set a good example to the natives. Their families

must accompany them and unmarried female relatives must be encouraged to go, with the view to marrying them to bachelor soldiers.

According to the regulations drafted by Governor Felipe de Neve, June 1, 1779, for the government of the province of California and approved by the king, in a royal order of the 24th of October, 1781, settlers in California from the older provinces were each to be granted a house lot and a tract of land for cultivation. Each poblador in addition was to receive $116.50 a year for the first two years, "the rations to be understood as comprehended in this amount, and in lieu of rations for the next three years they will receive $60 yearly."

Section 3 of Title 14 of the Reglamento provided that "To each poblador and to the community of the pueblo there shall be given under condition of repayment in horses and mules fit to be given and received, and in the payment of the other large and small cattle at the just prices, which are to be fixed by tariff, and of the tools and implements at cost, as it is ordained, two mares, two cows, and one calf, two sheep and two goats, all breeding animals, and one yoke of oxen or steers, one plow point, one hoe, one spade, one axe, one sickle, one wood knife, one musket and one leather shield, two horses and one cargo mule. To the community there shall likewise be given the males corresponding to the total number of cattle of different kinds distributed amongst all the inhabitants, one forge and anvil, six crowbars, six iron spades or shovels and the necessary tools for carpenter and cast work." For the government's assistance to the pobladores in starting their colony the settlers were required to sell to the presidios the surplus products of their lands and herds at fair prices, which were to be fixed by the government.

The terms offered to the settlers were certainly liberal, and by our own hardy pioneers, who in the closing years of the last century were making their way over the Alleghany mountains into Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, they would have been considered munificent; but to the indolent and energyless mixed breeds of Sonora and Sinaloa they were no inducement. After spending nearly nine months in recruiting, Rivera was able to obtain only fourteen pobladores, but little over half the number required, and two of these deserted before reaching California. The soldiers that Rivera had recruited for California, forty-two in number, with their families, were ordered to proceed overland from Alamos, in Sonora, by way of Tucson and the Colorado river to San Gabriel Mission. These were commanded by Rivera in person.

Leaving Alamos in April, 1781, they arrived in the latter part of June at the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers. After a short delay to rest, the main company was sent on to San Gabriel Mission. Rivera, with ten or twelve soldiers, remained to recruit his live stock before crossing the desert. Two missions had been established on the California side of the Colorado the previous year. Before the arrival of Rivera the Indians had been behaving badly. Rivera's large herd of cattle and horses destroyed the mesquite trees and intruded upon the Indians' melon patches. This, with their previous quarrel with the padres, provoked the savages to an uprising. They, on July 17, attacked the two missions, massacred the padres and the Spanish settlers attached to the missions and killed Rivera and his soldiers, forty-six persons in all. The Indians burned the mission buildings. These were never rebuilt nor was there any attempt made to convert the Yumas. The hostility of the Yumas practically closed the Colorado route to California for many years.

The pobladores who had been recruited for the founding of the new pueblo, with their families and a military escort, all under the command of Lieut. José Zuniga, crossed the gulf from Guaymas to Loreto, in Lower California, and by the 16th of May were ready for their long journey northward. In the meantime two of the recruits had deserted and one was left behind at Loreto. On the 18th of August the eleven who had remained faithful to their contract, with their families, arrived at San Gabriel. On account of smallpox among some of the children the company was placed in quarantine about a league from the mission.

On the 26th of August, 1781, from San Gabriel, Governor de Neve issued his instructions

for the founding of Los Angeles, which gave some additional rules in regard to the distribution of lots not found in the royal reglamento previously mentioned.

On the 4th of September, 1781, the colonists, with a military escort headed by Governor Felip de Neve, took up their line of march from the Mission San Gabriel to the site selected for their pueblo on the Rio de Porciuncula. There, with religious ceremonies, the Pueblo de Nuestra Señora La Reina de Los Angeles was formally founded. A mass was said by a priest from the Mission San Gabriel, assisted by the choristers and musicians of that mission. There were salvos of musketry and a procession with a cross, candlestick, etc. At the head of the procession the soldiers bore the standard of Spain and the women followed bearing a banner with the image of our Lady the Queen of the Angels. This procession made a circuit of the plaza, the priest blessing it and the building lots. At the close of the services Governor de Neve made an address full of good advice to the colonists. Then the governor, his military escort and the priests returned to San Gabriel and the colonists were left to work out their destiny.

Few of the great cities of the land have had such humble founders as Los Angeles. Of the eleven pobladores who built their huts of poles and tule thatch around the plaza vieja one hundred and twenty-five years ago, not one could read or write. Not one could boast of an unmixed ancestry. They were mongrels in race, Caucasian, Indian and Negro mixed. Poor in purse, poor in blood, poor in all the sterner qualities of character that our own hardy pioneers of the west possessed, they left no impress on the city they founded; and the conquering race that possesses the land that they colonized has forgotten them. No street or landmark in the city bears the name of any one of them. No monument or tablet marks the spot where they planted the germ of their settlement. No Forefathers' day preserves the memory of their services and sacrifices. Their names, race and the number of persons in each family have been preserved in the archives of California. They are as follows:

1. José de Lara, a Spaniard (or reputed to be one, although it is doubtful whether he was of pure blood) had an Indian wife and three children.

2. José Antonio Navarro, a Mestizo, forty-two years old; wife a mulattress; three children.

3. Basilio Rosas, an Indian, sixty-eight years old, had a mulatto wife and two children.

4. Antonio Mesa, a negro, thirty-eight years old; had a mulatto wife and two children.

5. Antonio Felix Villavicencio, a Spaniard, thirty years old; had an Indian wife and one child.

6. José Vanegas, an Indian, twenty-eight years old; had an Indian wife and one child.

7. Alejandro Rosas, an Indian, nineteen years old, and had an Indian wife. (In the records, "wife, Coyote-Indian.")

8. Pablo Rodriguez, an Indian, twenty-five years old; had an Indian wife and one child.

9. Manuel Camero, a mulatto, thirty years old; had a mulatto wife.

10. Luis Quintero, a negro, fifty-five years old, and had a mulatto wife and five children.

11. José Morena, a mulatto, twenty-two years old, and had a mulatto wife.

Antonio Miranda, the twelfth person described in the padron (list) as a Chino, fifty years old and having one child, was left at Loreto when the expedition marched northward. It would have been impossible for him to have rejoined the colonists before the founding. Presumably his child remained with him, consequently there were but forty-four instead of "forty-six persons in all." Col. J. J. Warner, in his "Historical Sketch of Los Angeles," originated the fiction that one of the founders (Miranda, the Chino,) was born in China. Chino, while it does mean a Chinaman, is also applied in Spanish-American countries to persons or animals having curly hair. Miranda was probably of mixed Spanish and Negro blood, and curly haired. There is no record to show that Miranda ever came to Alta California.

When José de Galvez was fitting out the expedition for occupying San Diego and Monterey, he issued a proclamation naming St. Joseph as the patron saint of his California colonization scheme. Bearing this fact in mind, no

doubt, Governor de Neve, when he founded San José, named St. Joseph its patron saint. Having named one of the two pueblos for San José it naturally followed that the other should be named for Santa Maria, the Queen of the Angels, wife of San José.

On the 1st of August, 1769, Portolá's expedition, on its journey northward in search of Monterey Bay, had halted in the San Gabriel valley near where the Mission Vieja was afterwards located, to reconnoiter the country and "above all," as Father Crespi observes, "for the purpose of celebrating the jubilee of Our Lady of the Angels of Porciuncula." Next day, August 2, after traveling about three leagues (nine miles), Father Crespi, in his diary, says: "We came to a rather wide canada having a great many cottonwood and alder trees. Through it ran a beautiful river toward the north-northeast and curving around the point of a cliff it takes a direction to the south. Toward the north-northeast we saw another river bed which must have been a great overflow, but we found it dry. This arm unites with the river and its great floods during the rainy season are clearly demonstrated by the many uprooted trees scattered along the banks." (This dry river is the Arroyo Seco.) "We stopped not very far from the river, to which we gave the name of Porciuncula." Porciuncula is the name of a hamlet in Italy near which was located the little church of Our Lady of the Angels, in which St. Francis of Assisi was praying when the jubilee was granted him. Father Crespi, speaking of the plain through which the river flows, says: "This is the best locality of all those we have yet seen for a mission, besides having all the resources required for a large town." Padre Crespi was evidently somewhat of a prophet.

The fact that this locality had for a number of years borne the name of "Our Lady of the Angels of Porciuncula" may have influenced Governor de Neve to locate his pueblo here. The full name of the town, El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora La Reyna de Los Angeles, was seldom used. It was too long for everyday use. In the earlier years of the town's history it seems to have had a variety of names. It appears in the records as El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles, as El Pueblo de La Reyna de Los Angeles and as El Pueblo de Santa Maria de Los Angeles. Sometimes it was abbreviated to Santa Maria, but it was most commonly spoken of as El Pueblo, the town. At what time the name of Rio Porciuncula was changed to Rio Los Angeles is uncertain. The change no doubt was gradual.

The site selected for the pueblo of Los Angeles was picturesque and romantic. From where Alameda street now is to the eastern bank of the river the land was covered with a dense growth of willows, cottonwoods and alders; while here and there, rising above the swampy copse, towered a giant aliso (sycamore). Wild grapevines festooned the branches of the trees and wild roses bloomed in profusion. Behind the narrow shelf of mesa land where the pueblo was located rose the brown hills, and in the distance towered the lofty Sierra Madre mountains.

The last pueblo founded in California under Spanish domination was Villa de Branciforte, located on the opposite side of the river from the Mission of Santa Cruz. It was named after the Viceroy Branciforte. It was designed as a coast defense and a place to colonize discharged soldiers. The scheme was discussed for a considerable time before anything was done. Governor Borica recommended "that an adobe house be built for each settler so that the prevalent state of things in San José and Los Angeles, where the settlers still live in tule huts, being unable to build better dwellings without neglecting their fields, may be prevented, the houses to cost not over two hundred dollars."*

The first detachment of the colonists arrived May 12, 1797, on the Concepcion in a destitute condition. Lieutenant Moraga was sent to superintend the construction of houses for the colonists. He was instructed to build temporary huts for himself and the guard, then to build some larger buildings to accommodate fifteen or twenty families each. These were to be temporary. Only nine families came and they were of a vagabond class that had a constitutional antipathy to work. The settlers received the

*Bancroft's History of California, Vol. I.

same amount of supplies and allowance of money as the colonists of San José and Los Angeles. Although the colonists were called Spaniards and assumed to be of a superior race to the first settlers of the other pueblos, they made less progress and were more unruly than the mixed and mongrel inhabitants of the older pueblos.

Although at the close of the century three decades had passed since the first settlement was made in California, the colonists had made but little progress. Three pueblos of gente de razon had been founded and a few ranchos granted to ex-soldiers. Exclusive of the soldiers, the white population in the year 1800 did not exceed six hundred. The people lived in the most primitive manner. There was no commerce and no manufacturing except a little at the missions. Their houses were adobe huts roofed with tule thatch. The floor was the beaten earth and the scant furniture home-made. There was a scarcity of cloth for clothing. Padre Salazar relates that when he was at San Gabriel Mission in 1795 a man who had a thousand horses and cattle in proportion came there to beg cloth for a shirt, for none could be had at the pueblo of Los Angeles nor at the presidio of Santa Barbara.

Hermanagildo Sal, the comandante of San Francisco, writing to a friend in 1799, says, "I send you, by the wife of the pensioner José Barbo, one piece of cotton goods and an ounce of sewing silk. There are no combs and I have no hope of receiving any for three years." Think of waiting three years for a comb!

Eighteen missions had been founded at the close of the century. Except at a few of the older missions, the buildings were temporary structures. The neophytes for the most part were living in wigwams constructed like those they had occupied in their wild state.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PASSING OF SPAIN'S DOMINATION.

THE Spaniards were not a commercial people. Their great desire was to be let alone in their American possessions. Philip II. once promulgated a decree pronouncing death upon any foreigner who entered the Gulf of Mexico. It was easy to promulgate a decree or to pass restrictive laws against foreign trade, but quite another thing to enforce them.

After the first settlement of California seventeen years passed before a foreign vessel entered any of its ports. The first to arrive were the two vessels of the French explorer, La Perouse, who anchored in the harbor of Monterey, September 15, 1786. Being of the same faith, and France having been an ally of Spain in former times, he was well received. During his brief stay he made a study of the mission system and his observations on it are plainly given. He found a similarity in it to the slave plantations of Santo Domingo. November 14, 1792, the English navigator, Capt. George Vancouver, in the ship Discovery, entered the Bay of San Francisco. He was cordially received by the comandante of the port, Hermanagildo Sal, and the friars of the mission. On the 20th of the month, with several of his officers, he visited the Mission of Santa Clara, where he was kindly treated. He also visited the Mission of San Carlos de Monterey. He wrote an interesting account of his visit and his observations on the country. Vancouver was surprised at the backwardness of the country and the antiquated customs of the people. He says: "Instead of finding a country tolerably well inhabited, and far advanced in cultivation, if we except its natural pastures, flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, there is not an object to indicate the most remote connection with any European or other civilized nation." On a subsequent visit, Captain Vancouver met a chilly reception from the acting governor, Arrillaga. The Spaniards suspected him of spying out the weakness of their defenses. Through the English, the Spaniards became acquainted with the importance and

value of the fur trade. The bays and lagoons of California abounded in sea otter. Their skins were worth in China all the way from $30 to $100 each. The trade was made a government monopoly. The skins were to be collected from the natives, soldiers and others by the missionaries, at prices ranging from $2.50 to $10 each, and turned over to the government officials appointed to receive them. All trade by private persons was prohibited. The government was sole trader. But the government failed to make the trade profitable. In the closing years of the century the American smugglers began to haunt the coast. The restrictions against trade with foreigners were proscriptive and the penalties for evasion severe, but men will trade under the most adverse circumstances. Spain was a long way off, and smuggling was not a very venal sin in the eyes of layman or churchman. Fast sailing vessels were fitted out in Boston for illicit trade on the California coast. Watching their opportunities, these vessels slipped into the bays and inlets along the coast. There was a rapid exchange of Yankee notions for sea otter skins, the most valued peltry of California, and the vessels were out to sea before the revenue officers could intercept them. If successful in escaping capture, the profits of a smuggling voyage were enormous, ranging from 500 to 1,000 per cent above cost on the goods exchanged; but the risks were great. The smuggler had no protection; he was an outlaw. He was the legitimate prey of the padres, the people and the revenue officers. The Yankee smuggler usually came out ahead. His vessel was heavily armed, and when speed or stratagem failed he was ready to fight his way out of a scrape.

Each year two ships were sent from San Blas with the memorias—mission and presidio supplies. These took back a small cargo of the products of the territory, wheat being the principal. This was all the legitimate commerce allowed California.

The fear of Russian aggression had been one of the causes that had forced Spain to attempt the colonization of California. Bering, in 1741, had discovered the strait that bears his name and had taken possession, for the Russian government, of the northwestern coast of America. Four years later, the first permanent Russian settlement, Sitka, had been made on one of the coast islands. Rumors of the Russian explorations and settlements had reached Madrid and in 1774 Captain Perez, in the San Antonia, was sent up the coast to find out what the Russians were doing.

Had Russian America contained arable land where grain and vegetables could have been grown, it is probable that the Russians and Spaniards in America would not have come in contact; for another nation, the United States, had taken possession of the intervening country, bordering the Columbia river.

The supplies of breadstuffs for the Sitka colonists had to be sent overland across Siberia or shipped around Cape Horn. Failure of supplies sometimes reduced the colonists to sore straits. In 1806, famine and diseases incident to starvation threatened the extinction of the Russian colony. Count Rezánoff, a high officer of the Russian government, had arrived at the Sitka settlement in September, 1805. The destitution prevailing there induced him to visit California with the hope of obtaining relief for the starving colonists. In the ship Juno (purchased from an American trader), with a scurvy afflicted crew, he made a perilous voyage down the stormy coast and on the 5th of April, 1806, anchored safely in the Bay of San Francisco. He had brought with him a cargo of goods for exchange but the restrictive commercial regulations of Spain prohibited trade with foreigners. Although the friars and the people needed the goods the governor could not allow the exchange. Count Rezánoff would be permitted to purchase grain for cash, but the Russian's exchequer was not plethoric and his ship was already loaded with goods. Love that laughs at locksmiths eventually unlocked the shackles that hampered commerce. Rezánoff fell in love with Dona Concepcion, the beautiful daughter of Don José Arguello, the comandante of San Francisco, and an old time friend of the governor, Arrillaga. The attraction was mutual. Through the influence of Dona Concepcion, the friars and Arguello, the governor was induced to sanction a plan by which cash was the sup-

posed medium of exchange on both sides, but grain on the one side and goods on the other were the real currency.

The romance of Rezánoff and Dona Concepcion had a sad ending. On his journey through Siberia to St. Petersburg to obtain the consent of the emperor to his marriage he was killed by a fall from his horse. It was several years before the news of his death reached his affianced bride. Faithful to his memory, she never married, but dedicated her life to deeds of charity. After Rezánoff's visit the Russians came frequently to California, partly to trade, but more often to hunt otter. While on these fur hunting expeditions they examined the coast north of San Francisco with the design of planting an agricultural colony where they could raise grain to supply the settlements in the far north. In 1812 they founded a town and built a fort on the coast north of Bodega Bay, which they named Ross. The fort mounted ten guns. They maintained a fort at Bodega Bay and also a small settlement on Russian river. The Spaniards protested against this aggression and threatened to drive the Russians out of the territory, but nothing came of their protests and they were powerless to enforce their demands. The Russian ships came to California for supplies and were welcomed by the people and the friars if not by the government officials. The Russian colony at Ross was not a success. The ignorant soldiers and the Aluets who formed the bulk of its three or four hundred inhabitants, knew little or nothing about farming and were too stupid to learn. After the decline of fur hunting the settlement became unprofitable. In 1841 the buildings and the stock were sold by the Russian governor to Capt. John A. Sutter for $30,000. The settlement was abandoned and the fort and the town are in ruins.

On the 15th of September, 1810, the patriot priest, Miguel Hidalgo, struck the first blow for Mexican independence. The revolution which began in the province of Guanajuato was at first regarded by the authorities as a mere riot of ignorant Indians that would be speedily suppressed. But the insurrection spread rapidly. Long years of oppression and cruelty had instilled into the hearts of the people an undying hatred for their Spanish oppressors. Hidalgo soon found himself at the head of a motley army, poorly armed and undisciplined, but its numbers swept away opposition. Unfortunately through over-confidence reverses came and in March, 1811, the patriots met an overwhelming defeat at the bridge of Calderon. Hidalgo was betrayed, captured and shot. Though suppressed for a time, the cause of independence was not lost. For eleven years a fratricidal war was waged—cruel, bloody and devastating. Allende, Mina, Moreles, Aldama, Rayon and other patriot leaders met death on the field of battle or were captured and shot as rebels, but "Freedom's battle" bequeathed from bleeding sire to son was won at last.

Of the political upheavals that shook Spain in the first decades of the century only the faintest rumblings reached far distant California. Notwithstanding the many changes of rulers that political revolutions and Napoleonic wars gave the mother country, the people of California remained loyal to the Spanish crown, although at times they must have been in doubt who wore the crown.

Arrillaga was governor of California when the war of Mexican independence began. Although born in Mexico he was of pure Spanish parentage and was thoroughly in sympathy with Spain in the contest. He did not live to see the end of the war. He died in 1814 and was succeeded by Pablo Vicente de Sola. Sola was Spanish born and was bitterly opposed to the revolution, even going so far as to threaten death to any one who should speak in favor of it. He had received his appointment from Viceroy Calleja, the butcher of Guanajuato, the cruelest and most bloodthirsty of the vice regal governors of new Spain. The friars were to a man loyal to Spain. The success of the republic meant the downfall of their domination. They hated republican ideas and regarded their dissemination as a crime. They were the ruling power in California. The governors and the people were subservient to their wishes.

The decade between 1810 and 1820 was marked by two important events, the year of the earthquakes and the year of the insurgents.

The year 1812 was the Ano de los Temblores. The seismic disturbance that for forty years or more had shaken California seemed to concentrate in power that year and expend its force on the mission churches. The massive church of San Juan Capistrano, the pride of mission architecture, was thrown down and forty persons killed. The walls of San Gabriel Mission were cracked and some of the saints shaken out of their niches. At San Buenaventura there were three heavy shocks which injured the church so that the tower and much of the facade had to be rebuilt. The whole mission site seemed to settle and the inhabitants, fearful that they might be engulfed by the sea, moved up the valley about two miles, where they remained three months. At Santa Barbara both church and the presidio were damaged and at Santa Inez the church was shaken down. The quakes continued for several months and the people were so terrified that they abandoned their houses and lived in the open air.

The other important epoch of the decade was El Año de los Insurgentes, the year of the insurgents. In November, 1818, Bouchard, a Frenchman in the service of Buenos Ayres and provided with letters of marque by San Martain, the president of that republic, to prey upon Spanish commerce, appeared in the port of Monterey with two ships carrying sixty-six guns and three hundred and fifty men. He attacked Monterey and after an obstinate resistance by the Californians, it was taken by the insurgents and burned. Bouchard next pillaged Ortega's rancho and burned the buildings. Then sailing down the coast he scared the Santa Barbaraños; then keeping on down he looked into San Pedro, but finding nothing there to tempt him he kept on to San Juan Capistrano. There he landed, robbed the mission of a few articles and drank the padres' wine. Then he sailed away and disappeared. He left six of his men in California, among them Joseph Chapman of Boston, the first American resident of California.

In the early part of the last century there was a limited commerce with Lima. That being a Spanish dependency, trade with it was not prohibited. Gilroy, who arrived in California in 1814, says in his reminiscences:*

"The only article of export then was tallow, of which one cargo was sent annually to Callao in a Spanish ship. This tallow sold for $1.50 per hundred weight in silver or $2.00 in trade or goods. Hides, except those used for tallow bags, were thrown away. Wheat, barley and beans had no market. Nearly everything consumed by the people was produced at home. There was no foreign trade."

As the revolution in Mexico progressed times grew harder in California. The mission memorias ceased to come. No tallow ships from Callao arrived. The soldiers' pay was years in arrears and their uniforms in rags. What little wealth there was in the country was in the hands of the padres. They were supreme. "The friars," says Gilroy, "had everything their own way. The governor and the military were expected to do whatever the friars requested. The missions contained all the wealth of the country." The friars supported the government and supplied the troops with food from the products of the neophytes' labor. The crude manufacturers of the missions supplied the people with cloth for clothing and some other necessities. The needs of the common people were easily satisfied. They were not used to luxuries nor were they accustomed to what we would now consider necessities. Gilroy, in the reminiscences heretofore referred to, states that at the time of his arrival (1814) "There was not a sawmill, whip saw or spoked wheel in California. Such lumber as was used was cut with an axe. Chairs, tables and wood floors were not to be found except in the governor's house. Plates were rare unless that name could be applied to the tiles used instead. Money was a rarity. There were no stores and no merchandise to sell. There was no employment for a laborer. The neophytes did all the work and all the business of the country was in the hands of the friars."

*Alta California, June 25, 1865.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM EMPIRE TO REPUBLIC.

THE condition of affairs in California steadily grew worse as the revolution in Mexico progressed. Sola had made strenuous efforts to arouse the Spanish authorities of New Spain to take some action towards benefiting the territory. After the affair with the insurgent Bouchard he had appealed to the viceroy for reinforcements. In answer to his urgent entreaties a force of one hundred men was sent from Mazatlan to garrison San Diego and an equal force from San Blas for Monterey. They reached California in August, 1819, and Sola was greatly rejoiced, but his joy was turned to deep disgust when he discovered the true character of the reinforcement and arms sent him. The only equipments of the soldiers were a few hundred old worn-out sabers that Sola declared were unfit for sickles. He ordered them returned to the comandante of San Blas, who had sent them. The troops were a worse lot than the arms sent. They had been taken out of the prisons or conscripted from the lowest class of the population of the cities. They were thieves, drunkards and vagabonds, who, as soon as landed, resorted to robberies, brawls and assassinations. Sola wrote to the viceroy that the outcasts called troops sent him from the jails of Tepic and San Blas by their vices caused continual disorders; their evil example had debauched the minds of the Indians and that the cost incurred in their collection and transportation had been worse than thrown away. He could not get rid of them, so he had to control them as best he could. Governor Sola labored faithfully to benefit the country over which he had been placed and to arouse the Spanish authorities in Mexico to do something for the advancement of California; but the government did nothing. Indeed it was in no condition to do anything. The revolution would not down. No sooner was one revolutionary leader suppressed and the rebellion apparently crushed than there was an uprising in some other part of the country under a new leader.

Ten years of intermittent warfare had been waged—one army of patriots after another had been defeated and the leaders shot; the struggle for independence was almost ended and the royalists were congratulating themselves on the triumph of the Spanish crown, when a sudden change came and the vice regal government that for three hundred years had swayed the destinies of New Spain went down forever. Agustin Iturbide, a colonel in the royal army, who in February, 1821, had been sent with a corps of five thousand men from the capital to the Sierras near Acapulco to suppress Guerrero, the last of the patriot chiefs, suddenly changed his allegiance, raised the banner of the revolution and declared for the independence of Mexico under the plan of Iguala, so named for the town where it was first proclaimed. The central ideas of the plan were "Union, civil and religious liberty."

There was a general uprising in all parts of the country and men rallied to the support of the Army of the Three Guarantees, religion, union, independence. Guerrero joined forces with Iturbide and September 21, 1821, at the head of sixteen thousand men, amid the rejoicing of the people, they entered the capital. The viceroy was compelled to recognize the independence of Mexico. A provisional government under a regency was appointed at first, but a few months later Iturbide was crowned emperor, taking the title of his most serene majesty, Agustin I., by divine providence and by the congress of the nation, first constitutional emperor of Mexico.

Sola had heard rumors of the turn affairs were taking in Mexico, but he had kept the reports a secret and still hoped and prayed for the success of the Spanish arms. At length a vessel appeared in the harbor of Monterey floating an unknown flag, and cast anchor beyond

the reach of the guns of the castillo. The soldiers were called to arms. A boat from the ship put off for shore and landed an officer, who declared himself the bearer of dispatches to Don Pablo Vicente de Sola, the governor of the province. "I demand," said he, "to be conducted to his presence in the name of my sovereign, the liberator of Mexico, General Agustin de Iturbide." There was a murmur of applause from the soldiers, greatly to the surprise of their officers, who were all loyalists. Governor Sola was bitterly disappointed. Only a few days before he had harangued the soldiers in the square of the presidio and threatened "to shoot down any one high or low without the formality of a trial who dared to say a word in favor of the traitor Iturbide."

For half a century the banner of Spain had floated from the flag staff of the presidio of Monterey. Sadly Sola ordered it lowered and in its place was hoisted the imperial flag of the Mexican Empire. A few months pass, Iturbide is forced to abdicate the throne of empire and is banished from Mexico. The imperial standard is supplanted by the tricolor of the republic. Thus the Californians, in little more than one year, have passed under three different forms of government, that of a kingdom, an empire and a republic, and Sola from the most loyal of Spanish governors in the kingdom of Spain has been transformed in a Mexican republican.

The friars, if possible, were more bitterly disappointed than the governor. They saw in the success of the republic the doom of their establishments. Republican ideas were repulsive to them. Liberty meant license to men to think for themselves. The shackles of creed and the fetters of priestcraft would be loosened by the growth of liberal ideas. It was not strange, viewing the question from their standpoint, that they refused to take the oath of allegiance to the republic. Nearly all of them were Spanish born. Spain had aided them to plant their missions, had fostered their establishments and had made them supreme in the territory. Their allegiance was due to the Spanish crown. They would not transfer it to a republic and they did not; to the last they were loyal to Spain in heart, even if they did acquiesce in the observance of the rule of the republic.

Sola had long desired to be relieved of the governorship. He was growing old and was in poor health. The condition of the country worried him. He had frequently asked to be relieved and allowed to retire from military duty. His requests were unheeded; the vice regal government of New Spain had weightier matters to attend to than requests or the complaints of the governor of a distant and unimportant province. The inauguration of the empire brought him the desired relief.

Under the empire Alta California was allowed a diputado or delegate in the imperial congress. Sola was elected delegate and took his departure for Mexico in the autumn of 1822. Luis Antonio Arguello, president of the provincial diputacion, an institution that had come into existence after the inauguration of the empire, became governor by virtue of his position as president. He was the first hijo del pais or native of the country to hold the office of governor. He was born at San Francisco in 1784, while his father, an ensign at the presidio, was in command there. His opportunities for obtaining an education were extremely meager, but he made the best use of what he had. He entered the army at sixteen and was, at the time he became temporary governor, comandante at San Francisco.

The inauguration of a new form of government had brought no relief to California. The two Spanish ships that had annually brought los memorias del rey (the remembrances of the king) had long since ceased to come with their supplies of money and goods for the soldiers. The California ports were closed to foreign commerce. There was no sale for the products of the country. So the missions had to throw open their warehouses and relieve the necessities of the government.

The change in the form of government had made no change in the dislike of foreigners, that was a characteristic of the Spaniard. During the Spanish era very few foreigners had been allowed to remain in California. Runaway sailors and shipwrecked mariners, notwithstanding they might wish to remain in the coun-

try and become Catholics, were shipped to Mexico and returned to their own country. John Gilroy, whose real name was said to be John Cameron, was the first permanent English speaking resident of California. When a boy of eighteen he was left by the captain of a Hudson Bay company's ship at Monterey in 1814. He was sick with the scurvy and not expected to live. Nursing and a vegetable diet brought him out all right, but he could not get away. He did not like the country and every day for several years he went down to the beach and scanned the ocean for a foreign sail. When one did come he had gotten over his home-sickness, had learned the language, fallen in love, turned Catholic and married.

In 1822 William E. P. Hartnell, an Englishman, connected with a Lima business house, visited California and entered into a contract with Padre Payeras, the prefect of the missions, for the purchase of hides and tallow. Hartnell a few years later married a California lady and became a permanent resident of the territory. Other foreigners who came about the same time as Hartnell and who became prominent in California were William A. Richardson, an Englishman; Capt. John R. Cooper of Boston and William A. Gale, also of Boston. Gale had first visited California in 1810 as a fur trader. He returned in 1822 on the ship Sachem, the pioneer Boston hide drogher. The hide drogher was in a certain sense the pioneer emigrant ship of California. It brought to the coast a number of Americans who became permanent residents of the territory. California, on account of its long distance from the world's marts of trade, had but few products for exchange that would bear the cost of shipment. Its chief commodities for barter during the Mexican era were hides and tallow. The vast range of country adapted to cattle raising made that its most profitable industry. Cattle increased rapidly and required but little care or attention from their owners. As the native Californians were averse to hard labor cattle raising became almost the sole industry of the country.

After the inauguration of a republican form of government in Mexico some of the most burdensome restrictions on foreign commerce were removed. The Mexican Congress of 1824 enacted a colonization law, which was quite liberal. Under it foreigners could obtain land from the public domain. The Roman Catholic religion was the state religion and a foreigner, before he could become a permanent resident of the country, acquire property or marry, was required to be baptized and embrace the doctrines of that church. After the Mexican Congress repealed the restrictive laws against foreign commerce a profitable trade grew up between the New England ship owners and the Californians.

Vessels called hide droghers were fitted out in Boston with assorted cargoes suitable for the California trade. Making the voyage by way of Cape Horn they reached California. Stopping at the various ports along the coast they exchanged their stocks of goods and Yankee notions for hides and tallow. It took from two to three years to make a voyage to California and return to Boston, but the profits on the goods sold and on the hides received in exchange were so large that these ventures paid handsomely. The arrival of a hide drogher with its department store cargo was heralded up and down the coast. It broke the monotony of existence, gave the people something new to talk about and stirred them up as nothing else could do unless possibly a revolution.

"On the arrival of a new vessel from the United States," says Robinson in his "Life in California," "every man, woman, boy and girl took a proportionate share of interest as to the qualities of her cargo. If the first inquired for rice, sugar or tobacco, the latter asked for prints, silks and satins; and if the boy wanted a Wilson's jack knife, the girl hoped that there might be some satin ribbons for her. Thus the whole population hailed with eagerness an arrival. Even the Indian in his unsophisticated style asked for Panas Colorados and Abalaris—red handkerchiefs and beads.

"After the arrival of our trading vessel (at San Pedro) our friends came in the morning flocking on board from all quarters; and soon a busy scene commenced afloat and ashore. Boats were passing to the beach, and men, women

and children partaking in the general excitement. On shore all was confusion, cattle and carts laden with hides and tallow, gente de razon and Indians busily employed in the delivery of their produce and receiving in return its value in goods. Groups of individuals seated around little bonfires upon the ground, and horsemen racing over the plains in every direction. Thus the day passed, some arriving, some departing, till long after sunset, the low white road, leading across the plains to the town (Los Angeles), appeared a living panorama."

The commerce of California during the Mexican era was principally carried on by the hide droghers. The few stores at the pueblos and presidios obtained their supplies from them and retailed their goods to customers in the intervals between the arrivals of the department store droghers.

The year 1824 was marked by a serious outbreak among the Indians of several missions. Although in the older missionary establishments many of the neophytes had spent half a century under the Christianizing influence of the padres and in these, too, a younger generation had grown from childhood to manhood under mission tutelage, yet their Christian training had not eliminated all the aboriginal savagery from their natures. The California Indians were divided into numerous small tribes, each speaking a different dialect. They had never learned, like the eastern Indians did, the advantages of uniting against a common enemy. When these numerous small tribes were gathered into the missions they were kept as far as it was possible separate and it is said the padres encouraged their feuds and tribal animosities to prevent their uniting against the missionaries. Their long residence in the missions had destroyed their tribal distinctions and merged them into one body. It had taught them, too, the value of combination.

How long the Indians had been plotting no one knew. The conspiracy began among the neophytes of Santa Ynez and La Purisima, but it spread to the missions of San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, San Buenaventura, San Fernando and San Gabriel. Their plan was to massacre the padres and the mission guard and having obtained arms to kill all the gente de razon and thus free themselves from mission thralldom and regain their old time freedom. The plotting had been carried on with great secrecy. Rumors had passed from mission to mission arranging the details of the uprising without the whites suspecting anything. Sunday, February 22, 1824, was the day set for beginning the slaughter. At the hour of celebrating mass, when the soldiers and the padres were within the church, the bloody work was to begin. The plot might have succeeded had not the Indians at Santa Ynez began their work prematurely. One account (Hittell's History of California) says that on Saturday afternoon before the appointed Sunday they determined to begin the work by the murder of Padre Francisco Xavier Uná, who was sleeping in a chamber next the mission church. He was warned by a faithful page. Springing from his couch and rushing to a window he saw the Indians approaching. Seizing a musket from several that were in the room he shot the first Indian that reached the threshold dead. He seized a second musket and laid another Indian low. The soldiers now rallied to his assistance and the Indians were driven back; they set fire to the mission church, but a small body of troops under Sergeant Carrillo, sent from Santa Barbara to reinforce the mission guard, coming up at this time, the Indians fled to Purisima. The fire was extinguished before the church was consumed. At Purisima the Indians were more successful. The mission was defended by Corporal Tapia and five soldiers. The Indians demanded that Tapia surrender, but the corporal refused. The fight began and continued all night. The Indians set fire to the building, but all they could burn was the rafters. Tapia, by a strategic movement, succeeded in collecting all the soldiers and the women and children inside the walls of one of the largest buildings from which the roof had been burnt. From this the Indians could not dislodge him. The fight was kept up till morning, when one of the Indians, who had been a mission alcade, made a proposition to the corporal to surrender. Tapia refused to consider it, but Father Blas Ordaz interfered and insisted on a compromise. After

much contention Tapia found himself overruled. The Indians agreed to spare the lives of all on condition that the whites laid down their arms. The soldiers laid down their arms and surrendered two small cannon belonging to the church. The soldiers, the women and the children were then allowed to march to Santa Ynez. While the fight was going on the Indians killed four white men, two of them, Dolores Sepulveda and Ramon Satelo, were on their way to Los Angeles and came to the mission not suspecting any danger. Seven Indians were killed in the fight and a number wounded.

The Indians at Santa Barbara began hostilities according to their prearranged plot. They made an attack upon the mission. Captain de la Guerra, who was in command at the presidio, marched to the mission and a fight of several hours ensued. The Indians sheltered themselves behind the pillars of the corridor and fought with guns and arrows. After losing several of their number they fled to the hills. Four soldiers were wounded. The report of the uprising reached Monterey and measures were taken at once to subdue the rebellious neophytes. A force of one hundred men was sent under Lieut. José Estrada to co-operate with Captain de la Guerra against the rebels. On the 16th of March the soldiers surrounded the Indians who had taken possession of the mission church at Purisima and opened fire upon them. The Indians replied with their captured cannon, muskets and arrows. Estrada's artillery battered down the walls of the church. The Indians, unused to arms, did little execution. Driven out of the wrecked building, they attempted to make their escape by flight, but were intercepted by the cavalry which had been deployed for that purpose. Finding themselves hemmed in on all sides the neophytes surrendered. They had lost sixteen killed and a large number of wounded. Seven of the prisoners were shot for complicity in the murder of Sepulveda and the three other travelers. The four leaders in the revolt, Mariano Pacomio, Benito and Bernabe, were sentenced to ten years hard labor at the presidio and eight others to lesser terms. There were four hundred Indians engaged in the battle.

The Indians of the Santa Barbara missions and escapes from Santa Ynez and Purisima made their way over the mountains to the Tulares. A force of eighty men under command of a lieutenant was sent against these. The troops had two engagements with the rebels, whom they found at Buenavista Lake and San Emigdio. Finding his force insufficient to subdue them the lieutenant retreated to Santa Barbara. Another force of one hundred and thirty men under Captain Portilla and Lieutenant Valle was sent after the rebels. Father Ripoll had induced the governor to offer a general pardon. The padre claimed that the Indians had not harmed the friars nor committed sacrilege in the church and from his narrow view these were about the only venal sins they could commit. The troops found the fugitive neophytes encamped at San Emigdio. They now professed repentance for their misdeeds and were willing to return to mission life if they could escape punishment. Padres Ripoll and Sarria, who had accompanied the expedition, entered into negotiations with the Indians; pardon was promised them for their offenses. They then surrendered and marched back with the soldiers to their respective missions. This was the last attempt of the Indians to escape from mission rule.

CHAPTER X.

FIRST DECADE OF MEXICAN RULE.

JOSE MARIA ECHEANDIA, a lieutenant colonel of the Mexican army, was appointed governor of the two Californias, February 1, 1825. With his staff officers and a few soldiers he landed at Loreto June 22. After a delay of a few months at Loreto he marched overland to San Diego, where he arrived about the middle of October. He summoned Arguello to meet him there, which he did and turned over the government, October 31, 1825. Echeandia established his capital at San Diego, that town being about the center of his jurisdiction. This did not suit the people of Monterey, who became prejudiced against the new governor. Shortly after his inauguration he began an investigation of the attitude of the mission friars towards the republic of Mexico. He called padres Sanches, Zalvidea, Peyri and Martin, representatives of the four southern missions, to San Diego and demanded of them whether they would take the oath of allegiance to the supreme government. They expressed their willingness and were accordingly sworn to support the constitution of 1824. Many of the friars of the northern missions remained contumacious. Among the most stubborn of these was Padre Vicente Francisco de Sarria, former president of the missions. He had resigned the presidency to escape taking the oath of allegiance and still continued his opposition. He was put under arrest and an order issued for his expulsion by the supreme government, but the execution of the order was delayed for fear that if he were banished others of the disloyal padres would abandon their missions and secretly leave the country. The government was not ready yet to take possession of the missions. The friars could keep the neophytes in subjection and make them work. The business of the country was in the hands of the friars and any radical change would have been disastrous.

The national government in 1827 had issued a decree for the expulsion of Spaniards from Mexican territory. There were certain classes of those born in Spain who were exempt from banishment, but the friars were not among the exempts. The decree of expulsion reached California in 1828; but it was not enforced for the reason that all of the mission padres except three were Spaniards. To have sent these out of the country would have demoralized the missions. The Spanish friars were expelled from Mexico; but those in California, although some of them had boldly proclaimed their willingness to die for their king and their religion and demanded their passports to leave the country, were allowed to remain in the country. Their passports were not given them for reasons above stated. Padres Ripoll and Altimira made their escape without passports. They secretly took passage on an American brig lying at Santa Barbara. Orders were issued to seize the vessel should she put into any other harbor on the coast, but the captain, who no doubt had been liberally paid, took no chance of capture and the padres eventually reached Spain in safety. There was a suspicion that the two friars had taken with them a large amount of money from the mission funds, but nothing was proved. It was certain that they carried away something more than the bag and staff, the only property allowed them by the rules of their order.

The most bitter opponent of the new government was Father Luis Antonio Martinez of San Luis Obispo. Before the clandestine departure of Ripoll and Altimira there were rumors that he meditated a secret departure from the country. The mysterious shipment of $6,000 in gold belonging to the mission on a vessel called the Santa Apolonia gave credence to the report of his intended flight. He had been given a passport but still remained in the territory. His

outspoken disloyalty and his well known success in evading the revenue laws and smuggling goods into the country had made him particularly obnoxious to the authorities. Governor Echeandia determined to make an example of him. He was arrested in February, 1830, and confined in a room at Santa Barbara. In his trial before a council of war an attempt was made to connect him with complicity in the Solis revolution, but the evidence against him was weak. By a vote of five to one it was decided to send him out of the country. He was put on board an English vessel bound for Callao and there transferred to a vessel bound for Europe; he finally arrived safely at Madrid.

Under the empire a diputacion or provincial legislature had been established in California. Arguello in 1825 had suppressed this while he was governor. Echeandia, shortly after his arrival, ordered an election for a new diputacion. The diputacion made the general laws of the territory. It consisted of seven members called vocals. These were chosen by an electoral junta, the members of which were elected by the people. The diputacion chose a diputado or delegate to the Mexican Congress. As it was a long distance for some of the members to travel to the territorial capital a suplente or substitute was chosen for each member, so as to assure a quorum. The diputacion called by Echeandia met at Monterey, June 14, 1828. The sessions, of which there were two each week, were held in the governor's palacio. This diputacion passed a rather peculiar revenue law. It taxed domestic aguardiente (grape brandy) $5 a barrel and wine half that amount in the jurisdictions of Monterey and San Francisco; but in the jurisdictions of Santa Barbara and San Diego the rates were doubled, brandy was taxed $10 a barrel and wine $5. San Diego, Los Angeles and Santa Barbara were wine producing districts, while Monterey and San Francisco were not. As there was a larger consumption of the product in the wine producing districts than in the others the law was enacted for revenue and not for prevention of drinking.

Another peculiar freak of legislation perpetrated by this diputacion was the attempt to change the name of the territory. The supreme government was memorialized to change the name of Alta California to that of Montezuma and also that of the Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles to that of Villa Victoria de la Reyna de los Angeles and make it the capital of the territory. A coat of arms was adopted for the territory. It consisted of an oval with the figure of an oak tree on one side, an olive tree on the other and a plumed Indian in the center with his bow and quiver, just in the act of stepping across the mythical straits of Anian. The memorial was sent to Mexico, but the supreme government paid no attention to it.

The political upheavals, revolutions and counter revolutions that followed the inauguration of a republican form of government in Mexico demoralized the people and produced a prolific crop of criminals. The jails were always full and it became a serious question what to do with them. It was proposed to make California a penal colony, similar to England's Botany Bay. Orders were issued to send criminals to California as a means of reforming their morals. The Californians protested against the sending of these undesirable immigrants, but in vain. In February, 1830, the brig Maria Ester brought eighty convicts from Acapulco to San Diego. They were not allowed to land there and were taken to Santa Barbara. What to do with them was a serious question with the Santa Barbara authorities. The jail would not hold a tenth part of the shipment and to turn them loose in the sparsely settled country was dangerous to the peace of the community. Finally, about thirty or forty of the worst of the bad lot were shipped over to the island of Santa Cruz. They were given a supply of cattle, some fishhooks and a few tools and turned loose on the island to shift for themselves. They staid on the island until they had slaughtered and eaten the cattle, then they built a raft and drifted back to Santa Barbara, where they quartered themselves on the padres of the mission. Fifty more were sent from Mexico a few months later. These shipments of prison exiles were distributed around among the settlements. Some served out their time and returned to their native land, a few escaped over the border,

others remained in the territory after their time was up and became fairly good citizens.

The colonization law passed by the Mexican Congress August 18, 1824, was the first break in the proscriptive regulations that had prevailed in Spanish-American countries since their settlement. Any foreigner of good character who should locate in the country and become a Roman Catholic could obtain a grant of public land, not exceeding eleven leagues; but no foreigner was allowed to obtain a grant within twenty leagues of the boundary of a foreign country nor within ten leagues of the sea coast. The law of April 14, 1828, allowed foreigners to become naturalized citizens. The applicant was required to have resided at least two years in the country, to be or to become a Roman Catholic, to renounce allegiance to his former country and to swear to support the constitution and laws of the Mexican republic. Quite a number of foreigners who had been residing a number of years in California took advantage of this law and became Mexican citizens by naturalization. The colonization law of November 18, 1828, prescribed a series of rules and regulations for the making of grants of land. Colonists were required to settle on and cultivate the land granted within a specified time or forfeit their grants. Any one residing outside of the republic could not retain possession of his land. The minimum size of a grant as defined by this law was two hundred varas square of irrigable land, eight hundred varas square of arable land (depending on the seasons) and twelve hundred varas square grazing land. The size of a house lot was one hundred varas square.

The Californians had grown accustomed to foreigners coming to the country by sea, but they were not prepared to have them come overland. The mountains and deserts that intervened between the United States and California were supposed to be an insurmountable barrier to foreign immigration by land. It was no doubt with feelings of dismay, mingled with anger, that Governor Echeandia received the advance guard of maldito estranjeros, who came across the continent. Echeandia hated foreigners and particularly Americans. The pioneer of overland travel from the United States to California was Capt. Jedediah S. Smith. Smith was born in Connecticut and when quite young came with his father to Ohio and located in Ashtabula county, where he grew to manhood amid the rude surroundings of pioneer life in the west. By some means he obtained a fairly good education. We have no record of when he began the life of a trapper. We first hear of him as an employe of General Ashley in 1822. He had command of a band of trappers on the waters of the Snake river in 1824. Afterwards he became a partner of Ashley under the firm name of Ashley & Smith and subsequently one of the members of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. The latter company had about 1825 established a post and fort near Great Salt Lake. From this, August 22, 1826, Captain Smith with a band of fifteen hunters and trappers started on his first expedition to California. His object was to find some new country that had not been occupied by a fur company. Traveling in a southwesterly direction he discovered a river which he named Adams (after President John Quincy Adams) now known as the Rio Virgin. This stream he followed down to its junction with the Colorado. Traveling down the latter river he arrived at the Mojave villages, where he rested fifteen days. Here he found two wandering neophytes, who guided his party across the desert to the San Gabriel mission, where he and his men arrived safely early in December, 1826.

The arrival of a party of armed Americans from across the mountains and deserts alarmed the padres and couriers were hastily dispatched to Governor Echeandia at San Diego. The Americans were placed under arrest and compelled to give up their arms. Smith was taken to San Diego to give an account of himself. He claimed that he had been compelled to enter the territory on account of the loss of horses and a scarcity of provisions. He was finally released from prison upon the endorsement of several American ship captains and supercargoes who were then at San Diego. He was allowed to return to San Gabriel, where he purchased horses and supplies. He moved his camp to San Bernardino, where he remained until February. The authorities had grown uneasy

at his continued presence in the country and orders were sent to arrest him, but before this could be done he left for the Tulare country by way of Cajon Pass. He trapped on the tributaries of the San Joaquin. By the 1st of May he and his party had reached a fork of the Sacramento (near where the town of Folsom now stands). Here he established a summer camp and the river ever since has been known as the American fork from that circumstance.

Here again the presence of the Americans worried the Mexican authorities. Smith wrote a conciliatory letter to Padre Duran, president of the missions, informing him that he had "made several efforts to pass over the mountains, but the snow being so deep I could not succeed in getting over. I returned to this place, it being the only point to kill meat, to wait a few weeks until the snow melts so that I can go on." "On May 20, 1827," Smith writes, "with two men, seven horses and two mules, I started from the valley. In eight days we crossed Mount Joseph, losing two horses and one mule. After a march of twenty days eastward from Mount Joseph (the Sierra Nevadas) I reached the southwesterly corner of the Great Salt Lake. The country separating it from the mountains is arid and without game. Often we had no water for two days at a time. When we reached Salt Lake we had left only one horse and one mule, so exhausted that they could hardly carry our slight baggage. We had been forced to eat the horses that had succumbed."

Smith's route over the Sierras to Salt Lake was substantially the same as that followed by the overland emigration of later years. He discovered the Humboldt, which he named the Mary river, a name it bore until changed by Fremont in 1845. He was the first white man to cross the Sierra Nevadas. Smith left his party of trappers except the two who accompanied him in the Sacramento valley. He returned next year with reinforcements and was ordered out of the country by the governor. He traveled up the coast towards Oregon. On the Umpqua river he was attacked by the Indians. All his party except himself and two others were massacred. He lost all of his horses and furs. He reached Fort Vancouver, his clothing torn to rags and almost starved to death. In 1831 he started with a train of wagons to Santa Fe on a trading expedition. While alone searching for water near the Cimarron river he was set upon by a party of Indians and killed. Thus perished by the hands of cowardly savages in the wilds of New Mexico a man who, through almost incredible dangers and sufferings, had explored an unknown region as vast in extent as that which gave fame and immortality to the African explorer, Stanley; and who marked out trails over mountains and across deserts that Fremont following years afterwards won the title of "Pathfinder of the Great West." Smith led the advance guard of the fur trappers to California. Notwithstanding the fact that they were unwelcome visitors these adventurers continued to come at intervals up to 1845. They trapped on the tributaries of the San Joaquin, Sacramento and the rivers in the northern part of the territory. A few of them remained in the country and became permanent residents, but most of them sooner or later met death by the savages.

Capt. Jedediah S. Smith marked out two of the great immigrant trails by which the overland travel, after the discovery of gold, entered California, one by way of the Humboldt river over the Sierra Nevadas, the other southerly from Salt Lake, Utah Lake, the Rio Virgin, across the Colorado desert, through the Cajon Pass to Los Angeles. A third immigrant route was blazed by the Pattie party. This route led from Santa Fe, across New Mexico, down the Gila to the Colorado and from thence across the desert through the San Gorgonio Pass to Los Angeles.

This party consisted of Sylvester Pattie, James Ohio Pattie, his son, Nathaniel M. Pryor, Richard Laughlin, Jesse Furguson, Isaac Slover, William Pope and James Puter. The Patties left Kentucky in 1824 and followed trapping in New Mexico and Arizona until 1827; the elder Pattie for a time managing the copper mines of Santa Rita. In May, 1827, Pattie the elder, in command of a party of thirty trappers and hunters, set out to trap the tributaries of the Colorado. Losses by Indian hostilities, by dissensions and desertions reduced the party to eight persons. December 1st, 1827, while

these were encamped on the Colorado near the mouth of the Gila, the Yuma Indians stole all their horses. They constructed rafts and floated down the Colorado, expecting to find Spanish settlements on its banks, where they hoped to procure horses to take them back to Santa Fe. They floated down the river until they encountered the flood tide from the gulf. Finding it impossible to go ahead on account of the tide or back on account of the river current, they landed, cached their furs and traps and with two days' supply of beaver meat struck out westerly across the desert. After traveling for twenty-four days and suffering almost incredible hardships they reached the old Mission of Santa Catalina near the head of the Gulf of California. Here they were detained until news of their arrival could be sent to Governor Echeandia at San Diego. A guard of sixteen soldiers was sent for them and they were conducted to San Diego, where they arrived February 27, 1828. Their arms were taken from them and they were put in prison. The elder Pattie died during their imprisonment. In September all the party except young Pattie, who was retained as a hostage, were released and permitted to go after their buried furs. They found their furs had been ruined by the overflow of the river. Two of the party, Slover and Pope, made their way back to Santa Fe; the others returned, bringing with them their beaver traps. They were again imprisoned by Governor Echeandia, but were finally released.

Three of the party, Nathaniel M. Pryor, Richard Laughlin and Jesse Furguson, became permanent residents of California. Young Pattie returned to the United States by way of Mexico. After his return, with the assistance of the Rev. Timothy Flint, he wrote an account of his adventures, which was published in Cincinnati in 1833, under the title of "Pattie's Narrative." Young Pattie was inclined to exaggeration. In his narrative he claims that with vaccine matter brought by his father from the Santa Rita mines he vaccinated twenty-two thousand people in California. In Los Angeles alone, he vaccinated twenty-five hundred, which was more than double the population of the town in 1828. He took a contract from the president of the missions to vaccinate all the neophytes in the territory. When his job was finished the president offered him in pay five hundred cattle and five hundred mules with land to pasture his stock on condition he would become a Roman Catholic and a citizen of Mexico. Pattie scorned the offer and roundly upbraided the padre for taking advantage of him. He had previously given Governor Eacheandia a tongue lashing and had threatened to shoot him on sight. From his narrative he seems to have put in most of his time in California blustering and threatening to shoot somebody.

Another famous trapper of this period was "Peg Leg" Smith. His real name was Thomas L. Smith. It is said that in a fight with the Indians his leg below the knee was shattered by a bullet. He coolly amputated his leg at the knee with no other instrument than his hunting knife. He wore a wooden leg and from this came his nickname. He first came to California in 1829. He was ordered out of the country. He and his party took their departure, but with them went three or four hundred California horses. He died in a San Francisco hospital in 1866.

Ewing Young, a famous captain of trappers, made several visits to California from 1830 to 1837. In 1831 he led a party of thirty hunters and trappers, among those of his party who remained in California was Col. J. J. Warner, who became prominent in the territory and state. In 1837 Ewing Young with a party of sixteen men came down from Oregon, where he finally located, to purchase cattle for the new settlements on the Willamette river. They bought seven hundred cattle at $3 per head from the government and drove them overland to Oregon, reaching there after a toilsome journey of four months with six hundred. Young died in Oregon in 1841.

From the downfall of Spanish domination in 1822, to the close of that decade there had been but few political disturbances in California. The only one of any consequence was Solis' and Herrera's attempt to revolutionize the territory and seize the government. José Maria Herrera had come to California as a commissioner of

the commissary department, but after a short term of service had been removed from office for fraud. Joaquin Solis was a convict who was serving a ten years sentence of banishment from Mexico. The ex-official and the exile with others of damaged character combined to overturn the government.

On the night of November 12, 1829, Solis, with a band of soldiers that he had induced to join his standard, seized the principal government officials at Monterey and put them in prison. At Solis' solicitation Herrera drew up a pronunciamento. It followed the usual line of such documents. It began by deploring the evils that had come upon the territory through Echeandia's misgovernment and closed with promises of reformation if the revolutionists should obtain control of the government. To obtain the sinews of war the rebels seized $3,000 of the public funds. This was distributed among the soldiers and proved a great attraction to the rebel cause. Solis with twenty men went to San Francisco and the soldiers there joined his standard. Next he marched against Santa Barbara with an army of one hundred and fifty men. Echeandia on hearing of the revolt had marched northward with all the soldiers he could enlist. The two armies met at Santa Ynez. Solis opened fire on the governor's army. The fire was returned. Solis' men began to break away and soon the army and its valiant leader were in rapid flight. Pacheco's cavalry captured the leaders of the revolt. Herrara, Solis and thirteen others were shipped to Mexico under arrest to be tried for their crimes. The Mexican authorities, always lenient to California revolutionists, probably from a fellow feeling, turned them all loose and Herrera was sent back to fill his former office.

Near the close of his term Governor Echeandia formulated a plan for converting the mission into pueblos. To ascertain the fitness of the neophytes for citizenship he made an investigation to find out how many could read and write. He found so very few that he ordered schools opened at the missions. A pretense was made of establishing schools, but very little was accomplished. The padres were opposed to educating the natives for the same reason that the southern slave-holders were opposed to educating the negro, namely, that an ignorant people were more easily kept in subjection. Echeandia's plan of secularization was quite elaborate and dealt fairly with the neophytes. It received the sanction of the diputacion when that body met in July, 1830, but before anything could be done towards enforcing it another governor was appointed. Echeandia was thoroughly hated by the mission friars and their adherents. Robinson in his "Life in California" calls him a man of vice and makes a number of damaging assertions about his character and conduct, which are not in accordance with the facts. It was during Echeandia's term as governor that the motto of Mexico, Dios y Libertad (God and Liberty), was adopted. It became immensely popular and was used on all public documents and often in private correspondence.

A romantic episode that has furnished a theme for fiction writers occurred in the last year of Echeandia's rule. It was the elopement of Henry D. Fitch with Doña Josefa, daughter of Joaquin Carrillo of San Diego. Fitch was a native of New Bedford, Mass. He came to California in 1826 as master of the Maria Ester. He fell in love with Doña Josefa. There were legal obstructions to their marriage. Fitch was a foreigner and a Protestant. The latter objection was easily removed by Fitch becoming a Catholic. The Dominican friar who was to perform the marriage service, fearful that he might incur the wrath of the authorities, civil and clerical, refused to perform the ceremony, but suggested that there were other countries where the laws were less strict and offered to go beyond the limits of California and marry them. It is said that at this point Doña Josefa said: "Why don't you carry me off, Don Enrique?" The suggestion was quickly acted upon. The next night the lady, mounted on a steed with her cousin, Pio Pico, as an escort, was secretly taken to a point on the bay shore where a boat was waiting for her. The boat put off to the Vulture, where Captain Fitch received her on board and the vessel sailed for Valparaiso, where the couple were married. A year later Captain Fitch returned to California with his

wife and infant son. At Monterey Fitch was arrested on an order of Padre Sanchez of San Gabriel and put in prison. His wife was also placed under arrest at the house of Captain Cooper. Fitch was taken to San Gabriel for trial, "his offenses being most heinous." At her intercession, Governor Echeandia released Mrs. Fitch and allowed her to go to San Gabriel, where her husband was imprisoned in one of the rooms of the mission. This act of clemency greatly enraged the friar and his fiscal, Palomares, and they seriously considered the question of arresting the governor. The trial dragged along for nearly a month. Many witnesses were examined and many learned points of clerical law discussed. Vicar Sanchez finally gave his decision that the marriage at Valparaiso, though not legitimate, was not null and void, but valid. The couple were condemned to do penance by "presenting themselves in church with lighted candles in their hands to hear high mass for three feast days and recite together for thirty days one-third of the rosary of the holy virgin."* In addition to these joint penances the vicar inflicted an additional penalty on Fitch in these words: "Yet considering the great scandal which Don Enrique has caused in this province I condemn him to give as penance and reparation a bell of at least fifty pounds in weight for the church at Los Angeles, which barely has a borrowed one." Fitch and his wife no doubt performed the joint penance imposed upon them, but the church at Los Angeles had to get along with its borrowed bell. Don Enrique never gave it one of fifty pounds or any other weight.

*Bancroft's History of California, Vol. III-144.

CHAPTER XI.

REVOLUTIONS—THE HIJAR COLONISTS.

MANUEL VICTORIA was appointed governor in March, 1830, but did not reach California until the last month of the year. Victoria very soon became unpopular. He undertook to overturn the civil authority and substitute military rule. He recommended the abolition of the ayuntamientos and refused to call together the territorial diputacion. He exiled Don Abel Stearns and José Antonio Carrillo; and at different times, on trumped-up charges, had half a hundred of the leading citizens of Los Angeles incarcerated in the pueblo jail. Alcalde Vicente Sanchez was the petty despot of the pueblo, who carried out the tyrannical decrees of his master, Victoria. Among others who were imprisoned in the cuartel was José Maria Avila. Avila was proud, haughty and overbearing. He had incurred the hatred of both Victoria and Sanchez. Sanchez, under orders from Victoria, placed Avila in prison, and to humiliate him put him in irons. Avila brooded over the indignities inflicted upon him and vowed to be revenged.

Victoria's persecutions became so unbearable that Pio Pico, Juan Bandini and José Antonio Carrillo raised the standard of revolt at San Diego and issued a pronunciamento, in which they set forth the reasons why they felt themselves obliged to rise against the tyrant, Victoria. Pablo de Portilla, comandante of the presidio of San Diego, and his officers, with a force of fifty soldiers, joined the revolutionists and marched to Los Angeles. Sanchez's prisoners were released and he was chained up in the pueblo jail. Here Portilla's force was recruited to two hundred men. Avila and a number of the other released prisoners joined the revolutionists, and all marched forth to meet Victoria, who was moving southward with an armed force to suppress the insurrection. The two forces met on the plains of Cahuenga, west of the pueblo, at a place known as the Lomitas de la Canada de Breita. The sight of his persecutor so infuriated Avila that alone he rushed upon him to run him through with his lance. Captain Pacheco, of Victoria's staff, parried the lance thrust. Avila shot him dead with one of

his pistols and again attacked the governor and succeeded in wounding him, when he himself received a pistol ball that unhorsed him. After a desperate struggle (in which he seized Victoria by the foot and dragged him from his horse) he was shot by one of Victoria's soldiers. Portilla's army fell back in a panic to Los Angeles and Victoria's men carried the wounded governor to the Mission San Gabriel, where his wounds were dressed by Joseph Chapman, who, to his many other accomplishments, added that of amateur surgeon. Some citizens who had taken no part in the fight brought the bodies of Avila and Pacheco to the town. "They were taken to the same house, the same hands rendered them the last sad rites, and they were laid side by side. Side by side knelt their widows and mingled their tears, while sympathizing countrymen chanted the solemn prayers of the church for the repose of the souls of these untimely dead. Side by side beneath the orange and the olive in the little churchyard upon the plaza sleep the slayer and the slain."*

Next day, Victoria, supposing himself mortally wounded, abdicated and turned over the governorship of the territory to Echeandia. He resigned the office December 9, 1831, having been governor a little over ten months. When Victoria was able to travel he was sent to San Diego, from where he was deported to Mexico, San Diego borrowing $125 from the ayuntamiento of Los Angeles to pay the expense of shipping him out of the country. Several years afterwards the money had not been repaid, and the town council began proceedings to recover it, but there is no record in the archives to show that it was ever paid. And thus it was that California got rid of a bad governor and Los Angeles incurred a bad debt.

January 10, 1832, the territorial legislature met at Los Angeles to choose a "gefe politico," or governor, for the territory. Echeandia was invited to preside but replied from San Juan Capistrano that he was busy getting Victoria out of the country. The diputacion, after waiting some time and receiving no satisfaction from Echeandia whether he wanted the office or not, declared Pio Pico, by virtue of his office of senior vocal, "gefe politico."

No sooner had Pico been sworn into office than Echeandia discovered that he wanted the office and wanted it badly. He protested against the action of the diputacion and intrigued against Pico. Another revolution was threatened. Los Angeles favored Echeandia, although all the other towns in the territory had accepted Pico. (Pico at that time was a resident of San Diego.) A mass meeting was called on February 12, 1832, at Los Angeles, to discuss the question whether it should be Pico or Echeandia. I give the report of the meeting in the quaint language of the pueblo archives:

"The town, acting in accord with the Most Illustrious Ayuntamiento, answered in a loud voice, saying they would not admit Citizen Pio Pico as 'gefe politico,' but desired that Lieut.-Col. Citizen José Maria Echeandia be retained in office until the supreme government appoint. Then the president of the meeting, seeing the determination of the people, asked the motive or reason of refusing Citizen Pio Pico, who was of unblemished character. To this the people responded that while it was true that Citizen Pio Pico was to some extent qualified, yet they preferred Lieut.-Col. Citizen José M. Echeandia. The president of the meeting then asked the people whether they had been bribed, or was it merely insubordination that they opposed the resolution of the Most Excellent Diputacion? Whereupon the people answered that they had not been bribed, nor were they insubordinate, but that they opposed the proposed 'gefe politico' because he had not been named by the supreme government."

At a public meeting February 19 the matter was again brought up. Again the people cried out "they would not recognize or obey any other gefe politico than Echeandia." The Most Illustrious Ayuntamiento opposed Pio Pico for two reasons: "First, because his name appeared first on the plan to oust Gefe Politico Citizen Manuel Victoria," and "Second, because he, Pico, had not sufficient capacity to fulfil the duties of the office." Then José Perez and José Antonio Carrillo withdrew from the meeting,

*Stephen C. Foster.

saying they would not recognize Echeandia as "gefe politico." Pico, after holding the office for twenty days, resigned for the sake of peace. And this was the length of Pico's first term as governor.

Echeandia, by obstinacy and intrigue, had obtained the coveted office, "gefe politico," but he did not long enjoy it in peace. News came from Monterey that Capt. Agustin V. Zamorano had declared himself governor and was gathering a force to invade the south and enforce his authority. Echeandia began at once marshaling his forces to oppose him. Ybarra, Zamarano's military chief, with a force of one hundred men, by a forced march, reached Paso de Bartolo, on the San Gabriel river, where, fifteen years later, Stockton fought the Mexican troops under Flores. Here Ybarra found Captain Borroso posted with a piece of artillery and fourteen men. He did not dare to attack him. Echeandia and Borroso gathered a force of a thousand neophytes at Paso de Bartolo, where they drilled them in military evolutions. Ybarra's troops had fallen back to Santa Barbara, where he was joined by Zamorano with reinforcements. Ybarra's force was largely made up of ex-convicts and other undesirable characters, who took what they needed, asking no questions of the owners. The Angelenos, fearing those marauders, gave their adhesion to Zamorano's plan and recognized him as military chief of the territory. Captain Borroso, Echeandia's faithful adherent, disgusted with the fickleness of the Angelenos, at the head of a thousand mounted Indians, threatened to invade the recalcitrant pueblo, but at the intercession of the frightened inhabitants this modern Coriolanus turned aside and regaled his neophyte retainers on the fat bullocks of the Mission San Gabriel, much to the disgust of the padres. The neophyte warriors were disbanded and sent to their respective missions.

A peace was patched up betwen Zamorano and Echeandia. Alta California was divided into two territories. Echeandia was given jurisdiction over all south of San Gabriel and Zamorano all north of San Fernando. This division apparently left a neutral district, or "no man's land," between. Whether Los Angeles was in this neutral territory the records do not show. If it was, it is probable that neither of the governors wanted the job of governing the rebellious pueblo.

In January, 1833, Governor Figueroa arrived in California. Echeandia and Zamorano each surrendered his half of the divided territory to the newly appointed governor, and California was united and at peace. Figueroa proved to be the right man for the times. He conciliated the factions and brought order out of chaos. The two most important events in Figueroa's term of office were the arrival of the Hijar Colony in California and the secularization of the missions. These events were most potent factors in the evolution of the territory.

In 1833 the first California colonization scheme was inaugurated in Mexico. At the head of this was José Maria Hijar, a Mexican gentleman of wealth and influence. He was assisted in its promulgation by José M. Padres, an adventurer, who had been banished from California by Governor Victoria. Padres, like some of our modern real estate boomers, pictured the country as an earthly paradise—an improved and enlarged Garden of Eden. Among other inducements held out to the colonists, it is said, was the promise of a division among them of the mission property and a distribution of the neophytes for servants.

Headquarters were established at the city of Mexico and two hundred and fifty colonists enlisted. Each family received a bonus of $10, and all were to receive free transportation to California and rations while on the journey. Each head of a family was promised a farm from the public domain, live stock and farming implements; these advances to be paid for on the installment plan. The orignal plan was to found a colony somewhere north of San Francisco bay, but this was not carried out. Two vessels were dispatched with the colonists —the Morelos and the Natalia. The latter was compelled to put into San Diego on account of sickness on board. She reached that port September 1, 1834. A part of the colonists on board her were sent to San Pedro and from there they were taken to Los Angeles and San Gabriel. The Morelos reached Monterey Sep-

tember 25. Hijar had been appointed governor of California by President Farias, but after the sailing of the expedition, Santa Ana, who had succeeded Farias, dispatched a courier overland with a countermanding order. By one of the famous rides of history, Amador, the courier, made the journey from the city of Mexico to Monterey in forty days and delivered his message to Governor Figueroa. When Hijar arrived he found to his dismay that he was only a private citizen of the territory instead of its governor. The colonization scheme was abandoned and the immigrants distributed themselves throughout the territory. Generally they were a good class of citizens, and many of them became prominent in California affairs.

That storm center of political disturbances, Los Angeles, produced but one small revolution during Figueroa's term as governor. A party of fifty or sixty Sonorans, some of whom were Hijar colonists who were living either in the town or its immediate neighborhood, assembled at Los Nietos on the night of March 7, 1835. They formulated a pronunciamiento against Don José Figueroa, in which they first vigorously arraigned him for sins of omission and commission and then laid down their plan of government of the territory. Armed with this formidable document and a few muskets and lances, these patriots, headed by Juan Gallado, a cobbler, and Felipe Castillo, a cigarmaker, in the gray light of the morning, rode into the pueblo, took possession of the town hall and the big cannon and the ammunition that had been stored there when the Indians of San Luis Rey had threatened hostilities. The slumbering inhabitants were aroused from their dreams of peace by the drum beat of war. The terrified citizens rallied to the juzgado, the ayuntamiento met, the cobbler statesman, Gallado, presented his plan; it was discussed and rejected. The revolutionists, after holding possession of the pueblo throughout the day, tired, hungry and disappointed in not receiving their pay for saving the country, surrendered to the legal authorities the real leaders of the revolution and disbanded. The leaders proved to be Torres, a clerk, and Apalategui, a doctor, both supposed to be emissaries of Hijar. They were imprisoned at San Gabriel. When news of the revolt reached Figueroa he had Hijar and Padres arrested for complicity in the outbreak. Hijar, with half a dozen of his adherents, was shipped back to Mexico. And thus the man who the year before had landed in California with a commission as governor and authority to take possession of all the property belonging to the missions returned to his native land an exile. His grand colonization scheme and his "Compania Cosmopolitana" that was to revolutionize California commerce were both disastrous failures.

Governor José Figueroa died at Monterey on the 29th of September, 1835. He is generally regarded as the best of the Mexican governors sent to California. He was of Aztec extraction and took a great deal of pride in his Indian blood.

CHAPTER XII.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE MISSIONS.

THE Franciscan Missions of Alta California have of late been a prolific theme for a certain class of writers and especially have they dwelt upon the secularization of these establishments. Their productions have added little or nothing to our previous knowledge of these institutions. Carried away by sentiment these writers draw pictures of mission life that are unreal, that are purely imaginary, and aroused to indignation at the injustice they fancy was done to their ideal institutions they deal out denunciations against the authorities that brought about secularization as unjust as they are undeserved. Such expressions as "the robber hand of secularization," and "the brutal and thievish disestablishment of the missions," emanate from writers who seem to be ignorant of the purpose for which the mis-

sions were founded, and who ignore, or who do not know, the causes which brought about their secularization.

It is an historical fact known to all acquainted with California history that these establishments were not intended by the Crown of Spain to become permanent institutions. The purpose for which the Spanish government fostered and protected them was to Christianize the Indians and make of them self-supporting citizens. Very early in its history, Governor Borica, Fages and other intelligent Spanish officers in California discovered the weakness of the mission system. Governor Borica, writing in 1796, said: "According to the laws the natives are to be free from tutelage at the end of ten years, the missions then becoming doctrinairs, but those of New California, at the rate they are advancing, will not reach the goal in ten centuries; the reason God knows, and men, too, know something about it."

The tenure by which the mission friars held their lands is admirably set forth in William Carey Jones' "Report on Land Titles in California," made in 1850. He says, "It had been supposed that the lands they (the missions) occupied were grants held as the property of the church or of the misson establishments as corporations. Such, however, was not the case; all the missions in Upper California were established under the direction and mainly at the expense of the government, and the missionaries there had never any other right than to the occupation and use of the lands for the purpose of the missions and at the pleasure of the government. This is shown by the history and principles of their foundation, by the laws in relation to them, by the constant practice of the government toward them and, in fact, by the rules of the Franciscan order, which forbid its members to possess property."

With the downfall of Spanish domination in Mexico came the beginning of the end of missionary rule in California. The majority of the mission padres were Spanish born. In the war of Mexican independence their sympathies were with their mother country, Spain. After Mexico attained her independence, some of them refused to acknowledge allegiance to the republic. The Mexican authorities feared and distrusted them. In this, in part, they found a pretext for the disestablishment of the missions and the confiscation of the mission estates. There was another cause or reason for secularization more potent than the loyalty of the padres to Spain. Few forms of land monopoly have ever exceeded that in vogue under the mission system of California. From San Diego to San Francisco bay the twenty missions established under Spanish rule monopolized the greater part of the fertile land between the coast range and the sea. The limits of one mission were said to cover the intervening space to the limits of the next. There was but little left for other settlers. A settler could not obtain a grant of land if the padres of the nearest mission objected.

The twenty-four ranchos owned by the Mission San Gabriel contained about a million and a half acres and extended from the sea to the San Bernardino mountains. The greatest neophyte population of San Gabriel was in 1817, when it reached 1,701. Its yearly average for the first three decades of the present century did not exceed 1,500. It took a thousand acres of fertile land under the mission system to support an Indian, even the smallest papoose of the mission flock. It is not strange that the people clamored for a subdivision of the mission estates; and secularization became a public necessity. The most enthusiastic admirer of the missions to-day, had he lived in California seventy years ago, would no doubt have been among the loudest in his wail against the mission system.

The abuse heaped upon the Mexican authorities for their secularization of these institutions is as unjust as it is unmerited. The act of the Mexican Congress of August 17, 1833, was not the initiative movement towards their disestablishment. Indeed in their foundation their secularization, their subdivision into pueblos, was provided for and the local authorities were never without lawful authority over them. In the very beginning of missionary work in Alta California the process of secularizing the mission establishments was mapped out in the following "Instructions given by Viceroy Bucarili August 17, 1773, to the comandante of the new establishments of San Diego and Monterey,

Article 15, when it shall happen that a mission is to be formed into a pueblo or village the comandante will proceed to reduce it to the civil and economical government, which, according to the laws, is observed by other villages of this kingdom; their giving it a name and declaring for its patron the saint under whose memory and protection the mission was founded."

The purpose for which the mission was founded was to aid in the settlement of the country, and to convert the natives to Christianity. "These objects accomplished the missionary's labor was considered fulfilled and the establishment subject to dissolution. This view of their purpose and destiny fully appears in the tenor of the decree of the Spanish Cortes of September 13, 1813. It was passed in consequence of a complaint by the Bishop of Guiana of the evils that affected that province on account of the Indian settlements in charge of missions not being delivered to the ecclesiastical ordinary, although thirty, forty and fifty years had passed since the reduction and conversion of the Indians."*

The Cortes decreed 1st, that all the new reduciones y doctrinairs (settlements of newly converted Indians) not yet formed into parishes of the province beyond the sea which were in charge of missionary monks and had been ten years subjected should be delivered immediately to the respective ecclesiastical ordinaries (bishops) without resort to any excuse or pretext conformably to the laws and cedulas in that respect. Section 2nd, provided that the secular clergy should attend to the spiritual wants of these curacies. Section 3rd, the missionary monks relieved from the converted settlements shall proceed to the conversion of other heathen."

The decree of the Mexican Congress, passed November 20, 1833, for the secularization of the missions of Upper and Lower California, was very similar in its provisions to the decree of the Spanish Cortes of September, 1813. The Mexican government simply followed the example of Spain and in the conversion of the missions into pueblos was attempting to enforce a principle inherent in the foundation of the missionary establishments. That secularization resulted disastrously to the Indians was not the fault of the Mexican government so much as it was the defect in the industrial and intellectual training of the neophytes. Except in the case of those who were trained for choir services in the churches there was no attempt made to teach the Indians to read or write. The padres generally entertained a poor opinion of the neophytes' intellectual ability. The reglamento governing the secularization of the missions, published by Governor Echeandia in 1830, but not enforced, and that formulated by the diputacion under Governor Figueroa in 1834, approved by the Mexican Congress and finally enforced in 1834-5-6, were humane measures. These regulations provided for the colonization of the neophytes into pueblos or villages. A portion of the personal property and a part of the lands held by the missions were to be distributed among the Indians as follows:

"Article 5—To each head of a family and all who are more than twenty years old, although without families, will be given from the lands of the mission, whether temporal (lands dependent on the seasons) or watered, a lot of ground not to contain more than four hundred varas (yards) in length, and as many in breadth not less than one hundred. Sufficient land for watering the cattle will be given in common. The outlets or roads shall be marked out by each village, and at the proper time the corporation lands shall be designated." This colonization of the neophytes into pueblos would have thrown large bodies of the land held by the missions open to settlement by white settlers. The personal property of missionary establishments was to have been divided among their neophyte retainers thus: "Article 6. Among the said individuals will be distributed, ratably and justly, according to the discretion of the political chief, the half of the movable property, taking as a basis the last inventory which the missionaries have presented of all descriptions of cattle. Article 7. One-half or less of the implements and seeds indispensable for agriculture shall be allotted to them."

The political government of the Indian pu-

*William Carey Jones' Report.

eblos was to be organized in accordance with existing laws of the territory governing other towns. The neophyte could not sell, mortgage or dispose of the land granted him; nor could he sell his cattle. The regulations provided that "Religious missionaries shall be relieved from the administration of temporalities and shall only exercise the duties of their ministry so far as they relate to spiritual matters." The nunneries or the houses where the Indian girls were kept under the charge of a duena until they were of marriageable age were to be abolished and the children restored to their parents. Rule 7 provided that "What is called the 'priesthood' shall immediately cease, female children whom they have in charge being handed over to their fathers, explaining to them the care they should take of them, and pointing out their obligations as parents. The same shall be done with the male children."

Commissioners were to be appointed to take charge of the mission property and superintend its subdivision among the neophytes. The conversion of ten of the missionary establishments into pueblos was to begin in August, 1835. That of the others was to follow as soon as possible. San Gabriel, San Fernando and San Juan Capistrano were among the ten that were to be secularized first. For years secularization had threatened the missions, but hitherto something had occurred at the critical time to avert it. The missionaries had used their influence against it, had urged that the neophytes were unfitted for self-support, had argued that the emancipation of the natives from mission rule would result in disaster to them. Through all the agitation of the question in previous years the padres had labored on in the preservation and upbuilding of their establishments; but with the issuing of the secularization decree by the Mexican Congress, August 17, 1833, the organization of the Hijar Colony in Mexico and the instructions of acting president Farias to Hijar to occupy all the property of the missions and subdivide it among the colonists on their arrival in California, convinced the missionaries that the blow could no longer be averted. The revocation of Hijar's appointment as governor and the controversy which followed between him and Governor Figueroa and the diputacion for a time delayed the enforcement of the decree.

In the meantime, with the energy born of despair, eager at any cost to outwit those who sought to profit by their ruin, the mission fathers hastened to destroy that which through more than half a century thousands of human beings had spent their lives to accumulate. The wealth of the missions lay in their herds of cattle. The only marketable products of these were the hides and tallow. Heretofore a certain number of cattle had been slaughtered each week to feed the neophytes and sometimes when the ranges were in danger of becoming overstocked cattle were killed for their hides and tallow, and the meat left to the coyotes and the carrion crows. The mission fathers knew that if they allowed the possession of their herds to pass to other hands neither they nor the neophytes would obtain any reward for years of labor. The blow was liable to fall at any time. Haste was required. The mission butchers could not slaughter the animals fast enough. Contracts were made with the rancheros to kill on shares. The work of destruction began at the missions. The country became a mighty shambles. The matansas were no longer used. An animal was lassoed on the plain, thrown, its throat cut and while yet writhing in death agony, its hide was stripped and pegged upon the ground to dry. There were no vessels to contain the tallow and this was run into pits in the ground to be taken out when there was more time to spare and less cattle to be killed. The work of destruction went on as long as there were cattle to kill. So great was the stench from rotting carcasses of the cattle on the plains that a pestilence was threatened. The ayuntamiento of Los Angeles, November 15, 1833, passed an ordinance compelling all persons slaughtering cattle for the hides and tallow to cremate the carcasses. Some of the rancheros laid the foundations of their future wealth by appropriating herds of young cattle from the mission ranges.

Hugo Reid, in the letters previously referred to in this volume, says of this period at San Gabriel, "These facts (the decree of secularization

and the distribution of the mission property) being known to Padre Tomas (Estenaga), he, in all probability, by order of his superior, commenced a work of destruction. The back buildings were unroofed and the timber converted into fire wood. Cattle were killed on the halves by people who took a lion's share. Utensils were disposed of and goods and other articles distributed in profusion among the neophytes. The vineyards were ordered to be cut down, which, however, the Indians refused to do." After the mission was placed in charge of an administrator, Padre Tomas remained as minister of the church at a stipend of $1,500 per annum, derived from the pious fund.

Hugo Reid says of him, "As a wrong impression of his character may be produced from the preceding remarks, in justice to his memory, be it stated that he was a truly good man, a sincere Christian and a despiser of hypocrisy. He had a kind, unsophisticated heart, so that he believed every word told him. There has never been a purer priest in California. Reduced in circumstances, annoyed on many occasions by the petulancy of administrators, he fulfilled his duties according to his conscience, with benevolence and good humor. The nuns, who, when the secular movement came into operation, had been set free, were again gathered together under his supervision and maintained at his expense, as were also a number of old men and women."

The experiment of colonizing the Indians in pueblos was a failure and they were gathered back into the mission, or as many of them as could be got back, and placed in charge of administrators. "The Indians," says Reid, "were made happy at this time in being permitted to enjoy once more the luxury of a tule dwelling, from which the greater part had been debarred for so long; they could now breathe freely again." (The close adobe buildings in which they had been housed in mission days were no doubt one of the causes of the great mortality among them.)

"Administrator followed administrator until the mission could support no more, when the system was broken up." * * * "The Indians during this period were continually running off. Scantily clothed and still more scantily supplied with food, it was not to be wondered at. Nearly all the Gabrielinos went north, while those of San Diego, San Luis and San Juan overrun this country, filling the Angeles and surrounding ranchos with more servants than were required. Labor, in consequence, was very cheap. The different missions, however, had alcaldes continually on the move, hunting them up and carrying them back, but to no purpose; it was labor in vain."

"Even under the dominion of the church in mission days," Reid says, "the neophytes were addicted both to drinking and gaming, with an inclination to steal;" but after their emancipation they went from bad to worse. Those attached to the ranchos and those located in the town were virtually slaves. They had bosses or owners and when they ran away were captured and returned to their master. The account book for 1840 of the sindico of Los Angeles contains this item, "For the delivery of two Indians to their boss $12."

In all the large towns there was an Indian village known as the pueblito or little town. These were the sink holes of crime and the favorite resorts of dissolute characters, both white and red. The Indian village at Los Angeles between what is now Aliso and First street became such an intolerable nuisance that on petition of the citizens it was removed across the river to the "Spring of the Abilas," but its removal did not improve its morals. Vicente Guerrero, the sindico, discussing the Indian question before the ayuntamiento said, "The Indians are so utterly depraved that no matter where they may settle down their conduct would be the same, since they look upon death even with indifference, provided they can indulge in their pleasures and vices." This was their condition in less than a decade after they were freed from mission control.

What did six decades of mission rule accomplish for the Indian? In all the older missions between their founding and their secularization three generations of adults had come under the influence of mission life and training—first, the adult converts made soon after the founding; second, their children born at the missions, and

third, the children of these who had grown to manhood before the fall of the missions. How great an improvement had the neophytes of the third generation made over those of the first? They had to a great extent lost their original language and had acquired a speaking knowledge of Spanish. They had abandoned or forgotten their primitive religious belief, but their new religion exercised but little influence on their lives. After their emancipation they went from bad to worse. Some of the more daring escaped to the mountains and joining the wild tribes there became the leaders in frequent predatory excursions on the horses and cattle of the settlers in the valleys. They were hunted down and shot like wild beasts.

What became of the mission estates? As the cattle were killed off the different ranchos of the mission domains, settlers petitioned the ayuntamiento for grants. If upon investigation it was found that the land asked for was vacant the petition was referred to the governor for his approval. In this way the vast mission domains passed into private hands. The country improved more in wealth and population between 1836 and 1846 than in the previous fifty years. Secularization was destruction to the mission and death to the Indian, but it was beneficial to the country at large. The decline of the missions and the passing of the neophyte had begun long before the decrees of secularization were enforced. Nearly all the missions passed their zenith in population during the second decade of the century. Even had the missionary establishments not been secularized they would eventually have been depopulated. At no time during the mission rule were the number of births equal to the number of deaths. When recruits could no longer be obtained from the Gentiles or wild Indians the decline became more rapid. The mission annals show that from 1769 to 1834, when secularization was enforced —an interval of sixty-five years—79,000 converts were baptized and 62,000 deaths recorded. The death rate among the neophytes was about twice that of the negro in this country and four times that of the white race. The extinction of the neophyte or mission Indian was due to the enforcement of that inexorable law or decree of nature, the Survival of the Fittest. Where a stronger race comes in contact with a weaker, there can be but one termination of the contest—the extermination of the weaker.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FREE AND SOVEREIGN STATE OF ALTA CALIFORNIA.

GOVERNOR FIGUEROA on his deathbed turned over the civil command of the territory to José Castro, who thereby became "gefe politico ad interem." The military command was given to Lieut.-Col. Nicolas Gutierrez with the rank of comandante general. The separation of the two commands was in accordance with the national law of May 6, 1822.

Castro was a member of the diputacion, but was not senior vocal or president. José Antonio Carrillo, who held that position, was diputado or delegate to congress and was at that time in the city of Mexico. It was he who secured the decree from the Mexican Congress May 23, 1835, making Los Angeles the capital of California, and elevating it to the rank of a city. The second vocal, José Antonio Estudillo, was sick at his home in San Diego. José Castro ranked third. He was the only one of the diputacion at the capital and at the previous meeting of the diputacion he had acted as presiding officer. Gutierrez, who was at San Gabriel when appointed to the military command, hastened to Monterey, but did not reach there until after the death of Figueroa. Castro, on assuming command, sent a notification of his appointment to the civil authorities of the different jurisdictions. All responded favorably except San Diego and Los Angeles. San Diego claimed the office for Estudillo, second vocal, and Los Angeles declared against Castro be-

cause he was only third vocal and demanded that the diputacion should meet at the legal capital (Los Angeles) of the territory. This was the beginning of the capital war that lasted ten years and increased in bitterness as it increased in age. The diputacion met at Monterey. It decided in favor of Castro and against removing the capital to Los Angeles.

Castro executed the civil functions of gefe politico four months and then, in accordance with orders from the supreme government, he turned over his part of the governorship to Comandante General Gutierrez and again the two commands were united in one person. Gutierrez filled the office of "gobernador interno" from January 2, 1836, to the arrival of his successor, Mariano Chico. Chico had been appointed governor by President Barragan, December 16, 1835, but did not arrive in California until April, 1836. Thus California had four governors within nine months. They changed so rapidly there was not time to foment a revolution. Chico began his administration by a series of petty tyrannies. Just before his arrival in California a vigilance committee at Los Angeles shot to death Gervacio Alispaz and his paramour, Maria del Rosaria Villa, for the murder of the woman's husband, Domingo Feliz. Alispaz was a countryman of Chico. Chico had the leaders arrested and came down to Los Angeles with the avowed purpose of executing Prudon, Arzaga and Aranjo, the president, secretary and military commander, respectively, of the Defenders of Public Security, as the vigilantes called themselves. He announced his intention of arresting and punishing every man who had taken part in the banishment of Governor Victoria. He summoned Don Abel Stearns to Monterey and threatened to have him shot for some imaginary offense. He fulminated a fierce pronunciamento against foreigners, that incurred their wrath, and made himself so odious that he was hated by all, native or foreigner. He was a centralist and opposed to popular rights. Exasperated beyond endurance by his scandalous conduct and unseemly exhibitions of temper the people of Monterey rose en masse against him, and so terrified him that he took passage on board a brig that was lying in the harbor and sailed for Mexico with the threat that he would return with an armed force to punish the rebellious Californians, but he never came back again.

With the enforced departure of Chico, the civil command of the territory devolved upon Nicolas Gutierrez, who still held the military command. He was of Spanish birth and a centralist or anti-federalist in politics. Although a mild mannered man he seemed to be impressed with the idea that he must carry out the arbitrary measures of his predecessor. Centralism was his nemesis. Like Chico, he was opposed to popular rights and at one time gave orders to disperse the diputacion by force. He was not long in making himself unpopular by attempting to enforce the centralist decrees of the Mexican Congress.

He quarreled with Juan Bautista Alvarado, the ablest of the native Californians. Alvarado and José Castro raised the standard of revolt. They gathered together a small army of rancheros and an auxiliary force of twenty-five American hunters and trappers under Graham, a backwoodsman from Tennessee. By a strategic movement they captured the castillo or fort which commanded the presidio, where Gutierrez and the Mexican army officials were stationed. The patriots demanded the surrender of the presidio and the arms. The governor refused. The revolutionists had been able to find but a single cannon ball in the castillo, but this was sufficient to do the business. A well-directed shot tore through the roof of the governor's house, covering him and his staff with the debris of broken tiles; that and the desertion of most of his soldiers to the patriots brought him to terms. On the 5th of November, 1836, he surrendered the presidio and resigned his authority as governor. He and about seventy of his adherents were sent aboard a vessel lying in the harbor and shipped out of the country.

With the Mexican governor and his officers out of the country, the next move of Castro and Alvarado was to call a meeting of the diputacion or territorial congress. A plan for the independence of California was adopted. This, which was known afterwards as the Monterey plan, consisted of six sections. the most im-

portant of which were as follows: "First, Alta California hereby declares itself independent from Mexico until the Federal System of 1824 is restored. Second, the same California is hereby declared a free and sovereign state; establishing a congress to enact the special laws of the country and the other necessary supreme powers. Third, the Roman Apostolic Catholic religion shall prevail; no other creed shall be allowed, but the government shall not molest anyone on account of his private opinions." The diputacion issued a declaration of independence that arraigned the mother country, Mexico, and her officials very much in the style that our own Declaration gives it to King George III. and England.

Castro issued a pronunciamiento, ending with Viva La Federacion! Viva La Libertad! Viva el Estado Libre y Soberano de Alta California! Thus amid vivas and proclamations, with the beating of drums and the booming of cannon, El Estado Libre de Alta California (The Free State of Alta California) was launched on the political sea. But it was rough sailing for the little craft. Her ship of state struck a rock and for a time shipwreck was threatened.

For years there had been a growing jealousy between Northern and Southern California. Los Angeles, as has been stated before, had by a decree of the Mexican congress been made the capital of the territory. Monterey had persistently refused to give up the governor and the archives. In the movement to make Alta California a free and independent state, the Angeleños recognized an attempt on the part of the people of the north to deprive them of the capital. Although as bitterly opposed to Mexican governors, and as active in fomenting revolutions against them as the people of Monterey, the Angeleños chose to profess loyalty to the mother country. They opposed the plan of government adopted by the congress at Monterey and promulgated a plan of their own, in which they declared California was not free; that the "Roman Catholic Apostolic religion shall prevail in this jurisdiction, and any person publicly professing any other shall be prosecuted by law as heretofore." A mass meeting was called to take measures "to prevent the spreading of the Monterey revolution, so that the progress of the nation may not be paralyzed," and to appoint a person to take military command of the department.

San Diego and San Luis Rey took the part of Los Angeles in the quarrel, Sonoma and San José joined Monterey, while Santa Barbara, always conservative, was undecided, but finally issued a plan of her own. Alvarado and Castro determined to suppress the revolutionary Angeleños. They collected a force of one hundred men, made up of natives, with Graham's contingent of twenty-five American riflemen. With this army they prepared to move against the recalcitrant sureños.

The ayuntamiento of Los Angeles began preparations to resist the invaders. An army of two hundred and seventy men was enrolled, a part of which was made up of neophytes. To secure the sinews of war José Sepulveda, second alcalde, was sent to the Mission San Fernando to secure what money there was in the hands of the major domo. He returned with two packages, which, when counted, were found to contain $2,000.

Scouts patrolled the Santa Barbara road as far as San Buenaventura to give warning of the approach of the enemy, and pickets guarded the Pass of Cahuenga and the Rodeo de Las Aguas to prevent northern spies from entering and southern traitors from getting out of the pueblo. The southern army was stationed at San Fernando under the command of Alferez (Lieut.) Rocha. Alvarado and Castro, pushing down the coast, reached Santa Barbara, where they were kindly received and their force recruited to one hundred and twenty men with two pieces of artillery. José Sepulveda at San Fernando sent to Los Angeles for the cannon at the town house and $200 of the mission money to pay his men.

On the 16th of January, 1837, Alvarado from San Buenaventura dispatched a communication to the ayuntamiento of Los Angeles and the citizens, telling them what military resources he had, which he would use against them if it became necessary, but he was willing to confer upon a plan of settlement. Sepulveda and Antonio M. Osio were appointed commissioners

and sent to confer with the governor, armed with several propositions, the substance of which was that California shall not be free and the Catholic religion must prevail with the privilege to prosecute any other religion, "according to law as heretofore." The commissioners met Alvarado on "neutral ground," between San Fernando and San Buenaventura. A long discussion followed without either coming to the point. Alvarado, by a coup d'état, brought it to an end. In the language of the commissioners' report to the ayuntamiento: "While we were a certain distance from our own forces with only four unarmed men and were on the point of coming to an agreement with Juan B. Alvarado, we saw the Monterey division advancing upon us and we were forced to deliver up the instructions of this illustrious body through fear of being attacked." They delivered up not only the instructions, but the Mission San Fernando. The southern army was compelled to surrender it and fall back on the pueblo, Rocha swearing worse than "our army in Flanders" because he was not allowed to fight. The southern soldiers had a wholesome dread of Graham's riflemen. These fellows, armed with long Kentucky rifles, shot to kill, and a battle once begun somebody would have died for his country and it would not have been Alvarado's riflemen.

The day after the surrender of the mission, January 21, 1837, the ayuntamiento held a session and the members were as obdurate and belligerent as ever. They resolved that it was only in the interests of humanity that the mission had been surrendered and their army forced to retire. "This ayuntamiento, considering the commissioners were forced to comply, annuls all action of the commissioners and does not recognize this territory as a free and sovereign state nor Juan B. Alvarado as its governor, and declares itself in favor of the Supreme Government of Mexico." A few days later Alvarado entered the city without opposition, the Angeleñian soldiers retiring to San Gabriel and from there scattering to their homes.

On the 26th of January an extraordinary session of the most illustrious ayuntamiento was held. Alvarado was present and made a lengthy speech, in which he said, "The native sons were subjected to ridicule by the Mexican mandarins sent here, and knowing our rights we ought to shake off the ominous yoke of bondage." Then he produced and read the six articles of the Monterey plan, the council also produced a plan and a treaty of amity was effected. Alvarado was recognized as governor pro tem. and peace reigned. The belligerent sureños vied with each other in expressing their admiration for the new order of things. Pio Pico wished to express the pleasure it gave him to see a "hijo del pais" in office. And Antonio Osio, the most belligerent of the sureños, declared "that sooner than again submit to a Mexican dictator as governor, he would flee to the forest and be devoured by wild beasts." The ayuntamiento was asked to provide a building for the government, "this being the capital of the state." The hatchet apparently was buried. Peace reigned in El Estado Libre. At the meeting of the town council, on the 30th of January, Alvarado made another speech, but it was neither conciliatory nor complimentary. He arraigned the "traitors who were working against the peace of the country" and urged the members to take measures "to liberate the city from the hidden hands that will tangle them in their own ruin." The pay of his troops who were ordered here for the welfare of California is due "and it is an honorable and preferred debt, therefore the ayuntamiento will deliver to the government the San Fernando money," said he. With a wry face, very much such as a boy wears when he is told that he has been spanked for his own good, the alcalde turned over the balance of the mission money to Juan Bautista, and the governor took his departure for Monterey, leaving, however, Col. José Castro with part of his army stationed at Mission San Gabriel, ostensibly "to support the city's authority," but in reality to keep a close watch on the city authorities.

Los Angeles was subjugated, peace reigned and El Estado Libre de Alta California took her place among the nations of the earth. But peace's reign was brief. At the meeting of the ayuntamiento May 27, 1838, Juan Bandini and Santiago E. Arguello of San Diego, appeared

with a pronunciamiento and a plan, San Diego's plan of government. Monterey, Santa Barbara and Los Angeles had each formulated a plan of government for the territory, and now it was San Diego's turn. Agustin V. Zamorano, who had been exiled with Governor Gutierrez, had crossed the frontier and was made comandante-general and territorial political chief ad interim by the San Diego revolutionists. The plan restored California to obedience to the supreme government; all acts of the diputacion and the Monterey plan were annulled and the northern rebels were to be arraigned and tried for their part in the revolution; and so on through twenty articles.

On the plea of an Indian outbreak near San Diego, in which the redmen, it was said, "were to make an end of the white race," the big cannon and a number of men were secured at Los Angeles to assist in suppressing the Indians, but in reality to reinforce the army of the San Diego revolutionists. With a force of one hundred and twenty-five men under Zamorano and Portilla, "the army of the supreme government" moved against Castro at Los Angeles. Castro retreated to Santa Barbara and Portilla's army took position at San Fernando.

The civil and military officials of Los Angeles took the oath to support the Mexican constitution of 1836 and, in their opinion, this absolved them from all allegiance to Juan Bautista and his Monterey plan. Alvarado hurried reinforcements to Castro at Santa Barbara, and Portilla called loudly for "men, arms and horses," to march against the northern rebels. But neither military chieftain advanced, and the summer wore away without a battle. There were rumors that Mexico was preparing to send an army of one thousand men to subjugate the rebellious Californians. In October came the news that José Antonio Carrillo, the Machiavelli of California politics, had persuaded President Bustamente to appoint Carlos Carrillo, José's brother, governor of Alta California.

Then consternation seized the arribeños (uppers) of the north and the abajeños (lowers) of Los Angeles went wild with joy. It was not that they loved Carlos Carrillo, for he was a Santa Barbara man and had opposed them in the late unpleasantness, but they saw in his appointment an opportunity to get revenge on Juan Bautista for the way he had humiliated them. They sent congratulatory messages to Carrillo and invited him to make Los Angeles the seat of his government. Carrillo was flattered by their attentions and consented. The 6th of December, 1837, was set for his inauguration, and great preparations were made for the event. The big cannon was brought over from San Gabriel to fire salutes and the city was ordered illuminated on the nights of the 6th, 7th and 8th of December. Cards of invitation were issued and the people from the city and country were invited to attend the inauguration ceremonies, "dressed as decent as possible," so read the invitations.

The widow Josefa Alvarado's house, the finest in the city, was secured for the governor's palacio (palace). The largest hall in the city was secured for the services and decorated as well as it was possible. The city treasury, being in its usual state of collapse, a subscription for defraying the expenses was opened and horses, hides and tallow, the current coin of the pueblo, were liberally contributed.

On the appointed day, "the most illustrious ayuntamiento and the citizens of the neighborhood (so the old archives read) met his excellency, the governor, Don Carlos Carrillo, who made his appearance with a magnificent accompaniment." The secretary, Narciso Botello, "read in a loud, clear and intelligible voice, the oath, and the governor repeated it after him." At the moment the oath was completed, the artillery thundered forth a salute and the bells rang out a merry peal. The governor made a speech, when all adjourned to the church, where a mass was said and a solemn Te Deum sung; after which all repaired to the house of his excellency, where the southern patriots drank his health in bumpers of wine and shouted themselves hoarse in vivas to the new government. An inauguration ball was held—the "beauty and the chivalry of the south were gathered there." Outside the tallow dips flared and flickered from the porticos of the house, bonfires blazed in the streets and cannon boomed salvos from the old plaza. Los Angeles was the capital at last and had a gov-

ernor all to herself, for Santa Barbara refused to recognize Carrillo, although he belonged within its jurisdiction.

The Angeleños determined to subjugate the Barbareños. An army of two hundred men, under Castenada, was sent to capture the city. After a few futile demonstrations, Castenada's forces fell back to San Buenaventura.

Then Alvarado determined to subjugate the Angeleños. He and Castro, gathering together an army of two hundred men, by forced marches reached San Buenaventura, and by a strategic movement captured all of Castenada's horses and drove his army into the mission church. For two days the battle raged and, "cannon to the right of them," and "cannon in front of them volleyed and thundered." One man was killed on the northern side and the blood of several mustangs watered the soil of their native land—died for their country. The southerners slipped out of the church at night and fled up the valley on foot. Castro's caballeros captured about seventy prisoners. Pio Pico, with reinforcements, met the remnant of Castenada's army at the Santa Clara river, and together all fell back to Los Angeles. Then there was wailing in the old pueblo, where so lately there had been rejoicing. Gov. Carlos Carrillo gathered together what men he could get to go with him and retreated to San Diego. Alvarado's army took possession of the southern capital and some of the leading conspirators were sent as prisoners to the castillo at Sonoma.

Carrillo, at San Diego, received a small reinforcement from Mexico, under a Captain Tobar. Tobar was made general and given command of the southern army. Carrillo, having recovered from his fright, sent an order to the northern rebels to surrender within fifteen days under penalty of being shot as traitors if they refused. In the meantime Los Angeles was held by the enemy. The second alcalde (the first, Louis Aranas, was a prisoner) called a meeting to devise some means "to have his excellency, Don Carlos Carrillo, return to this capital, as his presence is very much desired by the citizens to protect their lives and property." A committee was appointed to locate Don Carlos.

Instead of surrendering, Castro and Alvarado, with a force of two hundred men, advanced against Carrillo. The two armies met at Campo de Las Flores. General Tobar had fortified a cattle corral with rawhides, carretas and cottonwood poles. A few shots from Alvarado's artillery scattered Tobar's rawhide fortifications. Carrillo surrendered. Tobar and a few of the leaders escaped to Mexico. Alvarado ordered the misguided Angeleñian soldiers to go home and behave themselves. He brought the captive governor back with him and left him with his (Carrillo's) wife at Santa Barbara, who became surety for the deposed ruler. Not content with his unfortunate attempts to rule, he again claimed the governorship on the plea that he had been appointed by the supreme government. But the Angeleños had had enough of him. Disgusted with his incompetency, Juan Gallardo, at the session of May 14, 1838, presented a petition praying that this ayuntamiento do not recognize Carlos Carrillo as governor, and setting forth the reasons why we, the petitioners, "should declare ourselves subject to the northern governor" and why they opposed Carrillo.

"First. In having compromised the people from San Buenaventura south into a declaration of war, the incalculable calamities of which will never be forgotten, not even by the most ignorant.

"Second. Not satisfied with the unfortunate event of San Buenaventura, he repeated the same at Campo de Las Flores, which, only through a divine dispensation, California is not to-day in mourning." Seventy citizens signed the petition, but the city attorney, who had done time in Vallejo's castillo, decided the petition illegal because it was written on common paper when paper with the proper seal could be obtained.

Next day Gallardo returned with his petition on legal paper. The ayuntamiento decided to sound the "public alarm" and call the people together to give them "public speech." The public alarm was sounded. The people assembled at the city hall; speeches were made on both sides; and when the vote was taken twenty-two were in favor of the northern governor, five

in favor of whatever the ayuntamiento decides, and Serbulo Vareles alone voted for Don Carlos Carrillo. So the council decided to recognize Don Juan Bautista Alvarado as governor and leave the supreme government to settle the contest between him and Carrillo.

Notwithstanding this apparent burying of the hatchet, there were rumors of plots and intrigues in Los Angeles and San Diego against Alvarado. At length, aggravated beyond endurance, the governor sent word to the sureños that if they did not behave themselves he would shoot ten of the leading men of the south. As he had about that number locked up in the castillo at Sonoma, his was no idle threat. One by one Alvarado's prisoners of state were released from Vallejo's bastile at Sonoma and returned to Los Angeles, sadder if not wiser men. At the session of the ayuntamiento October 20, 1838, the president announced that Senior Regidor José Palomares had returned from Sonoma, where he had been compelled to go by reason of "political differences," and that he should be allowed his seat in the council. The request was granted unanimously.

At the next meeting Narciso Botello, its former secretary, after five and a half months' imprisonment at Sonoma, put in an appearance and claimed his office and his pay. Although others had filled the office in the interim the illustrious ayuntamiento, "ignoring for what offense he was incarcerated, could not suspend his salary." But his salary was suspended. The treasury was empty. The last horse and the last hide had been paid out to defray the expense of the inauguration festivities of Carlos, the Pretender, and the civil war that followed. Indeed there was a treasury deficit of whole caballadas of horses, and bales of hides. Narciso's back pay was a preferred claim that outlasted El Estado Libre.

The sureños of Los Angeles and San Diego, finding that in Alvarado they had a man of courage and determination to deal with, ceased from troubling him and submitted to the inevitable. At the meeting of the ayuntamiento, October 5, 1839, a notification was received, stating that the supreme government of Mexico had appointed Juan Bautista Alvarado governor of the department. There was no grumbling or dissent. On the contrary, the records say, "This illustrious body acknowledges receipt of the communication and congratulated his excellency. It will announce the same to the citizens to-morrow (Sunday), will raise the national colors, salute the same with the required number of volleys, and will invite the people to illuminate their houses for a better display in rejoicing at such a happy appointment." With his appointment by the supreme government the "free and sovereign state of Alta California" became a dream of the past—a dead nation. Indeed, months before Alvarado had abandoned his idea of founding an independent state and had taken the oath of allegiance to the constitution of 1836. The loyal sureños received no thanks from the supreme government for all their professions of loyalty, whilst the rebellious arribeños of the north obtained all the rewards—the governor, the capital and the offices. The supreme government gave the deposed governor, Carlos Carrillo, a grant of the island of Santa Rosa, in the Santa Barbara Channel, but whether it was given him as a salve to his wounded dignity or as an Elba or St. Helena, where, in the event of his stirring up another revolution, he might be banished a la Napoleon, the records do not inform us.

CHAPTER XIV.

DECLINE AND FALL OF MEXICAN DOMINATION.

WHILE the revolution begun by Alvarado and Castro had not established California's independence, it had effectually rid the territory of Mexican dictators. A native son was governor of the department of the Californians (by the constitution of 1836 Upper and Lower California had been united into a department); another native son was comandante of its military forces. The membership of the departmental junta, which had taken the place of the diputacion, was largely made up of sons of the soil, and natives filled the minor offices. In their zeal to rid themselves of Mexican office-holders they had invoked the assistance of another element that was ultimately to be their undoing.

During the revolutionary era just passed the foreign population had largely increased. Not only had the foreigners come by sea, but they had come by land. Capt. Jedediah S. Smith, a New England-born trapper and hunter, was the first man to enter California by the overland route. A number of trappers and hunters came in the early '30s from New Mexico by way of the old Spanish trail. This immigration was largely American, and was made up of a bold, adventurous class of men, some of them not the most desirable immigrants. Of this latter class were some of Graham's followers.

By invoking Graham's aid to put him in power, Alvarado had fastened upon his shoulders an old Man of the Sea. It was easy enough to enlist the services of Graham's riflemen, but altogether another matter to get rid of them. Now that he was firmly established in power, Alvarado would, no doubt, have been glad to be rid entirely of his recent allies, but Graham and his adherents were not backward in giving him to understand that he owed his position to them, and they were inclined to put themselves on an equality with him. This did not comport with his ideas of the dignity of his office. To be hailed by some rough buckskin-clad trapper with "Ho! Bautista; come here, I want to speak with you," was an affront to his pride that the governor of the two Californias could not quietly pass over, and, besides, like all of his countrymen, he disliked foreigners.

There were rumors of another revolution, and it was not difficult to persuade Alvarado that the foreigners were plotting to revolutionize California. Mexico had recently lost Texas, and the same class of "malditos extranjeros" (wicked strangers) were invading California, and would ultimately possess themselves of the country. Accordingly, secret orders were sent throughout the department to arrest and imprison all foreigners. Over one hundred men of different nationalities were arrested, principally Americans and English. Of these forty-seven were shipped to San Blas, and from there marched overland to Tepic, where they were imprisoned for several months. Through the efforts of the British consul, Barron, they were released. Castro, who had accompanied the prisoners to Mexico to prefer charges against them, was placed under arrest and afterwards tried by court-martial, but was acquitted. He had been acting under orders from his superiors. After an absence of over a year twenty of the exiles landed at Monterey on their return from Mexico. Robinson, who saw them land, says: "They returned neatly dressed, armed with rifles and swords, and looking in much better condition than when they were sent away, or probably than they had ever looked in their lives before." The Mexican government had been compelled to pay them damages for their arrest and imprisonment and to return them to California. Graham, the reputed leader of the foreigners, was the owner of a distillery near Santa Cruz, and had gathered a number of hard characters around him. It would have been no loss had he never returned.

The only other event of importance during Alvarado's term as governor was the capture of Monterey by Commodore Ap Catesby Jones, of the United States navy. This event happened after Alvarado's successor, Micheltorena, had landed in California, but before the government had been formally turned over to him.

The following extract from the diary of a pioneer, who was an eye-witness of the affair, gives a good description of the capture:

"MONTEREY, Oct. 19, 1842.—At 2 p. m. the United States man-of-war United States, Commodore Ap Catesby Jones, came to anchor close alongside and in-shore of all the ships in port. About 3 p. m. Capt. Armstrong came ashore, accompanied by an interpreter, and went direct to the governor's house, where he had a private conversation with him, which proved to be a demand for the surrender of the entire coast of California, upper and lower, to the United States government. When he was about to go on board he gave three or four copies of a proclamation to the inhabitants of the two Californias, assuring them of the protection of their lives, persons and property. In his notice to the governor (Alvarado) he gave him only until the following morning at 9 a. m. to decide. If he received no answer, then he would fire upon the town."

"I remained on shore that night and went down to the governor's with Mr. Larkin and Mr. Eagle. The governor had had some idea of running away and leaving Monterey to its fate, but was told by Mr. Spence that he should not go, and finally he resolved to await the result. At 12 at night some persons were sent on board the United States who had been appointed by the governor to meet the commodore and arrange the terms of the surrender. Next morning at half-past ten o'clock about one hundred sailors and fifty marines disembarked. The sailors marched up from the shore and took possession of the fort. The American colors were hoisted. The United States fired a salute of thirteen guns; it was returned by the fort, which fired twenty-six guns. The marines in the meantime had marched up to the government house. The officers and soldiers of the California government were discharged and their guns and other arms taken possession of and carried to the fort. The stars and stripes now wave over us. Long may they wave here in California!"

"Oct. 21, 4 p. m.—Flags were again changed, the vessels were released, and all was quiet again. The commodore had received later news by some Mexican newspapers."

Commodore Jones had been stationed at Callao with a squadron of four vessels. An English fleet was also there, and a French fleet was cruising in the Pacific. Both these were supposed to have designs on California. Jones learned that the English admiral had received orders to sail next day. Surmising that his destination might be California, he slipped out of the harbor the night before and crowded all sail to reach California before the English admiral. The loss of Texas, and the constant influx of immigrants and adventurers from the United States into California, had embittered the Mexican government more and more against foreigners. Manuel Micheltorena, who had served under Santa Anna in the Texas war, was appointed January 19, 1842, comandante-general inspector and gobernador propietario of the Californias.

Santa Anna was president of the Mexican republic. His experience with Americans in Texas during the Texan war of independence, in 1836-37, had decided him to use every effort to prevent California from sharing the fate of Texas.

Micheltorena, the newly-appointed governor, was instructed to take with him sufficient force to check the ingress of Americans. He recruited a force of three hundred and fifty men, principally convicts enlisted from the prisons of Mexico. His army of thieves and ragamuffins landed at San Diego in August, 1842.

Robinson, who was at San Diego when one of the vessels conveying Micheltorena's cholos (convicts) landed, thus describes them: "Five days afterward the brig Chato arrived with ninety soldiers and their families. I saw them land, and to me they presented a state of wretchedness and misery unequaled. Not one individual among them possessed a jacket or pantaloons, but, naked, and like the savage Indians, they concealed their nudity with dirty,

miserable blankets. The females were not much better off, for the scantiness of their mean apparel was too apparent for modest observers. They appeared like convicts, and, indeed, the greater portion of them had been charged with crime, either of murder or theft."

Micheltorena drilled his Falstaffian army at San Diego for several weeks and then began his march northward; Los Angeles made great preparations to receive the new governor. Seven years had passed since she had been decreed the capital of the territory, and in all these years she had been denied her rights by Monterey. A favorable impression on the new governor might induce him to make the ciudad his capital. The national fiesta of September 16 was postponed until the arrival of the governor. The best house in the town was secured for him and his staff. A grand ball was projected and the city illuminated the night of his arrival. A camp was established down by the river and the cholos, who in the meantime had been given white linen uniforms, were put through the drill and the manual of arms. They were incorrigible thieves, and stole for the very pleasure of stealing. They robbed the hen roosts, the orchards, the vineyards and the vegetable gardens of the citizens. To the Angeleños the glory of their city as the capital of the territory faded in the presence of their empty chicken coops and plundered orchards. They longed to speed the departure of their now unwelcome guests. After a stay of a month in the city Micheltorena and his army took up their line of march northward. He reached a point about twenty miles north of San Fernando, when, on the night of the 24th of October, a messenger aroused him from his slumbers with the news that the capital had been captured by the Americans. Micheltorena seized the occasion to make political capital for himself with the home government. He spent the remainder of the night in fulminating proclamations against the invaders fiercer than the thunderbolts of Jove, copies of which were dispatched post haste to Mexico. He even wished himself a thunderbolt "that he might fly over intervening space and annihilate the invaders." Then, with his own courage and doubtless that of his brave cholos aroused to the highest pitch, instead of rushing on the invaders, he and his army fled back to San Fernando, where, afraid to advance or retreat, he halted until news reached him that Commodore Jones had restored Monterey to the Californians. Then his valor reached the boiling point. He boldly marched to Los Angeles, established his headquarters in the city and awaited the coming of Commodore Jones and his officers from Monterey.

On the 19th of January, 1843, Commodore Jones and his staff came to Los Angeles to meet the governor. At the famous conference in the Palacio de Don Abel, Micheltorena presented his articles of convention. Among other ridiculous demands were the following: "Article VI. Thomas Ap C. Jones will deliver fifteen hundred complete infantry uniforms to replace those of nearly one-half of the Mexican force, which have been ruined in the violent march and the continued rains while they were on their way to recover the port thus invaded." "Article VII. Jones to pay $15,000 into the national treasury for expenses incurred from the general alarm; also a complete set of musical instruments in place of those ruined on this occasion."* Judging from Robinson's description of the dress of Micheltorena's cholos it is doubtful whether there was an entire uniform among them.

"The commodore's first impulse," writes a member of his staff, "was to return the papers without comment and to refuse further communication with a man who could have the effrontery to trump up such charges as those for which indemnification was claimed." The commodore on reflection put aside his personal feelings, and met the governor at the grand ball in Sanchez hall, held in honor of the occasion. The ball was a brilliant affair, "the dancing ceased only with the rising of the sun next morning." The commodore returned the articles without his signature. The governor did not again refer to his demands. Next morning, January 21, 1843, Jones and his officers took their departure from the city "amidst the beating of drums, the firing of cannon and the ring-

*Bancroft's History of California, Vol. IV.

ing of bells, saluted by the general and his wife from the door of their quarters. On the 31st of December, Micheltorena had taken the oath of office in Sanchez' hall, which stood on the east side of the plaza. Salutes were fired, the bells were rung and the city was illuminated for three evenings. For the second time a governor had been inaugurated in Los Angeles.

Micheltorena and his cholo army remained in Los Angeles about eight months. The Angeleños had all the capital they cared for. They were perfectly willing to have the governor and his army take up their residence in Monterey. The cholos had devoured the country like an army of chapules (locusts) and were willing to move on. Monterey would no doubt have gladly transferred what right she had to the capital if at the same time she could have transferred to her old rival, Los Angeles, Micheltorena's cholos. Their pilfering was largely enforced by their necessities. They received little or no pay, and they often had to steal or starve. The leading native Californians still entertained their old dislike to "Mexican dictators" and the retinue of three hundred chicken thieves accompanying the last dictator intensified their hatred.

Micheltorena, while not a model governor, had many good qualities and was generally liked by the better class of foreign residents. He made an earnest effort to establish a system of public education in the territory. Schools were established in all the principal towns, and territorial aid from the public funds to the amount of $500 each was given them. The school at Los Angeles had over one hundred pupils in attendance. His worst fault was a disposition to meddle in local affairs. He was unreliable and not careful to keep his agreements. He might have succeeded in giving California a stable government had it not been for the antipathy to his soldiers and the old feud between the "hijos del pais" and the Mexican dictators.

These proved his undoing. The native sons under Alvarado and Castro rose in rebellion. In November, 1844, a revolution was inaugurated at Santa Clara. The governor marched with an army of one hundred and fifty men against the rebel forces, numbering about two hundred. They met at a place called the Laguna de Alvires. A treaty was signed in which Micheltorena agreed to ship his cholos back to Mexico.

This treaty the governor deliberately broke. He then intrigued with Capt. John A. Sutter of New Helvetia and Isaac Graham to obtain assistance to crush the rebels. January 9, 1845, Micheltorena and Sutter formed a junction of their forces at Salinas—their united commands numbering about five hundred men. They marched against the rebels to crush them. But the rebels did not wait to be crushed. Alvarado and Castro, with about ninety men, started for Los Angeles, and those left behind scattered to their homes. Alvarado and his men reached Los Angeles on the night of January 20, 1845. The garrison stationed at the curate's house was surprised and captured. One man was killed and several wounded. Lieutenant Medina, of Micheltorena's army, was the commander of the pueblo troops. Alvarado's army encamped on the plaza and he and Castro set to work to revolutionize the old pueblo. The leading Angelenos had no great love for Juan Bautista, and did not readily fall into his schemes. They had not forgotten their enforced detention in Vallejo's bastile during the Civil war. An extraordinary session of the ayuntamiento was called January 21. Alvarado and Castro were present and made eloquent appeals. The records say: "The ayuntamiento listened, and after a short interval of silence and meditation decided to notify the senior member of the department assembly of Don Alvarado and Castros' wishes."

They were more successful with the Pico brothers. Pio Pico was senior vocal, and in case Micheltorena was disposed he, by virtue of his office, would become governor. Through the influence of the Picos the revolution gained ground. The most potent influence in spreading the revolt was the fear of Micheltorena's army of chicken thieves. Should the town be captured by them it certainly would be looted. The department assembly was called together. A peace commission was sent to meet Micheltorena, who was leisurely marching southward, and intercede with him to give up his proposed invasion of the south. He refused. Then the

assembly pronounced him a traitor, deposed him by vote and appointed Pio Pico governor. Recruiting went on rapidly. Hundreds of saddle horses were contributed, "old rusty guns were repaired, hacked swords sharpened, rude lances manufactured" and cartridges made for the cannon. Some fifty foreigners of the south joined Alvarado's army; not that they had much interest in the revolution, but to protect their property against the rapacious invaders—the cholos—and Sutter's Indians,* who were as much dreaded as the cholos. On the 19th of February, Micheltorena reached the Encinos, and the Angelenian army marched out through Cahuenga Pass to meet him. On the 20th the two armies met on the southern edge of the San Fernando valley, about fifteen miles from Los Angeles. Each army numbered about four hundred men. Micheltorena had three pieces of artillery and Castro two. They opened on each other at long range and seem to have fought the battle throughout at very long range. A mustang or a mule (authorities differ) was killed.

Wilson, Workman and McKinley of Castro's army decided to induce the Americans on the other side, many of whom were their personal friends, to abandon Micheltorena. Passing up a ravine, they succeeded in attracting the attention of some of them by means of a white flag. Gantt, Hensley and Bidwell joined them in the ravine. The situation was discussed and the Americans of Micheltorena's army agreed to desert him if Pico would protect them in their land grants. Wilson, in his account of the battle, says:† "I knew, and so did Pico, that these land questions were the point with those young Americans. Before I started on my journey or embassy, Pico was sent for; on his arrival among us I, in a few words, explained to him what the party had advanced. 'Gentlemen,' said he, 'are any of you citizens of Mexico?' They answered 'No.' 'Then your title deeds given you by Micheltorena are not worth the paper they are written on, and he knew it well when he gave them to you; but if you will abandon his cause I will give you my word of honor as a gentleman, and Don Benito Wilson and Don Juan Workman to carry out what I promise, that I will protect each one of you in the land that you now hold, and when you become citizens of Mexico I will issue you the proper titles.' They said that was all they asked, and promised not to fire a gun against us. They also asked not to be required to fight on our side, which was agreed to.

"Micheltorena discovered (how, I do not know) that his Americans had abandoned him. About an hour afterwards he raised his camp and flanked us by going further into the valley towards San Fernando, then marching as though he intended to come around the bend of the river to the city. The Californians and we foreigners at once broke up our camp and came back through the Cahuenga Pass, marched through the gap into the Feliz ranch, on the Los Angeles River, till we came into close proximity to Micheltorena's camp. It was now night, as it was dark when we broke up our camp. Here we waited for daylight, and some of our men commenced maneuvering for a fight with the enemy. A few cannon shots were fired, when a white flag was discovered flying from Micheltorena's front. The whole matter then went into the hands of negotiators appointed by both parties and the terms of surrender were agreed upon, one of which was that Micheltorena and his obnoxious officers and men were to march back up the river to the Cahuenga Pass, then down on the plain to the west of Los Angeles, the most direct line to San Pedro, and embark at that point on a vessel then anchored there to carry them back to Mexico." Sutter was taken prisoner, and his Indians, after being corralled for a time, were sent back to the Sacramento.

The roar of the battle of Cahuenga, or the Alamo, as it is sometimes called, could be distinctly heard in Los Angeles, and the people remaining in the city were greatly alarmed. William Heath Davis, in his Sixty Years in California, thus describes the alarm in the town: "Directly to the north of the town was a high

*Sutter had under his command a company of Indians. He had drilled these in the use of firearms. The employing of these savages by Micheltorena was bitterly resented by the Californians.

†Pub. Historical Society of Southern California, Vol. III.

hill" (now known as Mt. Lookout). "As soon as firing was heard all the people remaining in the town, men, women and children, ran to the top of this hill. As the wind was blowing from the north, the firing was distinctly heard, five leagues away, on the battle-field throughout the day. All business places in town were closed. The scene on the hill was a remarkable one, women and children, with crosses in their hands, kneeling and praying to the saints for the safety of their fathers, brothers, sons, husbands, lovers, cousins, that they might not be killed in the battle; indifferent to their personal appearance, tears streaming from their eyes, and their hair blown about by the wind, which had increased to quite a breeze. Don Abel Stearns, myself and others tried to calm and pacify them, assuring them that there was probably no danger; somewhat against our convictions, it is true, judging from what we heard of the firing and from our knowledge of Micheltorena's disciplined force, his battery, and the riflemen he had with him. During the day the scene on the hill continued. The night that followed was a gloomy one, caused by the lamentations of the women and children."

Davis, who was supercargo on the Don Quixote, the vessel on which Micheltorena and his soldiers were shipped to Mexico, claims that the general "had ordered his command not to injure the Californians in the force opposed to him, but to fire over their heads, as he had no desire to kill them."

Another Mexican-born governor had been deposed and deported, gone to join his fellows, Victoria, Chico and Gutierrez. In accordance with the treaty of Cahuenga and by virtue of his rank as senior member of the departmental assembly, Pio Pico became governor. The hijos del pais were once more in the ascendency. José Castro was made comandante-general. Alvarado was given charge of the custom house at Monterey, and José Antonio Carrillo was appointed commander of the military district of the south. Los Angeles was made the capital, although the archives and the treasury remained in Monterey. The revolution apparently had been a success. In the proceedings of the Los Angeles ayuntamiento, March 1, 1845, appears this record: "The agreements entered into at Cahuenga between Gen. Emanuel Micheltorena and Lieut.-Col. José Castro were then read, and as they contain a happy termination of affairs in favor of the government, this Illustrious Body listened with satisfaction and so answered the communication."

The people joined with the ayuntamiento in expressing their "satisfaction" that a "happy termination" had been reached of the political disturbances which had distracted the country. But the end was not yet. Pico did his best to conciliate the conflicting elements, but the old sectional jealousies that had divided the people of the territory would crop out. José Antonio Carrillo, the Machiavel of the south, hated Castro and Alvarado and was jealous of Pico's good fortune. He was the superior of any of them in ability, but made himself unpopular by his intrigues and his sarcastic speech. When Castro and Alvarado came south to raise the standard of revolt they tried to win him over. He did assist them. He was willing enough to plot against Micheltorena, but after the overthrow of the Mexican he was equally ready to plot against Pico and Castro. In the summer of 1845 he was implicated in a plot to depose Pico, who, by the way, was his brother-in-law. Pico placed him and two of his fellow conspirators, Serbulo and Hilario Varela, under arrest. Carrillo and Hilario Varela were shipped to Mazatlan to be tried for their misdeed. Serbulo Varela made his escape from prison. The two exiles returned early in 1846 unpunished and ready for new plots.

Pico was appointed gobernador proprietario, or constitutional governor of California, September 3, 1845, by President Herrera. The supreme government of Mexico never seemed to take offense or harbor resentment against the Californians for deposing and sending home a governor. As the officials of the supreme government usually obtained office by revolution, they no doubt had a fellow feeling for the revolting Californians. When Micheltorena returned to Mexico he was coldly received and a commissioner was sent to Pico with dispatches virtually approving all that had been done.

Castro, too, gave Pico a great deal of uneasi-

ness. He ignored the governor and managed the military affairs of the territory to suit himself. His headquarters were at Monterey and doubtless he had the sympathy if not the encouragement of the people of the north in his course. But the cause of the greatest uneasiness was the increasing immigration from the United States. A stream of emigrants from the western states, increasing each year, poured down the Sierra Nevadas and spread over the rich valleys of California. The Californians recognized that through the advent of these "foreign adventurers," as they called them, the "manifest destiny" of California was to be absorbed by the United States. Alvarado had appealed to Mexico for men and arms and had been answered by the arrival of Micheltorena and his cholos. Pico appealed and for a time the Californians were cheered by the prospect of aid. In the summer of 1845 a force of six hundred veteran soldiers, under command of Colonel Iniestra, reached Acapulco, where ships were lying to take them to California, but a revolution broke out in Mexico and the troops destined for the defense of California were used to overthrow President Herrera and to seat Paredes. California was left to work out her own destiny unaided or drift with the tide—and she drifted.

In the early months of 1846 there was a rapid succession of important events in her history, each in passing bearing her near and nearer to a manifest destiny—the downfall of Mexican domination in California. These will be presented fully in the chapter on the Acquisition of California by the United States. But before taking up these we will turn aside to review life in California in the olden time under Spanish and Mexican rule.

CHAPTER XV.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT—HOMES AND HOME-LIFE OF THE CALIFORNIANS.

UNDER Spain the government of California was semi-military and semi-clerical. The governors were military officers and had command of the troops in the territory, and looked after affairs at the pueblos; the friars were supreme at the missions. The municipal government of the pueblos was vested in ayuntamientos. The decree of the Spanish Cortés passed May 23, 1812, regulated the membership of the ayuntamiento according to the population of the town—"there shall be one alcalde (mayor), two regidores (councilmen), and one procurador-syndico (treasurer) in all towns which do not have more than two hundred inhabitants; one alcalde, four regidores and one syndico in those the population of which exceeds two hundred, but does not exceed five hundred." When the population of a town exceeded one thousand it was allowed two alcaldes, eight regidores and two syndicos. Over the members of the ayuntamiento in the early years of Spanish rule was a quasi-military officer called a comisionado, a sort of petty dictator or military despot, who, when occasion required or inclination moved him, embodied within himself all three departments of government, judiciary, legislative and executive. After Mexico became a republic the office of comisionado was abolished. The alcalde acted as president of the ayuntamiento, as mayor and as judge of the court of first instance. The second alcalde took his place when that officer was ill or absent. The syndico was a general utility man. He acted as city or town attorney, tax collector and treasurer. The secretary was an important officer; he kept the records, acted as clerk of the alcalde's court and was the only municipal officer who received pay, except the syndico, who received a commission on his collections.

In 1837 the Mexican Congress passed a decree abolishing ayuntamientos in capitals of departments having a population of less than four thousand and in interior towns of less than eight thousand. In 1839 Governor Alvarado

reported to the Departmental Assembly that no town in California had the requisite population. The ayuntamientos all closed January 1, 1840. They were re-established in 1844. During their abolition the towns were governed by prefects and justices of the peace, and the special laws or ordinances were enacted by the departmental assembly.

The jurisdiction of the ayuntamiento often extended over a large area of country beyond the town limits. That of Los Angeles, after the secularization of the missions, extended over a country as large as the state of Massachusetts. The authority of the ayuntamiento was as extensive as its jurisdiction. It granted town lots and recommended to the governor grants of land from the public domain. In addition to passing ordinances its members sometimes acted as executive officers to enforce them. It exercised the powers of a board of health, a board of education, a police commission and a street department. During the civil war between Northern and Southern California, in 1837-38, the ayuntamiento of Los Angeles raised and equipped an army and assumed the right to govern the southern half of the territory.

The ayuntamiento was spoken of as Muy Ilustre (Most Illustrious), in the same sense that we speak of the honorable city council, but it was a much more dignified body than a city council. The members were required to attend their public functions "attired in black apparel. so as to add solemnity to the meetings." They served without pay, but if a member was absent from a meeting without a good excuse he was liable to a fine. As there was no pay in the office and its duties were numerous and onerous, there was not a large crop of aspirants for councilmen in those days, and the office usually sought the man. It might be added that when it caught the right man it was loath to let go of him.

The misfortunes that beset Francisco Pantoja aptly illustrate the difficulty of resigning in the days when office sought the man, not man the office. Pantoja was elected fourth regidor of the ayuntamiento of Los Angeles in 1837. In those days wild horses were very numerous. When the pasture in the foothills was exhausted they came down into the valleys and ate up the feed needed for the cattle. On this account, and because most of these wild horses were worthless, the rancheros slaughtered them. A corral was built with wings extending out on the right and left from the main entrance. When the corral was completed a day was set for a wild horse drive. The bands were rounded up and driven into the corral. The pick of the caballados were lassoed and taken out to be broken to the saddle and the refuse of the drive killed. The Vejars had obtained permission from the ayuntamiento to build a corral between the Cerritos and the Salinas for the purpose of corralling wild horses. Pantoja, being something of a sport, petitioned his fellow regidores for a twenty days' leave of absence to join in the wild horse chase. A wild horse chase was wild sport and dangerous, too. Somebody was sure to get hurt, and Pantoja in this one was one of the unfortunates. When his twenty days' leave of absence was up he did not return to his duties of regidor, but instead sent his resignation on plea of illness. His resignation was not accepted and the president of the ayuntamiento appointed a committee to investigate his physical condition. There were no physicians in Los Angeles in those days, so the committee took along Santiago McKinley, a canny Scotch merchant, who was reputed to have some knowledge of surgery. The committee and the improvised surgeon held an ante-mortem inquest on what remained of Pantoja. The committee reported to the council that he was a physical wreck; that he could not mount a horse nor ride one when mounted. A native Californian who had reached such a state of physical dilapidation that he could not mount a horse might well be excused from official duties. To excuse him might establish a dangerous precedent. The ayuntamiento heard the report, pondered over it and then sent it and the resignation to the governor. The governor took them under advisement. In the meantime a revolution broke out and before peace was restored and the governor had time to pass upon the case Pantoja's term had expired by limitation.

That modern fad of reform legislation, the

referendum, was in full force and effect in California three-quarters of a century ago. When some question of great importance to the community was before the ayuntamiento and the regidores were divided in opinion, the alarma publica or public alarm was sounded by the beating of the long roll on the drum and all the citizens were summoned to the hall of sessions. Any one hearing the alarm and not heeding it was fined $3. When the citizens were convened the president of the ayuntamiento, speaking in a loud voice, stated the question and the people were given "public speech." The question was debated by all who wished to speak. When all had had their say it was decided by a show of hands.

The ayuntamientos regulated the social functions of the pueblos as well as the civic. Ordinance 5, ayuntamiento proceedings of Los Angeles, reads: "All individuals serenading promiscuously around the street of the city at night without first having obtained permission from the alcalde will be fined $1.50 for the first offense, $3 for the second offense, and for the third punished according to law." Ordinance 4, adopted by the ayuntamiento of Los Angeles, January 28, 1838, reads: "Every person not having any apparent occupation in this city or its jurisdiction is hereby ordered to look for work within three days, counting from the day this ordinance is published; if not complied with, he will be fined $2 for the first offense, $4 for the second offense, and will be given compulsory work for the third." From the reading of the ordinance it would seem if the tramp kept looking for work, but was careful not to find it, there could be no offense and consequently no fines or compulsory work.

Some of the enactments of the old regidores would fade the azure out of the blue laws of Connecticut in severity. In the plan of government adopted by the sureños in the rebellion of 1837 appears this article: "Article 3. The Roman Catholic Apostolic religion shall prevail throughout this jurisdiction; and any person professing publicly any other religion shall be prosecuted."

Here is a blue law of Monterey, enacted March 23, 1816: "All persons must attend mass and respond in a loud voice, and if any persons should fail to do so without good cause they will be put in the stocks for three hours."

The architecture of the Spanish and Mexican eras of California was homely almost to ugliness. There was no external ornamentation to the dwellings and no internal conveniences. There was but little attempt at variety and the houses were mostly of one style, square walled, tile covered, or flat roofed with pitch, and usually but one story high. Some of the mission churches were massive, grand and ornamental, while others were devoid of beauty and travesties on the rules of architecture. Every man was his own architect and master builder. He had no choice of material, or, rather, with his ease-loving disposition, he chose to use that which was most convenient, and that was adobe clay, made into sun-dried brick. The Indian was the brickmaker, and he toiled for his taskmasters, like the Hebrew of old for the Egyptian, making bricks without straw and without pay. There were no labor strikes in the building trades then. The Indian was the builder, and he did not know how to strike for higher wages, because he received no wages, high or low. The adobe bricks were moulded into form and set up to dry. Through the long summer days they baked in the hot sun, first on one side, then on the other; and when dried through they were laid in the wall with mud mortar. Then the walls had to dry and dry perhaps through another summer before the house was habitable. Time was the essense of building contracts then.

There was but little wood used in house construction then. It was only the aristocrats who could indulge in the luxury of wooden floors. Most of the houses had floors of the beaten earth. Such floors were cheap and durable. Gilroy says, when he came to Monterey in 1814, only the governor's house had a wooden floor. A door of rawhide shut out intruders and wooden-barred windows admitted sunshine and air.

The legendry of the hearthstone and the fireside which fills so large a place in the home life and literature of the Anglo-Saxon had no part in the domestic system of the old-time Californian. He had no hearthstone and no fireside,

nor could that pleasing fiction of Santa Claus coming down the chimney with toys on Christmas eve that so delights the children of to-day have been understood by the youthful Californian of long ago. There were no chimneys in California. The only means of warming the houses by artificial heat was a pan (or brasero) of coals set on the floor. The people lived out of doors in the open air and invigorating sunshine; and they were healthy and long-lived. Their houses were places to sleep in or shelters from rain.

The furniture was meager and mostly home-made. A few benches or rawhide-bottomed chairs to sit on; a rough table; a chest or two to keep the family finery in; a few cheap prints of saints on the walls—these formed the furnishings and the decorations of the living rooms of the common people. The bed was the pride and the ambition of the housewife. Even in humble dwellings, sometimes, a snowy counterpane and lace-trimmed pillows decorated a couch whose base was a dried bullock's hide stretched on a rough frame of wood. A shrine dedicated to the patron saint of the household was a very essential part of a well-regulated home.

Fashions in dress did not change with the seasons. A man could wear his grandfather's hat and his coat, too, and not be out of the fashion. Robinson, writing of California in 1829, says: "The people were still adhering to the costumes of the past century." It was not until after 1834, when the Hijar colonists brought the latest fashions from the City of Mexico, that the style of dress for men and women began to change. The next change took place after the American conquest. Only two changes in half a century, a garment had to be very durable to become unfashionable.

The few wealthy people in the territory dressed well, even extravagantly. Robinson describes the dress of Tomas Yorba, a wealthy ranchero of the Upper Santa Ana, as he saw him in 1829: "Upon his head he wore a black silk handkerchief, the four corners of which hung down his neck behind. An embroidered shirt; a cravat of white jaconet, tastefully tied; a blue damask vest; short clothes of crimson velvet; a bright green cloth jacket, with large silver buttons, and shoes of embroidered deer-skin composed his dress. I was afterwards informed by Don Manuel (Dominguez) that on some occasions, such as some particular feast day or festival, his entire display often exceeded in value a thousand dollars."

"The dress worn by the middle class of females is a chemise, with short embroidered sleeves, richly trimmed with lace; a muslin petticoat, flounced with scarlet and secured at the waist by a silk band of the same color; shoes of velvet or blue satin; a cotton reboso or scarf; pearl necklace and earrings; with hair falling in broad plaits down the back."* After 1834 the men generally adopted calzoneras instead of the knee breeches or short clothes of the last century.

"The calzoneras were pantaloons with the exterior seam open throughout its length. On the upper edge was a strip of cloth, red, blue or black, in which were buttonholes. On the other edge were eyelet holes for buttons. In some cases the calzonera was sewn from hip to the middle of the thigh; in others, buttoned. From the middle of the thigh downward the leg was covered by the bota or leggins, used by every one, whatever his dress." The short jacket, with silver or bronze buttons, and the silken sash that served as a connecting link between the calzoneras and the jacket, and also supplied the place of what the Californians did not wear, suspenders, this constituted a picturesque costume, that continued in vogue until the conquest, and with many of the natives for years after. "After 1834 the fashionable women of California exchanged their narrow for more flowing garments and abandoned the braided hair for the coil and the large combs till then in use for smaller combs."†

For outer wraps the serapa for men and the rebosa for women were universally worn. The texture of these marked the social standing of the wearer. It ranged from cheap cotton and coarse serge to the costliest silk and the finest French broadcloth. The costume of the neophyte changed but once in centuries, and that

*Robinson, Life in California.
†Bancroft's Pastoral California.

was when he divested himself of his coat of mud and smear of paint and put on the mission shirt and breech clout. Shoes he did not wear and in time his feet became as hard as the hoofs of an animal. The dress of the mission women consisted of a chemise and a skirt; the dress of the children was a shirt and sometimes even this was dispensed.

Filial obedience and respect for parental authority were early impressed upon the minds of the children. The commandment, "Honor thy father and mother," was observed with an oriental devotion. A child was never too old or too large to be exempt from punishment. Stephen C. Foster used to relate an amusing story of a case of parental disciplining he once saw at Los Angeles. An old lady, a grandmother, was belaboring, with a barrel stave, her son, a man thirty years of age. The son had done something of which the mother did not approve. She sent for him to come over to the maternal home to receive his punishment. He came. She took him out to the metaphorical woodshed, which, in this case, was the portico of her house, where she stood him up and proceeded to administer corporal punishment. With the resounding thwacks of the stave, she would exclaim, "I'll teach you to behave yourself." "I'll mend your manners, sir." "Now you'll be good, won't you?" The big man took his punishment without a thought of resisting or rebelling. In fact, he seemed to enjoy it. It brought back feelingly and forcibly a memory of his boyhood days.

In the earlier years of the republic, before revolutionary ideas had perverted the usages of the Californians, great respect was shown to those in authority, and the authorities were strict in requiring deference from their constituents. In the Los Angeles archives of 1828 are the records of an impeachment trial of Don Antonio Maria Lugo, held to depose him from the office of judge of the plains. The principal duty of such a judge was to decide cases of disputed ownership of horses and cattle. Lugo seems to have had an exalted idea of the dignity of his office. Among the complaints presented at the trial was one from young Pedro Sanchez, in which he testified that Lugo had tried to ride his horse over him in the street because he, Sanchez, would not take off his hat to the juez del campo and remain standing uncovered while the judge rode past. Another complainant at the same trial related how at a rodeo Lugo adjudged a neighbor's boy guilty of contempt of court because the boy gave him an impertinent answer, and then he proceeded to give the boy an unmerciful whipping. So heinous was the offense in the estimation of the judge that the complainant said, "had not Lugo fallen over a chair he would have been beating the boy yet."

Under Mexican domination in California there was no tax levied on land and improvements. The municipal funds of the pueblos were obtained from revenue on wine and brandy; from the licenses of saloons and other business houses; from the tariff on imports; from permits to give balls or dances; from the fines of transgressors, and from the tax on bull rings and cock pits. Then men's pleasures and vices paid the cost of governing. In the early '40s the city of Los Angeles claimed a population of two thousand, yet the municipal revenues rarely exceeded $1,000 a year. With this small amount the authorities ran a city government and kept out of debt. It did not cost much to run a city government then. There was no army of high-salaried officials with a horde of political heelers quartered on the municipality and fed from the public crib at the expense of the taxpayer. Politicians may have been no more honest then than now, but where there was nothing to steal there was no stealing. The alcaldes and regidores put no temptation in the way of the politicians, and thus they kept them reasonably honest, or at least they kept them from plundering the taxpayers by the simple expedient of having no taxpayers.

The functions of the various departments of the municipal governments were economically administered. Street cleaning and lighting were performed at individual expense instead of public. There was an ordinance in force in Los Angeles and Santa Barbara and probably in other municipalities that required each owner of a house every Saturday to sweep and clean in front of his premises to the middle of the street. His neighbor on the opposite side met him half

way, and the street was swept without expense to the pueblo. There was another ordinance that required each owner of a house of more that two rooms on a main street to hang a lighted lantern in front of his door from twilight to eight o'clock in winter and to nine in summer. There were fines for neglect of these duties.

There was no fire department in the pueblos. The adobe houses with their clay walls, earthen floors, tiled roofs and rawhide doors were as nearly fireproof as any human habitation could be made. The cooking was done in detached kitchens and in beehive-shaped ovens without flues. The houses were without chimneys, so the danger from fire was reduced to a minimum. A general conflagration was something unknown in the old pueblo days of California.

There was no paid police department. Every able-bodied young man was subject to military duty. A volunteer guard or patrol was kept on duty at the cuartels or guard houses. The guards policed the pueblos, but they were not paid. Each young man had to take his turn at guard duty.

CHAPTER XVI.

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION BY CONQUEST.

THE Mexican war marked the beginning by the United States of territorial expansion by conquest. "It was," says General Grant, "an instance of a republic following the bad example of European monarchies in not considering justice in their desire to acquire additional territory." The "additional territory" was needed for the creation of slave states. The southern politicians of the extreme pro-slavery school saw in the rapid settlement of the northwestern states the downfall of their domination and the doom of their beloved institution, slavery. Their peculiar institution could not expand northward and on the south it had reached the Mexican boundary. The only way of acquiring new territory for the extension of slavery on the south was to take it by force from the weak Republic of Mexico. The annexation of Texas brought with it a disputed boundary line. The claim to a strip of country between the Rio Nueces and the Rio Grande furnished a convenient pretext to force Mexico to hostilities. Texas as an independent state had never exercised jurisdiction over the disputed territory. As a state of the Union after annexation she could not rightfully lay claim to what she never possessed, but the army of occupation took possession of it as United States property, and the war was on. In the end we acquired a large slice of Mexican territory, but the irony of fate decreed that not an acre of its soil should be tilled by slave labor.

The causes that led to the acquisition of California antedated the annexation of Texas and the invasion of Mexico. After the adoption of liberal colonization laws by the Mexican government in 1824, there set in a steady drift of Americans to California. At first they came by sea, but after the opening of the overland route in 1841 they came in great numbers by land. It was a settled conviction in the minds of these adventurous nomads that the manifest destiny of California was to become a part of the United States, and they were only too willing to aid destiny when an opportunity offered. The opportunity came and it found them ready for it.

Capt. John C. Fremont, an engineer and explorer in the services of the United States, appeared at Monterey in January, 1846, and applied to General Castro, the military comandante, for permission to buy supplies for his party of sixty-two men who were encamped in the San Joaquin valley, in what is now Kern county. Permission was given him. There seems to have been a tacit agreement between Castro and Fremont that the exploring party should not enter the settlements, but early in March the whole force was encamped in the Salinas valley. Castro regarded the marching of a body of armed men through the country as an act of

hostility, and ordered them out of the country. Instead of leaving, Fremont intrenched himself on an eminence known as Gabilian Peak (about thirty miles from Monterey), raised the stars and stripes over his barricade, and defied Castro. Castro maneuvered his troops on the plain below, but did not attack Fremont. After two days' waiting Fremont abandoned his position and began his march northward. On May 9, when near the Oregon line, he was overtaken by Lieutenant Gillespie, of the United States navy, with a dispatch from the president. Gillespie had left the United States in November, 1845, and, disguised, had crossed Mexico from Vera Cruz to Mazatlan, and from there had reached Monterey. The exact nature of the dispatches to Fremont is not known, but presumably they related to the impending war between Mexico and the United States, and the necessity for a prompt seizure of the country to prevent it from falling into the hands of England. Fremont returned to the Sacramento, where he encamped.

On the 14th of June, 1846, a body of American settlers from the Napa and Sacramento valleys, thirty-three in number, of which Ide, Semple, Grigsby and Merritt seem to have been the leaders, after a night's march, took possession of the old castillo or fort at Sonoma, with its rusty muskets and unused cannon, and made Gen. M. G. Vallejo, Lieut.-Col. Prudon, Capt. Salvador Vallejo and Jacob P. Leese, a brother-in-law of the Vallejos, prisoners. There seems to have been no privates at the castillo, all officers. Exactly what was the object of the American settlers in taking General Vallejo prisoner is not evident. General Vallejo was one of the few eminent Californians who favored the annexation of California to the United States. He is said to have made a speech favoring such a movement in the junta at Monterey a few months before. Castro regarded him with suspicion. The prisoners were sent under an armed escort to Fremont's camp. William B. Ide was elected captain of the revolutionists who remained at Sonoma, to "hold the fort." He issued a pronunciamiento in which he declared California a free and independent government, under the name of the California Republic. A nation must have a flag of its own, so one was improvised. It was made of a piece of cotton cloth, or manta, a yard wide and five feet long. Strips of red flannel torn from the shirt of one of the men were stitched on the bottom of the flag for stripes. With a blacking brush, or, as another authority says, the end of a chewed stick for a brush, and red paint, William L. Todd painted the figure of a grizzly bear passant on the field of the flag. The natives called Todd's bear "cochino," a pig; it resembled that animal more than a bear. A five-pointed star in the left upper corner, painted with the same coloring matter, and the words "California republic" printed on it in ink, completed the famous bear flag.

The California republic was ushered into existence June 14, 1846, attained the acme of its power July 4, when Ide and his fellow patriots burnt a quantity of powder in salutes, and fired off oratorical pyrotechnics in honor of the new republic. It utterly collapsed on the 9th of July, after an existence of twenty-five days, when news reached Sonoma that Commodore Sloat had raised the stars and stripes at Monterey and taken possession of California in the name of the United States. Lieutenant Revere arrived at Sonoma on the 9th and he it was who lowered the bear flag from the Mexican flagstaff, where it had floated through the brief existence of the California republic, and raised in its place the banner of the United States.

Commodore Sloat, who had anchored in Monterey Bay July 2, 1846, was for a time undecided whether to take possession of the country. He had no official information that war had been declared between the United States and Mexico; but, acting on the supposition that Captain Fremont had received definite instructions, on the 7th of July he raised the flag and took possession of the custom-house and government buildings at Monterey. Captain Montgomery, on the 9th, raised it at San Francisco, and on the same day the bear flag gave place to the stars and stripes at Sonoma.

General Castro was holding Santa Clara and San José when he received Commodore Sloat's proclamation informing him that the commodore had taken possession of Monterey. Cas-

tro, after reading the proclamation, which was written in Spanish, formed his men in line, and addressing them, said: "Monterey is taken by the Americans. What can I do with a handful of men against the United States? I am going to Mexico. All of you who wish to follow me, 'About face!' All that wish to remain can go to their homes."* A very small part of his force followed him.

Commodore Sloat was superseded by Commodore Stockton, who set about organizing an expedition to subjugate the southern part of the territory which remained loyal to Mexico. Fremont's exploring party, recruited to a battalion of one hundred and twenty men, had marched to Monterey, and from there was sent by vessel to San Diego to procure horses and prepare to act as cavalry.

While these stirring events were transpiring in the north, what was the condition in the south where the capital, Los Angeles, and the bulk of the population of the territory were located? Pio Pico had entered upon the duties of the governorship with a desire to bring peace and harmony to the distracted country. He appointed Juan Bandini, one of the ablest statesmen of the south, his secretary. After Bandini resigned he chose J. M. Covarrubias, and later José M. Moreno filled the office.

The principal offices of the territory had been divided equally between the politicians of the north and the south. While Los Angeles became the capital, and the departmental assembly met there, the military headquarters, the archives and the treasury remained at Monterey. But, notwithstanding this division of the spoils of office, the old feud between the arribeños and the abajeños would not down, and soon the old-time quarrel was on with all its bitterness. Castro, as military comandante, ignored the governor, and Alvarado was regarded by the sureños as an emissary of Castro's. The departmental assembly met at Los Angeles, in March, 1846. Pico presided, and in his opening message set forth the unfortunate condition of affairs in the department. Education was neglected; justice was not administered; the missions were so burdened by debt that but few of them could be rented; the army was disorganized and the treasury empty.

Not even the danger of war with the Americans could make the warring factions forget their fratricidal strife. Castro's proclamation against Fremont was construed by the sureños into a scheme to inveigle the governor to the north so that the comandante-general could depose him and seize the office for himself. Castro's preparations to resist by force the encroachments of the Americans were believed by Pico and the Angelenians to be fitting out of an army to attack Los Angeles and overthrow the government.

On the 16th of June, Pico left Los Angeles for Monterey with a military force of a hundred men. The object of the expedition was to oppose, and, if possible, to depose Castro. He left the capital under the care of the ayuntamiento. On the 20th of June, Alcalde Gallardo reported to the ayuntamiento that he had positive information "that Don Castro had left Monterey and would arrive here in three days with a military force for the purpose of capturing this city." (Castro had left Monterey with a force of seventy men, but he had gone north to San José.) The sub-prefect, Don Abel Stearns, was authorized to enlist troops to preserve order. On the 23d of June three companies were organized, an artillery company under Miguel Pryor, a company of riflemen under Benito Wilson, and a cavalry company under Gorge Palomares. Pico, with his army at San Luis Obispo, was preparing to march against Monterey, when the news reached him of the capture of Sonoma by the Americans, and next day, July 12th, the news reached Los Angeles just as the council had decided on a plan of defense against Castro, who was five hundred miles away. Pico, on the impulse of the moment, issued a proclamation, in which he arraigned the United States for perfidy and treachery, and the gang of "North American adventurers," who captured Sonoma "with the blackest treason the spirit of evil can invent." His arraignment of the "North American nation" was so severe that some of his American friends in Los Angeles took umbrage at his

*Hall's History of San José.

pronunciamento. He afterwards tried to recall it, but it was too late; it had been published.

Castro, finding the "foreign adventurers" too numerous and too aggressive in the northern part of the territory, determined, with what men he could induce to go with him, to retreat to the south; but before so doing he sent a mediator to Pico to negotiate a treaty of peace and amity between the factions. On the 12th of July the two armies met at Santa Margarita, near San Luis Obispo. Castro brought the news that Commodore Sloat had hoisted the United States flag at Monterey and taken possession of the country for his government. The meeting of the governor and the comandante-general was not very cordial, but in the presence of the impending danger to the territory they concealed their mutual dislike and decided to do their best to defend the country they both loved.

Sorrowfully they began their retreat to the capital; but even threatened disaster to their common country could not wholly unite the north and the south. The respective armies, Castro's numbering about one hundred and fifty men, and Pico's one hundred and twenty, kept about a day's march apart. They reached Los Angeles, and preparations were begun to resist the invasion of the Americans. Pico issued a proclamation ordering all able-bodied men between fifteen and sixty years of age, native and naturalized, to take up arms to defend the country; any able-bodied Mexican refusing was to be treated as a traitor. There was no enthusiasm for the cause. The old factional jealousy and distrust was as potent as ever. The militia of the south would obey none but their own officers; Castro's troops, who considered themselves regulars, ridiculed the raw recruits of the sureños, while the naturalized foreigners of American extraction secretly sympathized with their own people.

Pico, to counteract the malign influence of his Santa Barbara proclamation and enlist the sympathy and more ready adhesion of the foreign element of Los Angeles, issued the following circular: (This circular or proclamation has never before found its way into print. I find no allusion to it in Bancroft's or Hittell's Histories. A copy, probably the only one in existence, was donated some years since to the Historical Society of Southern California.)

SEAL OF

Gobierno del Dep. de Californias.

"CIRCULAR.—As owing to the unfortunate condition of things that now prevails in this department in consequence of the war into which the United States has provoked the Mexican nation, some ill feeling might spring up between the citizens of the two countries, out of which unfortunate occurrences might grow, and as this government desires to remove every cause of friction, it has seen fit, in the use of its power, to issue the present circular.

"The Government of the department of California declares in the most solemn manner that all the citizens of the United States that have come lawfully into its territory, relying upon the honest administration of the laws and the observance of the prevailing treaties, shall not be molested in the least, and their lives and property shall remain in perfect safety under the protection of the Mexican laws and authorities legally constituted.

"Therefore, in the name of the supreme government of the nation, and by virtue of the authority vested upon me, I enjoin upon all the inhabitants of California to observe towards the citizens of the United States that have lawfully come among us, the kindest and most cordial conduct, and to abstain from all acts of violence against their persons or property; provided they remain neutral, as heretofore, and take no part in the invasion effected by the armies of their nation.

"The authorities of the various municipalities and corporations will be held strictly responsible for the faithful fulfillment of this order, and shall, as soon as possible, take the necessary measures to bring it to the knowledge of the people. God and Liberty.

"PIO PICO.

"JOSE MATIAS MARENO, *Secretary pro tem.*"

Angeles, July 27, 1846.

When we consider the conditions existing in California at the time this circular was issued, its sentiments reflect great credit on Pico for his humanity and forbearance. A little over a month before, a party of Americans seized General Vallejo and several other prominent Californians in their homes and incarcerated them in prison at Sutter's Fort. Nor was this outrage mitigated when the stars and stripes were raised. The perpetrators of the outrage were not punished. These native Californians were kept in prison nearly two months without any charge against them. Besides, Governor Pico and the leading Californians very well knew that the Americans whose lives and property this proclamation was designed to protect would not remain neutral when their countrymen invaded the territory. Pio Pico deserved better treatment from the Americans than he received. He was robbed of his landed possessions by unscrupulous land sharks, and his character defamed by irresponsible historical scribblers.

Pico made strenuous efforts to raise men and means to resist the threatened invasion. He had mortgaged the government house to de Celis for $2,000, the mortgage to be paid "as soon as order shall be established in the department." This loan was really negotiated to fit out the expedition against Castro, but a part of it was expended after his return to Los Angeles in procuring supplies while preparing to meet the American army. The government had but little credit. The moneyed men of the pueblo were averse to putting money into what was almost sure to prove a lost cause. The bickerings and jealousies between the factions neutralized to a considerable degree the efforts of Pico and Castro to mobilize the army.

Castro established his camp on the mesa east of the river. Here he and Andres Pico undertook to drill the somewhat incongruous collection of hombres in military maneuvering. Their entire force at no time exceeded three hundred men. These were poorly armed and lacking in discipline.

We left Stockton at Monterey preparing an expedition against Castro at Los Angeles. On taking command of the Pacific squadron, July 29, he issued a proclamation. It was as bombastic as the pronunciamiento of a Mexican governor. Bancroft says: "The paper was made up of falsehood, of irrelevent issues and bombastic ranting in about equal parts, the tone being offensive and impolitic even in those inconsiderable portions which were true and legitimate." His only object in taking possession of the country was "to save from destruction the lives and property of the foreign residents and citizens of the territory who had invoked his protection." In view of Pico's humane circular and the uniform kind treatment that the Californians accorded the American residents, there was very little need of Stockton's interference on that score. Commodore Sloat did not approve of Stockton's proclamation or of his policy.

On the 6th of August, Stockton reached San Pedro and landed three hundred and sixty sailors and marines. These were drilled in military movements on land and prepared for the march to Los Angeles.

Castro sent two commissioners, Pablo de La Guerra and José M. Flores, to Stockton, asking for a conference and a cessation of hostilities while negotiations were pending. They asked that the United States forces remain at San Pedro while the terms of the treaty were under discussion. These requests Commodore Stockton peremptorily refused, and the commissioners returned to Los Angeles without stating the terms on which they proposed to treat.

In several so-called histories, I find a very dramatic account of this interview. On the arrival of the commissioners they were marched up to the mouth of an immense mortar, shrouded in skins save its huge aperture. Their terror and discomfiture were plainly discernible. Stockton received them with a stern and forbidding countenance, harshly demanding their mission, which they disclosed in great confusion. They bore a letter from Castro proposing a truce, each party to hold its own possessions until a general pacification should be had. This proposal Stockton rejected with contempt, and dismissed the commissioners with the assurance that only an immediate disbandment of his forces and an unconditional surrender would

shield Castro from the vengeance of an incensed foe. The messengers remounted their horses in dismay and fled back to Castro." The mortar story, it is needless to say, is pure fabrication, yet it runs through a number of so-called histories of California. Castro, on the 9th of August, held a council of war with his officers at the Campo en La Mesa. He announced his intention of leaving the country for the purpose of reporting to the supreme government, and of returning at some future day to punish the usurpers. He wrote to Pico: "I can count only one hundred men, badly armed, worse supplied and discontented by reason of the miseries they suffer; so that I have reason to fear that not even these men will fight when the necessity arises." And this is the force that some imaginative historians estimate at eight hundred to one thousand men.

Pico and Castro left Los Angeles on the night of August 10, for Mexico; Castro going by the Colorado River route to Sonora, and Pico, after being concealed for a time by his brother-in-law, Juan Froster, at the Santa Margarita and narrowly escaping capture by Fremont's men, finally reached Lower California and later on crossed the Gulf to Sonora.

Stockton began his march on Los Angeles August 11. He took with him a battery of four guns. The guns were mounted on carretas, and each gun drawn by four oxen. He had with him a good brass band.

Major Fremont, who had been sent to San Diego with his battalion of one hundred and seventy men, had, after considerable skirmishing among the ranchos, secured enough horses to move, and on the 8th of August had begun his march to join Stockton. He took with him one hundred and twenty men, leaving about fifty to garrison San Diego.

Stockton consumed three days on the march. Fremont's troops joined him just south of the city, and at 4 p. m. of the 13th the combined force, numbering nearly five hundred men, entered the town without opposition, "our entry," says Major Fremont, "having more the effect of a parade of home guards than of an enemy taking possession of a conquered town." Stockton reported finding at Castro's abandoned camp ten pieces of artillery, four of them spiked. Fremont says he (Castro) "had buried part of his guns." Castro's troops that he had brought down with him took their departure for their northern homes soon after their general left, breaking up into small squads as they advanced. The southern troops that Pico had recruited dispersed to their homes before the arrival of the Americans. Squads of Fremont's battalion were sent out to scour the country and bring in any of the Californian officers or leading men whom they could find. These, when found, were paroled.

Another of those historical myths, like the mortar story previously mentioned, which is palmed off on credulous readers as genuine history, runs as follows: "Stockton, while en route from San Pedro to Los Angeles, was informed by a courier from Castro 'that if he marched upon the town he would find it the grave of himself and men.' 'Then,' answered the commodore, 'tell the general to have the bells ready to toll at eight o'clock, as I shall be there by that time.'" As Castro left Los Angeles the day before Stockton began his march from San Pedro, and when the commodore entered the city the Mexican general was probably two hundred miles away, the bell tolling myth goes to join its kindred myths in the category of history as it should not be written.

On the 17th of August, Stockton issued a second proclamation, in which he signs himself commander-in-chief and governor of the territory of California. It was milder in tone and more dignified than the first. He informed the people that their country now belonged to the United States. For the present it would be governed by martial law. They were invited to elect their local officers if those now in office refused to serve.

Four days after the capture of Los Angeles, The Warren, Captain Hull, commander, anchored at San Pedro. She brought official notice of the declaration of war between the United States and Mexico. Then for the first time Stockton learned that there had been an official declaration of war between the two countries. United States officers had waged war and had taken possession of California upon

the strength of a rumor that hostilities existed between the countries.

The conquest, if conquest it can be called, was accomplished without the loss of a life, if we except the two Americans, Fowler and Cowie, of the Bear Flag party, who were brutally murdered by a band of Californians under Padillo, and the equally brutal shooting of Beryessa and the two de Haro boys by the Americans at San Rafael. These three men were shot as spies, but there was no proof that they were such, and they were not tried. These murders occurred before Commodore Sloat raised the stars and stripes at Monterey.

On the 15th of August, 1846, just thirty-seven days after the raising of the stars and stripes at Monterey, the first newspaper ever published in California made its appearance. It was published at Monterey by Semple and Colton and named *The Californian.* Rev. Walter Colton was a chaplain in the United States navy and came to California on the Congress with Commodore Stockton. He was made alcalde of Monterey and built, by the labor of the chain gang and from contributions and fines, the first schoolhouse in California, named for him Colton Hall. Colton thus describes the other member of the firm, Dr. Robert Semple: "My partner is an emigrant from Kentucky, who stands six feet eight in his stockings. He is in a buckskin dress, a foxskin cap; is true with his rifle, ready with his pen and quick at the type case." Semple came to California in 1845, with the Hastings party, and was one of the leaders in the Bear Flag revolution. The type and press used were brought to California by Augustin V. Zamorano in 1834, and by him sold to the territorial government, and had been used for printing bandos and pronunciamentos. The only paper the publishers of *The Californian* could procure was that used in the manufacture of cigarettes, which came in sheets a little larger than foolscap. The font of type was short of w's, so two v's were substituted for that letter, and when these ran out two u's were used. The paper was moved to San Francisco in 1848 and later on consolidated with the *California Star.*

CHAPTER XVII.

REVOLT OF THE CALIFORNIANS.

HOSTILITIES had ceased in all parts of the territory. The leaders of the Californians had escaped to Mexico, and Stockton, regarding the conquest as completed, set about organizing a government for the conquered territory. Fremont was to be appointed military governor. Detachments from his battalion were to be detailed to garrison different towns, while Stockton, with what recruits he could gather in California, and his sailors and marines, was to undertake a naval expedition against the west coast of Mexico, land his forces at Mazatlan or Acapulco and march overland to "shake hands with General Taylor at the gates of Mexico." Captain Gillespie was made military commandant of the southern department, with headquarters at Los Angeles, and assigned a garrison of fifty men. Commodore Stockton left Los Angeles for the north September 2. Fremont, with the remainder of his battalion, took up his line of march for Monterey a few days later. Gillespie's orders were to place the city under martial law, but not to enforce the more burdensome restrictions upon quiet and well-disposed citizens. A conciliatory policy in accordance with instructions of the secretary of the navy was to be adopted and the people were to be encouraged to "neutrality, self-government and friendship."

Nearly all historians who have written upon this subject lay the blame for the subsequent uprising of the Californians and their revolt against the rule of the military commandant, Gillespie, to his petty tyrannies. Col. J. J. Warner, in his Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County, says: "Gillespie attempted by a coercive system to effect a moral and social change in the habits, diversions and pastimes of

the people and to reduce them to his standard of propriety." Warner was not an impartial judge. He had a grievance against Gillespie which embittered him against the captain. Gillespie may have been lacking in tact, and his schooling in the navy under the tyrannical régime of the quarterdeck of sixty years ago was not the best training to fit him for government, but it is hardly probable that in two weeks' time he undertook to enforce a "coercive system" looking toward an entire change in the moral and social habits of the people. Los Angeles under Mexican domination was a hotbed of revolutions. It had a turbulent and restless element among its inhabitants that was never happier than when fomenting strife and conspiring to overthrow those in power. Of this class Colton, writing in 1846, says: "They drift about like Arabs. If the tide of fortune turns against them they disband and scatter to the four winds. They never become martyrs to any cause. They are too numerous to be brought to punishment by any of their governors, and thus escape justice." There was a conservative class in the territory, made up principally of the large landed proprietors, both native and foreign-born, but these exerted small influence in controlling the turbulent. While Los Angeles had a monopoly of this turbulent and revolutionary element, other settlements in the territory furnished their full quota of that class of political knight errants whose chief pastime was revolution, and whose capital consisted of a gaily caparisoned steed, a riata, a lance, a dagger and possibly a pair of horse pistols. These were the fellows whose "habits, diversions and pastimes" Gillespie undertook to reduce "to his standard of propriety."

That Commodore Stockton should have left Gillespie so small a garrison to hold the city and surrounding country in subjection shows that either he was ignorant of the character of the people, or that he placed too great reliance in the completeness of their subjection. With Castro's men in the city or dispersed among the neighboring ranchos, many of them still retaining their arms, and all of them ready to rally at a moment's notice to the call of their leaders; with no reinforcements nearer than five hundred miles to come to the aid of Gillespie in case of an uprising, it was foolhardiness in Stockton to entrust the holding of the most important place in California to a mere handful of men, half disciplined and poorly equipped, without fortifications for defense or supplies to hold out in case of a siege.

Scarcely had Stockton and Fremont, with their men, left the city before trouble began. The turbulent element of the city fomented strife and seized every occasion to annoy and harass the military commandant and his men. While his "petty tyrannies," so called, which were probably nothing more than the enforcement of martial law, may have been somewhat provocative, the real cause was more deep seated. The Californians, without provocation on their part and without really knowing the cause why, found their country invaded, their property taken from them and their government in the hands of an alien race, foreign to them in customs and religion. They would have been a tame and spiritless people indeed, had they neglected the opportunity that Stockton's blundering gave them to regain their liberties. They did not waste much time. Within two weeks from the time Stockton sailed from San Pedro hostilities had begun and the city was in a state of siege.

Gillespie, writing in the *Sacramento Statesman* in 1858, thus describes the first attack: "On the 22d of September, at three o'clock in the morning, a party of sixty-five Californians and Sonorenos made an attack upon my small command quartered in the government house. We were not wholly surprised, and with twenty-one rifles we beat them back without loss to ourselves, killing and wounding three of their number. When daylight came, Lieutenant Hensley, with a few men, took several prisoners and drove the Californians from the town. This party was merely the nucleus of a revolution commenced and known to Colonel Fremont before he left Los Angeles. In twenty-four hours, six hundred well-mounted horsemen, armed with escopetas (shotguns), lances and one fine brass piece of light artillery, surrounded Los Angeles and summoned me to surrender. There were three old honey-combed iron guns (spiked)

in the corral of my quarters, which we at once cleared and mounted upon the axles of carts."

Serbulo Varela, a young man of some ability, but of a turbulent and reckless character, had been the leader at first, but as the uprising assumed the character of a revolution, Castro's old officers came to the front. Capt. José Maria Flores was chosen comandante-general; José Antonio Carrillo, major-general; and Andres Pico, comandante de escuadron. The main camp of the insurgents was located on the mesa, east of the river, at a place called Paredon Blanco (White Bluff).

On the 24th of September, from the camp at White Bluff, was issued the famous Pronunciamiento de Barelas y otros Californias contra Los Americanos (The Proclamation of Barelas and other Californians against the Americans). It was signed by Serbulo Varela (spelled Barelas), Leonardo Cota and over three hundred others. Although this proclamation is generally credited to Flores, there is no evidence to show that he had anything to do with framing it. He promulgated it over his signature October 1. It is probable that it was written by Varela and Cota. It has been the custom of American writers to sneer at this production as florid and bombastic. In fiery invective and fierce denunciation it is the equal of Patrick Henry's famous "Give me liberty or give me death!" Its recital of wrongs is brief, but to the point. "And shall we be capable of permitting ourselves to be subjugated and to accept in silence the heavy chains of slavery? Shall we lose the soil inherited from our fathers, which cost them so much blood? Shall we leave our families victims of the most barbarous servitude? Shall we wait to see our wives outraged, our innocent children beaten by American whips, our property sacked, our temples profaned, to drag out a life full of shame and disgrace? No! a thousand times no! Compatriots, death rather than that! Who of you does not feel his heart beat and his blood boil on contemplating our situation? Who will be the Mexican that will not be indignant and rise in arms to destroy our oppressors? We believe there will be not one so vile and cowardly!"

Gillespie had left the government house (located on what is now the site of the St. Charles Hotel) and taken a position on Fort Hill, where he had erected a temporary barricade of sacks filled with earth and had mounted his cannon there. The Americans had been summoned to surrender, but had refused. They were besieged by the Californians. There was but little firing between the combatants, an occasional sortie and a volley of rifle balls by the Americans when the Californians approached too near. The Californians were well mounted, but poorly armed, their weapons being principally muskets, shotguns, pistols, lances and riatas; while the Americans were armed with long-range rifles, of which the Californians had a wholesome dread. The fear of these arms and his cannon doubtless saved Gillespie and his men from capture.

On the 24th Gillespie dispatched a messenger to find Stockton at Monterey, or at San Francisco if he had left Monterey, and apprise him of the perilous situation of the Americans at Los Angeles. Gillespie's dispatch bearer, John Brown, better known by his California nickname, Juan Flaco or Lean John, made one of the most wonderful rides in history. Gillespie furnished Juan Flaco with a package of cigaretees, the paper of each bearing the inscription, "Believe the bearer;" these were stampd with Gillespie's seal. Brown started from Los Angeles at 8 p. m., September 24, and claimed to have reached Yerba Buena at 8 p. m. of the 28th, a ride of six hundred and thirty miles in four days. This is incorrect. Colton, who was alcalde of Monterey at that time, notes Brown's arrival at that place on the evening of the 29th. Colton, in his "Three Years in California," says that Brown rode the whole distance (Los Angeles to Monterey) of four hundred and sixty miles in fifty-two hours, during which time he had not slept. His intelligence was for Commodore Stockton and, in the nature of the case, was not committed to paper, except a few words rolled in a cigar fastened in his hair. But the commodore had sailed for San Francisco and it was necessary he should go one hundred and forty miles further. He was quite exhausted and was allowed to sleep three hours. Before day he was up and away on his journey. Gil-

lespie, in a letter published in the *Los Angeles Star*, May 28, 1858, describing Juan Flaco's ride says: "Before sunrise of the 29th he was lying in the bushes at San Francisco, in front of the Congress frigate, waiting for the early market boat to come on shore, and he delivered my dispatches to Commodore Stockton before 7 o'clock."

In trying to steal through the picket line of the Mexicans at Los Angeles, he was discovered and pursued by a squad of them. A hot race ensued. Finding the enemy gaining on him he forced his horse to leap a wide ravine. A shot from one of his pursuers mortally wounded his horse, which, after running a short distance, fell dead. Flaco, carrying his spurs and riata, made his way on foot in the darkness to Las Virgines, a distance of twenty-seven miles. Here he secured another mount and again set off on his perilous journey. The trail over which Flaco held his way was not like "the road from Winchester town, a good, broad highway leading down," but instead a Camino de heradura, bridle path, now winding up through rocky cañons, skirting along the edge of precipitous cliffs, then zigzagging down chaparral covered mountains; now over the sands of the sea beach and again across long stretches of brown mesa, winding through narrow valleys and out onto the rolling hills—a trail as nature made it, unchanged by the hand of man. Such was the highway over which Flaco's steeds "stretched away with utmost speed." Harassed and pursued by the enemy, facing death night and day, with scarcely a stop or a stay to eat or sleep, Juan Flaco rode six hundred miles.

"Of all the rides since the birth of time,
Told in story or sung in rhyme,
The fleetest ride that ever was sped,"

was Juan Flaco's ride from Los Angeles to San Francisco. Longfellow has immortalized the "Ride of Paul Revere," Robert Browning tells in stirring verse of the riders who brought the good news from Ghent to Aix, and Buchanan Read thrills us with the heroic measures of Sheridan's Ride. No poet has sung of Juan Flaco's wonderful ride, fleeter, longer and more perilous than any of these. Flaco rode six hundred miles through the enemy's country, to bring aid to a besieged garrison, while Revere and Jorris and Sheridan were in the country of friends or protected by an army from enemies.

Gillespie's situation was growing more and more desperate each day. B. D. Wilson, who with a company of riflemen had been on an expedition against the Indians, had been ordered by Gillespie to join him. They reached the Chino ranch, where a fight took place between them and the Californians. Wilson's men being out of ammunition were compelled to surrender. In the charge upon the adobe, where Wilson and his men had taken refuge, Carlos Ballestaros had been killed and several Californians wounded. This and Gillespie's stubborn resistance had embittered the Californians against him and his men. The Chino prisoners had been saved from massacre after their surrender by the firmness and bravery of Varela. If Gillespie continued to hold the town his obstinacy might bring down the vengeance of the Californians not only upon him and his men, but upon many of the American residents of the south, who had favored their countrymen.

Finally Flores issued his ultimatum to the Americans, surrender within twenty-four hours or take the consequences of an onslaught by the Californians, which might result in the massacre of the entire garrison. In the meantime he kept his cavalry deployed on the hills, completely investing the Americans. Despairing of assistance from Stockton, on the advice of Wilson, who had been permitted by Flores to intercede with Gillespie, articles of capitulation were drawn up and signed by Gillespie and the leaders of the Californians. On the 30th of September the Americans marched out of the city with all the honors of war, drums beating, colors flying and two pieces of artillery mounted on carts drawn by oxen. They arrived at San Pedro without molestation and four or five days later embarked on the merchant ship Vandalia, which remained at anchor in the bay. Gillespie in his march was accompanied by a few of the American residents and probably a dozen of the Chino prisoners, who had been exchanged for the same number of Californians, whom he had held under arrest most likely as hostages.

Gillespie took two cannon with him when he evacuated the city, leaving two spiked and broken on Fort Hill. There seems to have been a proviso in the articles of capitulation requiring him to deliver the guns to Flores on reaching the embarcadero. If there was such a stipulation Gillespie violated it. He spiked the guns, broke off the trunnions and rolled one of them into the bay.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE DEFEAT AND RETREAT OF MERVINE'S MEN.

THE revolt of the Californians at Los Angeles was followed by similar uprisings in the different centers of population where American garrisons were stationed. Upon the receipt of Gillespie's message Commodore Stockton ordered Captain Mervine to proceed at once to San Pedro to regain, if possible, the lost territory. Juan Flaco had delivered his message to Stockton on September 30. Early on the morning of October 1st, Captain Mervine got under way for San Pedro. "He went ashore at Sausalito," says Gillespie, "on some trivial excuse, and a dense fog coming on he was compelled to remain there until the 4th."

Of the notable events occurring during the conquest of California there are few others of which there are so contradictory accounts as that known as the battle of Dominguez Ranch, where Mervine was defeated and compelled to retreat to San Pedro. Historians differ widely in the number engaged and in the number killed. The following account of Mervine's expedition I take from a log book kept by Midshipman and Acting-Lieut. Robert C. Duvall of the Savannah. He commanded a company during the battle. This book was donated to the Historical Society of Southern California by Dr. J. E. Cowles of Los Angeles, a nephew of Lieutenant Duvall. The account given by Lieutenant Duvall is one of the fullest and most accurate in existence.

"At 9.30 a. m." (October 1, 1846), says Lieutenant Duvall, "we commenced working out of the harbor of San Francisco on the ebb tide. The ship anchored at Sausalito, where, on account of a dense fog, it remained until the 4th, when it put to sea. On the 7th the ship entered the harbor of San Pedro. At 6:30 p. m., as we were standing in for anchorage, we made out the American merchant ship Vandalia, having on her decks a body of men. On passing she saluted with two guns, which was repeated with three cheers, which we returned. * * * * Brevet Capt. Archibald Gillespie came on board and reported that he had evacuated the Pueblo de Los Angeles on account of the overpowering force of the enemy and had retired with his men on board the Vandalia after having spiked his guns, one of which he threw into the water. He also reported that the whole of California below the pueblo had risen in arms against our authorities, headed by Flores, a Mexican captain on furlough in this country, who had but a few days ago given his parole of honor not to take up arms against the United States. We made preparations to land a force to march to the pueblo at daylight.

"October 8, at 6 a. m., all the boats left the ship for the purpose of landing the forces, numbering in all two hundred and ninety-nine men, including the volunteers under command of Captain Gillespie. At 6:30 all were landed without opposition, the enemy in small detachments retreating toward the pueblo. From their movements we apprehended that their whole force was near. Captain Mervine sent on board ship for a reinforcement of eighty men, under command of Lieut. R. B. Hitchcock. At 8 a. m. the several companies, all under command of Capt William Mervine, took up the line of march for the purpose of retaking the pueblo. The enemy retreated as our forces advanced. (On landing, William A. Smith, first cabin boy, was killed by the accidental discharge of a Colt's pistol.) The reinforcements under the com-

mand of Lieut. R. B. Hitchcock returned on board ship. For the first four miles our march was through hills and ravines, which the enemy might have taken advantage of, but preferred to occupy as spectators only, until our approach. A few shots from our flankers (who were the volunteer riflemen) would start them off; they returned the compliment before going. The remainder of our march was performed over a continuous plain overgrown with wild mustard, rising in places to six or eight feet in height. The ground was excessively dry, the clouds of dust were suffocating and there was not a breath of wind in motion. There was no water on our line of march for ten or twelve miles and we suffered greatly from thirst.

"At 2:30 p. m. we reached our camping ground. The enemy appeared in considerable numbers. Their numbers continued to increase until sundown, when they formed on a hill near us, gradually inclining towards our camp. They were admirably formed for a cavalry charge. We drew up our forces to meet them, but finding they were disposed to remain stationary, the marines, under command of Captain Marston, the Colt's riflemen, under command of Lieut. I. B. Carter and myself, and the volunteers, under command of Capt. A. Gillespie, were ordered to charge on them, which we did. They stood their ground until our shots commenced 'telling' on them, when they took to flight in every direction. They continued to annoy us by firing into our camp through the night. About 2 a. m. they brought a piece of artillery and fired into our camp, the shot striking the ground near us. The marines, riflemen and volunteers were sent in pursuit of the gun, but could see or hear nothing of it.

"We left our camp the next morning at 6 o'clock. Our plan of march was in column by platoon. We had not proceeded far before the enemy appeared before us drawn up on each side of the road, mounted on fine horses, each man armed with a lance and carbine. They also had a field piece (a four-pounder), to which were hitched eight or ten horses, placed on the road ahead of us.

"Captain Mervine, thinking it was the enemy's intention to throw us into confusion by using their gun on us loaded with round shot and copper grape shot and then charge us with their cavalry, ordered us to form a square—which was the order of march throughout the battle. When within about four hundred yards of them the enemy opened on us with their artillery. We made frequent charges, driving them before us, and at one time causing them to leave some of their cannon balls and cartridges; but owing to the rapidity with which they could carry off the gun, using their lassos on every part, enabled them to choose their own distance, entirely out of all range of our muskets. Their horsemen kept out of danger, apparently content to let the gun do the fighting. They kept up a constant fire with their carbines, but these did no harm. The enemy numbered between one hundred and seventy-five and two hundred strong.

"Finding it impossible to capture the gun, the retreat was sounded. The captain consulted with his officers on the best steps to be taken. It was decided unanimously to return on board ship. To continue the march would sacrifice a number of lives to no purpose, for, admitting we could have reached the pueblo, all communications would be cut off with the ship, and we would further be constantly annoyed by their artillery without the least chance of capturing it. It was reported that the enemy were between five and six hundred strong at the city and it was thought he had more artillery. On retreating they got the gun planted on a hill ahead of us.

"The captain made us an address, saying to the troops that it was his intention to march straight ahead in the same orderly manner in which we had advanced, and that sooner than he would surrender to such an enemy, he would sacrifice himself and every other man in his command. The enemy fired into us four times on the retreat, the fourth shot falling short, the report of the gun indicating a small quantity of powder, after which they remained stationary and manifested no further disposition to molest us. We proceeded quietly on our march to the landing, where we found a body of men under command of Lieutenant Hitchcock with two nine-pounder cannon gotten from the Vandalia

to render us assistance in case we should need it.

"We presented truly a pitiable condition, many being barely able to drag one foot after the other from excessive fatigue, having gone through the exertions and excitement in battle and afterwards performing a march of eighteen or twenty miles without rest. This is the first battle I have ever been engaged in, and, having taken particular notice of those around me, I can assert that no men could have acted more bravely. Even when their shipmates were falling by their sides, I saw but one impulse and that was to push forward, and when retreat was ordered I noticed a general reluctance to turn their backs to the enemy.

"The following is a list of the killed and wounded: Michael Hoey, ordinary seaman, killed; David Johnson, ordinary seaman, killed; William H. Berry, ordinary seaman, mortally wounded; Charles Sommers, musician, mortally wounded; John Tyre, seaman, severely wounded; John Anderson, seaman, severely wounded; recovery doubtful. The following-named were slightly wounded: William Conland, marine; Hiram Rockvill, marine; H. Linland, marine; James Smith, marine.

"On the following morning we buried the bodies of William A. Smith, Charles Sommers, David Johnson and Michael Hoey on an island in the harbor.

"At 11 a. m. the captain called a council of commissioned officers regarding the proper course to adopt in the present crisis, which decided that no force should be landed, and that the ship remain here until further orders from the commodore, who is daily expected."

Entry in the log for Sunday, 11th: "William H. Berry, ordinary seaman, departed this life from the effect of wounds received in battle. Sent his body for interment to Dead Man's Island, so named by us. Mustered the command at quarters, after which performed divine service."

From this account it will be seen that the number killed and died of wounds received in battle was four; number wounded six, and one accidentally killed before the battle. On October 22d, Henry Lewis died and was buried on the island. Lewis' name does not appear in the list of wounded. It is presumable that he died of disease. Six of the crew of the Savannah were buried on Dead Man's Island, four of whom were killed in battle. Lieutenant Duvall gives the following list of the officers in the "Expedition on the march to retake Pueblo de Los Angeles:" Capt. William Mervine, commanding; Capt. Ward Marston, commanding marines; Brevet Capt. A. H. Gillespie, commanding volunteers; Lieut. Henry W. Queen, adjutant; Lieut. B. F. Pinckney, commanding first company; Lieut. W. Rinckindoff, commanding second company; Lieut. I. B. Carter, Colt's riflemen; Midshipman R. D. Minor, acting lieutenant second company; Midshipman S. P. Griffin, acting lieutenant first company; Midshipman P. G. Walmough, acting lieutenant second company; Midshipman R. C. Duvall, acting lieutenant Colt's riflemen; Captain Clark and Captain Goodsall, commanding pikemen; Lieutenant Hensley, first lieutenant volunteers; Lieutenant Russeau, second lieutenant volunteers.

The piece of artillery that did such deadly execution on the Americans was the famous Old Woman's gun. It was a bronze four-pounder, or pedréro (swivel-gun) that for a number of years had stood on the plaza in front of the church, and was used for firing salutes on feast days and other occasions. When on the approach of Stockton's and Fremont's forces Castro abandoned his artillery and fled, an old lady, Dona Clara Cota de Reyes, declared that the gringos should not have the church's gun; so, with the assistance of her daughters, she buried it in a cane patch near her residence, which stood on the east side of Alameda street, near First. When the Californians revolted against Gillespie's rule the gun was unearthed and used against him. The Historical Society of Southern California has in its possession a brass grapeshot, one of a charge that was fired into the face of Fort Hill at Gillespie's men when they were posted on the hill. This gun was in the exhibit of trophies at the New Orleans Exposition in 1885. The label on it read: "Trophy 53, No. 63, Class 7. Used by Mexico against the United States at the battle of Dominguez' Ranch, October 9, 1846; at San Gabriel and the Mesa, January 8 and 9, 1847; used by the United

States forces against Mexico at Mazatlan, November 11, 1847; Urios (crew all killed or wounded), Palos Prietos, December 13, 1847, and Lower California, at San José, February 15, 1848."

Before the battle the old gun had been mounted on forward axle of a Jersey wagon, which a man by the name of Hunt had brought across the plains the year before. It was lashed to the axle by means of rawhide thongs, and was drawn by riatas, as described by Lieutenant Duvall. The range was obtained by raising or lowering the pole of the wagon. Ignacio Aguilar acted as gunner, and having neither lanyard or pent-stock to fire it, he touched off the gun with the lighted end of a cigarette. Never before or since, perhaps, was a battle won with such crude artillery. José Antonio Carrillo was in command of the Californians. During the skirmishing of the first day he had between eighty and ninety men. During the night of the 8th Flores joined him with a force of sixty men. Next morning Flores returned to Los Angeles, taking with him twenty men. Carrillo's force in the battle numbered about one hundred and twenty men. Had Mervine known that the Californians had fired their last shot (their powder being exhausted) he could have pushed on and captured the pueblo.

The expulsion of Gillespie's garrison from Los Angeles and the defeat of Mervine's force raised the spirits of the Californians, and there was great rejoicing at the pueblo. Detachments of Flores' army were kept at Sepulveda's rancho, the Palos Verdes, and at Temple's rancho of the Cerritos, to watch the Savannah and report any attempt at landing. The leaders of the revolt were not so sanguine of success as the rank and file. They were without means to procure arms and supplies. There was a scarcity of ammunition, too. An inferior article of gunpowder was manufactured in limited quantities at San Gabriel. The only uniformity in weapons was in lances. These were rough, home-made affairs, the blade beaten out of a rasp or file, and the shaft a willow pole about eight feet long. These weapons were formidable in a charge against infantry, but easily parried by a swordsman in a cavalry charge.

After the defeat of Mervine, Flores set about reorganizing the territorial government. He called together the departmental assembly. It met at the capital (Los Angeles) October 26th. The members present, Figueroa, Botello, Guerra and Olvera, were all from the south. The assembly decided to fill the place of governor, vacated by Pico, and that of comandante-general, left vacant by the flight of Castro.

José Maria Flores, who was now recognized as the leader of the revolt against American rule, was chosen to fill both offices, and the two offices, as had formerly been the custom, were united in one person. He chose Narciso Botello for his secretary. Flores, who was Mexican born, was an intelligent and patriotic officer. He used every means in his power to prepare his forces for the coming conflict with the Americans, but with little success. The old jealousy of the hijos del pais against the Mexican would crop out, and it neutralized his efforts. There were bickerings and complaints in the ranks and among the officers. The natives claimed that a Californian ought to be chief in command.

The feeling of jealousy against Flores at length culminated in open revolt. Flores had decided to send the prisoners taken at the Chino fight to Mexico. His object was twofold—first, to enhance his own glory with the Mexican government, and, secondly, by showing what the Californians had already accomplished to obtain aid in the coming conflict. As most of these men were married to California wives, and by marriage related to many of the leading California families of the south, there was at once a family uproar and fierce denunciations of Flores. But as the Chino prisoners were foreigners, and had been taken while fighting against the Mexican government, it was necessary to disguise the hostility to Flores under some other pretext. He was charged with the design of running away to Sonora with the public funds. On the night of December 3, Francisco Rico, at the head of a party of Californians, took possession of the cuartel, or guard house, and arrested Flores. A special session of the assembly was called to investigate the charges.

Flores expressed his willingness to give up

his purpose of sending the Chino prisoners to Mexico, and the assembly found no foundation to the charge of his design of running away with the public funds, nor did they find any funds to run away with. Flores was liberated, and Rico imprisoned in turn.

Flores was really the last Mexican governor of California. Like Pico, he was elected by the territorial legislature, but he was not confirmed by the Mexican congress. Generals Scott and Taylor were keeping President Santa Anna and his congress on the move so rapidly they had no time to spare for California affairs.

Flores was governor from October 26, 1846, to January 8, 1847.

With a threatened invasion by the Americans and a divided people within, it was hard times in the old pueblo. The town had to supply the army with provisions. The few who possessed money hid it away and all business was suspended except preparations to meet the invaders.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE FINAL CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA.

COMMODORE STOCKTON, convinced that the revolt of the Californians was a serious affair, ordered Fremont's battalion, which had been recruited to one hundred and sixty men, to proceed to the south to co-operate with him in quelling the rebellion. The battalion sailed on the Sterling, but shortly after putting to sea, meeting the Vandalia, Fremont learned of Mervine's defeat and also that no horses could be procured in the lower country; the vessel was put about and the battalion landed at Monterey, October 28. It was decided to recruit the battalion to a regiment and mounting it to march down the coast. Recruiting was actively begun among the newly arrived immigrants. Horses and saddles were procured by giving receipts on the government, payable after the close of the war or by confiscation if it brought returns quicker than receipts.

The report of the revolt in the south quickly spread among the Californians in the north and they made haste to resist their spoilers. Manuel Castro was made comandante of the military forces of the north, headquarters at San Luis Obispo. Castro collected a force of about one hundred men, well mounted but poorly armed. His purpose was to carry on a sort of guerrilla warfare, capturing men and horses from the enemy whenever an opportunity offered.

Fremont, now raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the regular army with headquarters at Monterey, was rapidly mobilizing his motley collection of recruits into a formidable force. Officers and men were scouring the country for recruits, horses, accouterments and supplies. Two of these recruiting squads encountered the enemy in considerable force and an engagement known as the battle of Natividad ensued. Capt. Charles Burroughs with thirty-four men and two hundred horses, recruited at Sacramento, arrived at San Juan Bautista, November 15, on his way to Monterey on the same day Captain Thompson, with about the same number of men recruited at San José, reached San Juan. The Californians, with the design of capturing the horses, made a night march from their camp on the Salinas. At Gomez rancho they took prisoner Thomas O. Larkin, the American consul, who was on his way from Monterey to San Francisco on official business. On the morning of the 16th the Americans began their march for Monterey. At Gomez rancho their advance learned of the presence of the enemy and of the capture of Larkin. A squad of six or eight scouts was sent out to find the Californians. The scouts encountered a detachment of Castro's force at Encinalitos (Little Oaks) and a fight ensued. The main body of the enemy came up and surrounded the grove of oaks. The scouts, though greatly outnumbered, were well armed with long range rifles and held the enemy at bay, until Captains Burroughs

and Thompson brought up their companies. Burroughs, who seems to have been the ranking officer, hesitated to charge the Californians, who had the superior force, and besides he was fearful of losing his horses and thus delaying Fremont's movements. But, taunted with cowardice and urged on by Thompson, a fire eater, who was making loud protestations of his bravery, Burroughs ordered a charge. The Americans, badly mounted, were soon strung out in an irregular line. The Californians, who had made a feint of retreating, turned and attacked with vigor, Captain Burroughs and four or five others were killed. The straggling line fell back on the main body and the Californians, having expended their ammunition, retreated. The loss in killed and wounded amounted to twelve or fifteen on each side.

The only other engagement in the north was the bloodless battle of Santa Clara. Fremont's methods of procuring horses, cattle and other supplies was to take them and give in payment demands on the government, payable after the close of the war. After his departure the same method was continued by the officers of the garrisons at San Francisco, San José and Monterey. Indeed, it was their only method of procuring supplies. The quartermasters were without money and the government without credit. On the 8th of December, Lieutenant Bartlett, also alcalde of Yerba Buena, with a squad of five men started down the peninsula toward San José to purchase supplies. Francisco Sanchez, a rancher, whose horse and cattle corrals had been raided by former purchasers, with a band of Californians waylaid and captured Bartlett and his men. Other California rancheros who had lost their stock in similar raids rallied to the support of Sanchez and soon he found himself at the head of one hundred men. The object of their organization was rather to protect their property than to fight. The news soon spread that the Californians had revolted and were preparing to massacre the Americans. Captain Weber of San José had a company of thirty-three men organized for defense. There was also a company of twenty men under command of Captain Aram stationed at the ex-mission of Santa Clara. On the 29th of December, Capt. Ward Marston with a detachment of thirty-four men and a field piece in charge of Master de Long and ten sailors was sent to Santa Clara. The entire force collected at the seat of war numbered one hundred and one men. On January 2 the American force encountered the Californians, one hundred strong, on the plains of Santa Clara. Firing at long range began and continued for an hour or more. Sanchez sent in a flag of truce asking an armistice preparatory to the settlement of difficulties. January 3, Captain Maddox arrived from Monterey with fifty-nine mounted men, and on the 7th Lieutenant Grayson came with fifteen men. On the 8th a treaty of peace was concluded, by which the enemy surrendered Lieutenant Bartlett and all the other prisoners, as well as their arms, including a small field piece and were permitted to go to their homes. Upon "reliable authority" four Californians were reported killed, but their graves have never been discovered nor did their living relatives, so far as known, mourn their loss.

Stockton with his flagship, the Congress, arrived at San Pedro on the 23d of October, 1846. The Savannah was still lying at anchor in the harbor. The commodore had now at San Pedro a force of about eight hundred men; but, notwithstanding the contemptuous opinion he held of the Californian soldiers, he did not march against the pueblo. Stockton in his report says: "Elated by this transient success (Mervine's defeat), which the enemy with his usual want of veracity magnified into a great victory, they collected in large bodies on all the adjacent hills and would not permit a hoof except their own horses to be within fifty miles of San Pedro." But "in the face of their boasting insolence" Stockton landed and again hoisted "the glorious stars and stripes in the presence of their horse covered hills." "The enemy had driven off every animal, man and beast from that section of the country; and it was not possible by any means in our power to carry provisions for our march to the city." The city was only thirty miles away and American soldiers have been known to carry rations in their haversacks for a march of one hundred miles. The "transient success" of the insolent enemy

had evidently made an impression on Stockton. He estimated the California force in the vicinity of the landing at eight hundred men, which was just seven hundred too high. He determined to approach Los Angeles by way of San Diego, and on the last day of October he sailed for that port. B. D. Wilson, Stephen C. Foster and others attribute Stockton's abandonment of an attack on Los Angeles from San Pedro to a trick played on him by José Antonio Carrillo. Carrillo was in command of the detachment stationed at the Cerritos and the Palos Verdes. Carrillo was anxious to obtain an interview with Stockton and if possible secure a cessation of hostilities until the war then progressing in Mexico should be decided, thus settling the fate of California. B. D. Wilson, one of the Chino prisoners, was sent with a Mexican sergeant to raise a white flag as the boats of the Congress approached the landing and present Carrillo's proposition for a truce. Carrillo, with the intention of giving Stockton an exaggerated idea of the number of his troops and thus obtaining more favorable terms in the proposed treaty, collected droves of wild horses from the plains; these his caballeros kept in motion, passing and repassing through a gap in the hills, which was in plain view from Stockton's vessel. Owing to the dust raised by the cavalcade it was impossible to discover that most of the horses were riderless. The troops were signalled to return to the vessel, and the commodore shortly afterwards sailed to San Diego. Carrillo always regretted that he made too much demonstration.

As an illustration of the literary trash that has been palmed off for California history, I give an extract from Frost's Pictorial History of California, a book written the year after the close of the Mexican war by Prof. John Frost, a noted compiler of histories, who writes LL. D. after his name. It relates to Stockton's exploits at San Pedro. "At the Rancho Sepulveda (the Palos Verdes) a large force of Californians were posted, Commodore Stockton sent one hundred men forward to receive the fire of the enemy and then fall back on the main body without returning it. The main body of Stockton's army was formed in a triangle with the guns hid by the men. By the retreat of the advance party the enemy were decoyed close to the main force, when the wings (of the triangle) were extended and a deadly fire from the artillery opened upon the astonished Californians. More than one hundred were killed, the same number wounded and one hundred prisoners taken." The mathematical accuracy of Stockton's artillerists was truly astonishing. They killed a man for every one wounded and took a prisoner for every man they killed. As Flores' army never amounted to more than three hundred, if we are to believe Frost, Stockton had all the enemy "present or accounted for." This silly fabrication of Frost's runs through a number of so-called histories of California. Stockton was a brave man and a very energetic commander, but he would boast of his achievements, and his reports are unreliable.

As previously mentioned, Fremont after his return to Monterey proceeded to recruit a force to move against Los Angeles by land from Monterey. His recruits were principally obtained from the recently arrived immigrants. Each man was furnished with a horse and was to receive $25 a month. A force of about four hundred and fifty was obtained. Fremont left Monterey November 17 and rendezvoused at San Juan Bautista, where he remained to the 29th of the month organizing his battalion. On the 29th of November he began his march southward to co-operate with Stockton against Flores.

After the expulsion of Gillespie and his men from Los Angeles, detachments from Flores' army were sent to Santa Barbara and San Diego to recapture these places. At Santa Barbara Fremont had left nine men of his battalion under Lieut. Theodore Talbot to garrison the town. A demand was made on the garrison to surrender by Colonel Garfias of Flores' army. Two hours were given the Americans to decide. Instead of surrendering they fell back into the hills, where they remained three or four days, hoping that reinforcements might be sent them from Monterey. Their only subsistence was the flesh of an old gray mare of Daniel Hill's that they captured, brought into camp and killed. They secured one of Micheltorena's cholos that

had remained in the country and was living in a cañon among the hills for a guide. He furnished them a horse to carry their blankets and conducted them through the mountains to the San Joaquin valley. Here the guide left them with the Indians, he returning to Santa Barbara. The Indians fed them on chia (wild flaxseed), mush and acorn bread. They traveled down the San Joaquin valley. On their journey they lived on the flesh of wild horses, seventeen of which they killed. After many hardships they reached Monterey on the 8th of November, where they joined Fremont's battalion.

Captain Merritt, of Fremont's battalion, had been left at San Diego with forty men to hold the town when the battalion marched north to co-operate with Stockton against Los Angeles. Immediately after Gillespie's retreat, Francisco Rico was sent with fifty men to capture the place. He was joined by recruits at San Diego. Merritt being in no condition to stand a siege, took refuge on board the American whale ship Stonington, which was lying at anchor. After remaining on board the Stonington ten days, taking advantage of the laxity of discipline among the Californians, he stole a march on them, recapturing the town and one piece of artillery. He sent Don Miguel de Pedrorena, who was one of his allies, in a whale boat with four sailors to San Pedro to obtain supplies and assistance. Pedrorena arrived at San Pedro on the 13th of October with Merritt's dispatches. Captain Mervine chartered the whale ship Magnolia, which was lying in the San Pedro harbor, and dispatched Lieutenant Minor, Midshipman Duvall and Morgan with thirty-three sailors and fifteen of Gillespie's volunteers to reinforce Merritt. They reached San Diego on the 16th. The combined forces of Minor and Merritt, numbering about ninety men, put in the greater part of the next two weeks in dragging cannon from the old fort and mounting them at their barracks, which were located on the hill at the edge of the plain on the west side of the town, convenient to water. They succeeded in mounting six brass nine-pounders and building two bastions of adobes, taken from an old house. There was constant skirmishing between the hostile parties, but few fatalities. The Americans claimed to have killed three of the enemy, and one American was ambushed and killed.

The Californians kept well out of range, but prevented the Americans from obtaining supplies. Their provisions were nearly exhausted, and when reduced to almost the last extreme they made a successful foraging expedition and procured a supply of mutton. Midshipman Duvall thus describes the adventure: "We had with us an Indian (chief of a numerous tribe) who, from his knowledge of the country, we thought could avoid the enemy; and getting news of a number of sheep about thirty-five miles to the south on the coast, we determined to send him and his companion to drive them onto an island which at low tide connected with the mainland. In a few days a signal was made on the island, and the boats of the whale ship Stonington, stationed off the island, were sent to it. Our good old Indian had managed, through his cunning and by keeping concealed in ravines, to drive onto the island about six hundred sheep, but his companion had been caught and killed by the enemy. I shall never forget his famished appearance, but pride in his Indian triumph could be seen playing in his dark eyes.

"For thirty or forty days we were constantly expecting, from the movements of the enemy, an attack, soldiers and officers sleeping on their arms and ready for action. About the 1st of November, Commodore Stockton arrived, and, after landing Captain Gillespie with his company and about forty-three marines, he suddenly disappeared, leaving Lieutenant Minor governor of the place and Captain Gillespie commandant."*

Foraging continued, the whale ship Stonington, which had been impressed into the government service, being used to take parties down the coast, who made raids inland and brought back with them cattles and horses.

It was probably on one of these excursions that the flag-making episode occurred, of which there are more versions than Homer had birthplaces. The correct version of the story is as follows: A party had been sent under com-

*Log Book of Acting Lieutenant Duvall.

mand of Lieutenant Hensley to Juan Bandini's rancho in Lower California to bring up bands of cattle and horses. Bandini was an adherent of the American cause. He and his family returned with the cavalcade to San Diego. At their last camping place before reaching the town, Hensley, in a conversation with Bandini, regretted they had no flag with them to display on their entry into the town. Señora Bandini volunteered to make one, which she did from red, white and blue dresses of her children. This flag, fastened to a staff, was carried at the head of the cavalcade when it made its triumphal entry into San Diego. The Mexican government confiscated Bandini's ranchos in Lower California on account of his friendship to the Americans during the war.

Skirmishing continued almost daily. José Antonio Carrillo was now in command of the Californians, their force numbering about one hundred men. Commodore Stockton returned and decided to fortify. Midshipman Duvall, in the Log Book referred to in the previous chapter, thus describes the fort: "The commodore now commenced to fortify the hill which overlooked the town by building a fort, constructed by placing three hundred gallon casks full of sand close together. The inclosure was twenty by thirty yards. A bank of earth and small gravel was thrown up in front as high as the top of the casks and a ditch dug around on the outside. Inside a ball-proof vault of ketch was built out of plank and lined on the inside with adobes, on top of which a swivel was mounted. The entrance was guarded by a strong gate, with a drawbridge in front across the ditch or moat. The whole fortification was completed and the guns mounted on it in about three weeks. Our men working on the fort were on short allowance of beef and wheat, and for a time without bread, tea, sugar or coffee, many of them being destitute of shoes, but there were few complaints.

"About the 1st of December, information having been received that General Kearny was at Warner's Pass, about eighty miles distant, with one hundred dragoons on his march to San Diego, Commodore Stockton immediately sent an escort of fifty men under command of Captain Gillespie, accompanied by Past Midshipmen Beale and Duncan, having with them one piece of artillery. They reached General Kearny without molestation. On the march the combined force was surprised by about ninety-three Californians at San Pasqual, under command of Andres Pico, who had been sent to that part of the country to drive off all the cattle and horses to prevent us from getting them. In the battle that ensued General Kearny lost in killed Captains Johnston and Moore and Lieutenant Hammond, and fifteen dragoons. Seventeen dragoons were severely wounded. The enemy captured one piece of artillery. General Kearny and Captains Gillespie and Gibson were severely wounded; also one of the engineer officers. Some of the dragoons have since died."

* * *

"After the engagement General Kearny took position on a hill covered with large rocks. It was well suited for defense. Lieutenant Godey of Gillespie's volunteers, the night after the battle, escaped through the enemy's line of sentries and came in with a letter from Captain Turner to the commodore. Whilst among the rocks, Past Midshipman Beale and Kit Carson managed, under cover of night, to pass out through the enemy's ranks, and after three days' and nights' hard marching through the mountains without water, succeeded in getting safely into San Diego, completely famished. Soon after arriving Lieutenant Beale fainted away, and for some days entirely lost his reason."

On the night of Beale's arrival, December 9, about 9 p. m., detachments of two hundred sailors and marines from the Congress and Portsmouth, under the immediate command of Captain Zeilin, assisted by Lieutenants Gray, Hunter, Renshaw, Parrish, Thompson and Tilghman and Midshipmen Duvall and Morgan, each man carrying a blanket, three pounds of jerked beef and the same of hard-tack, began their march to relieve General Kearny. They marched all night and camped on a chaparral covered mountain during the day. At 4 p. m. of the second night's march they reached Kearny's camp, surprising him. Godey, who had been sent ahead to inform Kearny that assistance was coming, had been captured by the

enemy. General Kearny had burnt and destroyed all his baggage and camp equipage, saddles, bridles, clothing, etc., preparatory to forcing his way through the enemy's line. Burdened with his wounded, it is doubtful whether he could have escaped. Midshipman Duvall says: "It would not be a hazard of opinion to say he would have been overpowered and compelled to surrender." The enemy disappeared on the arrival of reinforcements. The relief expedition, with Kearny's men, reached San Diego after two days' march.

A brief explanation of the reason why Kearny was at San Pasqual may be necessary. In June, 1846, Gen. Stephen W. Kearny, commander of the Army of the West, as his command was designated, left Fort Leavenworth with a force of regulars and volunteers to take possession of New Mexico. The conquest of that territory was accomplished without a battle. Under orders from the war department, Kearny began his march to California with a part of his force to co-operate with the naval forces there. October 6, near Socorro, N. M., he met Kit Carson with an escort of fifteen men en route from Los Angeles to Washington, bearing dispatches from Stockton, giving the report of the conquest of California. Kearny required Carson to turn back and act as his guide. Carson was very unwilling to do so, as he was within a few days' journey of his home and family, from whom he had been separated for nearly two years. He had been guide for Fremont on his exploring expedition. He, however, obeyed Kearny's orders.

General Kearny sent back about three hundred of his men, taking with him one hundred and twenty. After a toilsome march by way of the Pima villages, Tucson, the Gila and across the Colorado desert, they reached the Indian village of San Pasqual (about forty miles from San Diego), where the battle was fought. It was the bloodiest battle of the conquest; Kearny's men, at daybreak, riding on broken down mules and half broken horses, in an irregular and disorderly line, charged the Californians. While the American line was stretched out over the plain Capt. Andres Pico, who was in command, wheeled his column and charged the Americans. A fierce hand to hand fight ensued, the Californians using their lances and lariats, the Americans clubbed guns and sabers. Of Kearny's command eighteen men were killed and nineteen wounded; three of the wounded died. Only one, Capt. Abraham R. Johnston (a relative of the author's), was killed by a gunshot; all the others were lanced. The mules to one of the howitzers became unmanageable and ran into the enemy's lines. The driver was killed and the gun captured. One Californian was captured and several slightly wounded; none were killed. Less than half of Kearny's one hundred and seventy men* took part in the battle. His loss in killed and wounded was fifty per cent of those engaged. Dr. John S. Griffin, for many years a leading physician of Los Angeles, was the surgeon of the command.

The foraging expeditions in Lower California having been quite successful in bringing in cattle, horses and mules, Commodore Stockton hastened his preparation for marching against Los Angeles. The enemy obtained information of the projected movement and left for the pueblo.

"The Cyane having arrived," says Duvall, "our force was increased to about six hundred men, most of whom, understanding the drill, performed the evolutions like regular soldiers. Everything being ready for our departure, the commodore left Captain Montgomery and officers in command of the town, and on the 29th of December took up his line of march for Los Angeles. General Kearny was second in command and having the immediate arrangement of the forces, reserving for himself the prerogative which his rank necessarily imposed upon him. Owing to the weak state of our oxen we had not crossed the dry bed of the river San Diego before they began breaking down, and the carts, which were thirty or forty in number, had to be dragged by the men. The general urged on the commodore that it was useless to commence such a march as was before us with our present means of transportation, but the commodore insisted on performing at least one day's march

*General Kearny's original force of one hundred and twenty had been increased by Gillespie's command, numbering fifty men.

even if we should have to return the next day. We succeeded in reaching the valley of the Soledad that night by dragging our carts. Next day the commodore proposed to go six miles farther, which we accomplished, and then continued six miles farther. Having obtained some fresh oxen, by assisting the carts up hill we made ten or twelve miles a day. At San Luis Rey we secured men, carts and oxen, and after that our days' marches ranged from fifteen to twenty-two miles a day.

"The third day out from San Luis Rey a white flag was seen ahead, the bearer of which had a communication from Flores, signing himself 'Commander-in-Chief and Governor of California,' asking for a conference for the purpose of coming to terms, which would be alike 'honorable to both countries.' The commodore refused to answer him in writing, saying to the bearer of the truce that his answer was, 'he knew no such person as Governor Flores; that he himself was the only governor in California; that he knew a rebel by that name, a man who had given his parole of honor not to take up arms against the government of the United States, who, if the people of California now in arms against the forces of the United States would deliver up, he (Stockton) would treat with them on condition that they surrender their arms and retire peaceably to their homes and he would grant them, as citizens of the United States, protection from further molestation.' This the embassy refused to entertain, saying 'they would prefer to die with Flores than to surrender on such terms.' "

* * *

"On the 8th of January, 1847, they met us on the banks of the river San Gabriel with between five and six hundred men mounted on good horses and armed with lances and carbines, having also four pieces of artillery planted on the heights about three hundred and fifty yards distant from the river. Owing to circumstances which have occurred since the surrender of the enemy, I prefer not mentioning the particulars of this day's battle and also that of the day following, or of referring to individuals concerned in the successful management of our forces." (The circumstance to which Lieutenant Duvall refers was undoubtedly the quarrel between Stockton and Kearny after the capture of Los Angeles.) "It is sufficient to say that on the 8th of January we succeeded in crossing the river and driving the enemy from the heights. Having resisted all their charges, dismounted one of their pieces and put them to flight in every direction, we encamped on the ground they had occupied during the fight.

"The next day the Californians met us on the plains of the mesa. For a time the fighting was carried on by both sides with artillery, but that proving too hot for them they concentrated their whole force in a line ahead of us and at a given signal divided from the center and came down on us like a tornado, charging us on all sides at the same time; but they were effectually defeated and fled in every direction in the utmost confusion. Many of their horses were left dead on the field. Their loss in the two battles, as given by Andres Pico, second in command, was eighty-three killed and wounded; our loss, three killed (one accidentally), and fifteen or twenty wounded, none dangerously. The enemy abandoned two pieces of artillery in an Indian village near by."

I have given at considerable length Midshipman Duvall's account of Stockton's march from San Diego and of the two battles fought, not because it is the fullest account of those events, but because it is original historical matter, never having appeared in print before, and also because it is the observations of a participant written at the time the events occurred. In it the losses of the enemy are greatly exaggerated, but that was a fault of his superior officers as well. Commodore Stockton, in his official reports of the two battles, gives the enemy's loss in killed and wounded "between seventy and eighty." And General Kearny, in his report of the battle of San Pasqual, claimed it as a victory, and states that the enemy left six dead on the field. The actual loss of the Californians in the two battles (San Gabriel river and La Mesa) was three killed and ten or twelve wounded.*

*The killed were Ignacio Sepulveda, Francisco Rubio, and El Guaymeno, a Yaqui Indian.

While the events recorded in this chapter were transpiring at San Diego and its vicinity, what was the state of affairs in the capital, Los Angeles? After the exultation and rejoicing over the expulsion of Gillespie's garrison, Mervine's defeat and the victory over Kearny at San Pasqual there came a reaction. Dissension continued between the leaders. There was lack of arms and laxity of discipline. The army was but little better than a mob. Obedience to orders of a superior was foreign to the nature of a Californian. His wild, free life in the saddle made him impatient of all restraint. Then the impossibility of successful resistance against the Americans became more and more apparent as the final conflict approached. Fremont's army was moving down on the doomed city from the north, and Stockton's was coming up from the south. Either one of these, in numbers, exceeded the force that Flores could bring into action; combined they would crush him out of existence. The California troops were greatly discouraged and it was with great difficulty that the officers kept their men together. There was another and more potent element of disintegration. Many of the wealthier natives and all the foreigners, regarding the contest as hopeless, secretly favored the American cause, and it was only through fear of loss of property that they furnished Flores and his officers any supplies for the army.

During the latter part of December and the first days of January Flores' army was stationed at the San Fernando Mission, on the lookout for Fremont's battalion; but the more rapid advance of Stockton's army compelled a change of base. On the 6th and 7th of January Flores moved his army back secretly through the Cahuenga Pass, and, passing to the southward of the city, took position where La Jaboneria (the soap factory) road crosses the San Gabriel river. Here his men were stationed in the thick willows to give Stockton a surprise. Stockton received information of the trap set for him and after leaving the Los Coyotes swung off to the right until he struck the Upper Santa Ana road. The Californians had barely time to effect a change of base and get their cannon planted when the Americans arrived at the crossing.

Stockton called the engagement there the battle of San Gabriel river; the Californians call it the battle of Paso de Bartolo, which is the better name. The place where the battle was fought is on bluff just south of the Upper Santa Ana road, near where the Southern California railroad crosses the old San Gabriel river. (The ford or crossing was formerly known as Pico's Crossing.) There was, at the time of the battle, but one San Gabriel river. The new river channel was made in the great flood of 1868. What Stockton, Emory, Duvall and other American officers call the battle of the Plains of the Mesa the Californians call the battle of La Mesa, which is most decidedly a better name than the "Plains of the Plain." It was fought at a ravine, the Canada de Los Alisos, near the southeastern corner of the Los Angeles city boundary. In these battles the Californians had four pieces of artillery, two iron nine-pounders, the old woman's gun and the howitzer captured from Kearny. Their powder was very poor. It was made at San Gabriel. It was owing to this that they did so little execution in the fight. That the Californians escaped with so little punishment was probably due to the wretched marksmanship of Stockton's sailors and marines.

CHAPTER XX.

CAPTURE AND OCCUPATION OF THE CAPITAL.

AFTER the battle of La Mesa, the Americans, keeping to the south, crossed the Los Angeles river at about the point where the south boundary line of the city crosses it and camped on the right bank. Here, under a willow tree, those killed in battle were buried. Lieutenant Emory, in his "Notes of a Military Reconnoissance," says: "The town, known to contain great quantities of wine and aguardiente, was four miles distant (four miles from the battlefield). From previous experience of the difficulty of controlling men when entering towns, it was determined to cross the river San Fernando (Los Angeles), halt there for the night and enter the town in the morning, with the whole day before us.

"After we had pitched our camp, the enemy came down from the hills, and four hundred horsemen with four pieces of artillery drew off towards the town, in order and regularity, whilst about sixty made a movement down the river on our rear and left flank. This led us to suppose they were not yet whipped, as we thought, and that we should have a night attack.

"January 10 (1847)—. Just as we had raised our camp, a flag of truce, borne by Mr. Celis, a Castilian; Mr. Workman, an Englishman, and Alvarado, the owner of the rancho at the Alisos, was brought into camp. They proposed, on behalf of the Californians, to surrender their dear City of the Angels provided we would respect property and persons. This was agreed to, but not altogether trusting to the honesty of General Flores, who had once broken his parole, we moved into the town in the same order we should have done if expecting an attack. It was a wise precaution, for the streets were full of desperate and drunken fellows, who brandished their arms and saluted us with every term of reproach. The crest, overlooking the town, in rifle range, was covered with horsemen engaged in the same hospitable manner.

"Our men marched steadily on, until crossing the ravine leading into the public square (plaza), when a fight took place amongst the Californians on the hill; one became disarmed and to avoid death rolled down the hill towards us, his adversary pursuing and lancing him in the most cold-blooded manner. The man tumbling down the hill was supposed to be one of our vaqueros, and the cry of 'rescue him' was raised. The crew of the Cyane, nearest the scene, at once and without any orders, halted and gave the man that was lancing him a volley; strange to say, he did not fall. The general gave the jack tars a cursing, not so much for the firing without orders, as for their bad marksmanship."

Shortly after the above episode, the Californians did open fire from the hill on the vaqueros in charge of the cattle. (These vaqueros were Californians in the employ of the Americans and were regarded by their countrymen as traitors.) A company of riflemen was ordered to clear the hill. A single volley effected this, killing two of the enemy. This was the last bloodshed in the war; and the second conquest of California was completed as the first had been by the capture of Los Angeles. Two hundred men, with two pieces of artillery, were stationed on the hill.

The Angeleños did not exactly welcome the invaders with "bloody hands to inhospitable graves," but they did their best to let them know they were not wanted. The better class of the native inhabitants closed their houses and took refuge with foreign residents or went to the ranchos of their friends in the country. The fellows of the baser sort, who were in possession of the city, exhausted their vocabularies of abuse on the invading gringos. There was one paisano who excelled all his countrymen in this species of warfare. It is a pity his name has not been preserved in history with that of

other famous scolds and kickers. He rode by the side of the advancing column up Main street, firing volleys of invective and denunciation at the hated gringos. At certain points of his tirade he worked himself to such a pitch of indignation that language failed him; then he would solemnly go through the motions of "Make ready, take aim!" with an old shotgun he carried, but when it came to the order "Fire!" discretion got the better of his valor; he lowered his gun and began again, firing invective at the gringo soldiers; his mouth would go off if his gun would not.

Commodore Stockton's headquarters were in the Abila house, the second house on Olvera street, north of the plaza. The building is still standing, but has undergone many changes in fifty years. A rather amusing account was recently given me by an old pioneer of the manner in which Commodore Stockton got possession of the house. The widow Abila and her daughters, at the approach of the American army, had abandoned their house and taken refuge with Don Luis Vignes of the Aliso. Vignes was a Frenchman and friendly to both sides. The widow left a young Californian in charge of her house (which was finely furnished), with strict orders to keep it closed. Stockton had with him a fine brass band, something new in California. When the troops halted on the plaza, the band began to play. The boyish guardian of the Abila casa could not resist the temptation to open the door and look out. The enchanting music drew him to the plaza. Stockton and his staff, hunting for a place suitable for headquarters, passing by, found the door invitingly open, entered, and, finding the house deserted, took possession. The recreant guardian returned to find himself dispossessed and the house in possession of the enemy. "And the band played on."

It is a fact not generally known that there were two forts planned and partially built on Fort Hill during the war for the conquest of California. The first was planned by Lieut. William H. Emory, topographical engineer of General Kearny's staff, and work was begun on it by Commodore Stockton's sailors and marines. The second was planned by Lieut. J. W. Davidson, of the First United States Dragoons, and built by the Mormon battalion. The first was not completed and not named. The second was named Fort Moore. Their location seems to have been identical. The first was designed to hold one hundred men. The second was much larger. Flores' army was supposed to be in the neighborhood of the city ready to make a dash into it, so Stockton decided to fortify.

"On January 11th," Lieutenant Emory writes, "I was ordered to select a site and place a fort capable of containing a hundred men. With this in view a rapid reconnoissance of the town was made and the plan of a fort sketched, so placed as to enable a small garrison to command the town and the principal avenues to it, the plan was approved."

"January 12. I laid off the work and before night broke the first ground. The population of the town and its dependencies is about three thousand; that of the town itself about fifteen hundred. * * * Here all the revolutions have had their origin, and it is the point upon which any Mexican force from Sonora would be directed. It was therefore desirable to establish a fort which, in case of trouble, should enable a small garrison to hold out till aid might come from San Diego, San Francisco or Monterey, places which are destined to become centers of American settlements."

"January 13. It rained steadily all day and nothing was done on the work. At night I worked on the details of the fort."

"January 15. The details to work on the fort were by companies. I sent to Captain Tilghman, who commanded on the hill, to detach one of the companies under his command to commence the work. He furnished, on the 16th, a company of artillery (seamen from the Congress) for the day's work, which was performed bravely, and gave me great hopes of success."

On the 18th Lieutenant Emory took his departure with General Kearny for San Diego. From there he was sent with despatches, via Panama, to the war department. In his book he says: "Subsequent to my departure the entire plan of the fort was changed, and I am not the projector of the work finally adopted for defense of that town."

As previously stated, Fremont's battalion began its march down the coast on the 29th of November, 1846. The winter rains set in with great severity. The volunteers were scantily provided with clothing and the horses were in poor condition. Many of the horses died of starvation and hard usage. The battalion encountered no opposition from the enemy on its march and did no fighting. On the 11th of January, a few miles above San Fernando, Colonel Fremont received a message from General Kearny informing him of the defeat of the enemy and the capture of Los Angeles. That night the battalion encamped in the mission buildings at San Fernando. From the mission that evening Jesus Pico, a cousin of Gen. Andres Pico, set out to find the Californian army and open negotiations with its leaders. Jesus Pico, better known as Tortoi, had been arrested at his home near San Luis Obispo, tried by court-martial and sentenced to be shot for breaking his parole. Fremont, moved by the pleadings of Pico's wife and children, pardoned him. He became a warm admirer and devoted friend of Fremont's.

He found the advance guard of the Californians encamped at Verdugas. He was detained here, and the leading officers of the army were summoned to a council. Pico informed them of Fremont's arrival and the number of his men. With the combined forces of Fremont and Stockton against them, their cause was hopeless. He urged them to surrender to Fremont, as they could obtain better terms from him than from Stockton.

General Flores, who held a commission in the Mexican army, and who had been appointed by the territorial assembly governor and comandante-general by virtue of his rank, appointed Andres Pico general and gave him command of the army. The same night he took his departure for Mexico, by way of San Gorgonio Pass, accompanied by Colonel Garfias, Diego Sepulveda, Manuel Castro, Segura, and about thirty privates. General Pico, on assuming command, appointed Francisco Rico and Francisco de La Guerra to go with Jesus Pico to confer with Colonel Fremont. Fremont appointed as commissioners to negotiate a treaty, Major P. B. Reading, Major William H. Russell and Capt. Louis McLane. On the return of Guerra and Rico to the Californian camp, Gen. Andres Pico appointed as commissioners, José Antonio Carrillo, commander of the cavalry squadron, and Agustin Olvera, diputado of the assembly, and moved his army near the river at Cahuenga. On the 13th Fremont moved his camp to the Cahuenga. The commissioners met in the deserted ranch-house, and the treaty was drawn up and signed.

The principal conditions of the treaty or capitulation of "Cahuenga," as it was termed, were that the Californians, on delivering up their artillery and public arms, and promising not again to take arms during the war, and conforming to the laws and regulations of the United States, shall be allowed peaceably to return to their homes. They were to be allowed the same rights and privileges as are allowed to citizens of the United States, and were not to be compelled to take an oath of allegiance until a treaty of peace was signed between the United States and Mexico, and were given the privilege of leaving the country if they wished to. An additional section was added to the treaty on the 16th at Los Angeles releasing the officers from their paroles. Two cannon were surrendered, the howitzer captured from General Kearny at San Pasqual and the woman's gun that won the battle of Dominguez. On the 14th, Fremont's battalion marched through the Cahuenga Pass to Los Angeles in a pouring rainstorm, and entered it four days after its surrender to Stockton. The conquest of California was completed. Stockton approved the treaty, although it was not altogether satisfactory to him. On the 16th he appointed Colonel Fremont governor of the territory, and William H. Russell, of the battalion, secretary of state.

This precipitated a quarrel between Stockton and Kearny, which had been brewing for some time. General Kearny claimed that under his instructions from the government he should be recognized as governor. As he had directly under his command but the one company of dragoons that he brought across the plain with him, he was unable to enforce his authority. He left on the 18th for San Diego, taking with him the

officers of his staff. On the 20th Commodore Stockton, with his sailors and marines, marched to San Pedro, where they all embarked on a man-of-war for San Diego to rejoin their ships. Shortly afterwards Commodore Stockton was superseded in the command of the Pacific squadron by Commodore Shubrick.

CHAPTER XXI.

TRANSITION AND TRANSFORMATION.

THE capitulation of Gen. Andres Pico at Cahuenga put an end to the war in California. The instructions from the secretary of war were to pursue a policy of conciliation towards the Californians with the ultimate design of transforming them into American citizens. Colonel Fremont was left in command at Los Angeles. He established his headquarters on the second floor of the Bell block (corner of Los Angeles and Aliso streets), then the best building in the city. One company of his battalion was retained in the city; the others, under command of Captain Owens, were quartered at the Mission San Gabriel.

The Mormons had been driven out of Illinois and Missouri. A sentiment of antagonism had been engendered against them and they had begun their migration to the far west, presumably to California. They were encamped on the Missouri river at Kanesville, now Council Bluffs, preparatory to crossing the plains, when hostilities broke out between the United States and Mexico, in April, 1846. A proposition was made by President Polk to their leaders to raise a battalion of five hundred men to serve as United States volunteers for twelve months. These volunteers, under command of regular army officers, were to march to Santa Fe, or, if necessary, to California, where, at the expiration of their term of enlistment, they were to be discharged and allowed to retain their arms. Through the influence of Brigham Young and other leaders, the battalion was recruited and General Kearny, commanding the Army of the West, detailed Capt. James Allen, of the First United States Dragoons, to muster them into the service and take command of the battalion. On the 16th of July, at Council Bluffs, the battalion was mustered into service and on the 14th of August it began its long and weary march. About eighty women and children, wives and families of the officers and some of the enlisted men, accompanied the battalion on its march. Shortly after the beginning of the march, Allen, who had been promoted to lieutenant-colonel, fell sick and died. The battalion was placed temporarily under the command of Lieut. A. J. Smith, of the regular army. At Santa Fe Lieut.-Col. Philip St. George Cooke took command under orders from General Kearny. The battalion was detailed to open a wagon road by the Gila route to California. About sixty of the soldiers who had become unfit for duty and all the women except five were sent back and the remainder of the force, after a toilsome journey, reached San Luis Rey, Cal., January 29, 1847, where it remained until ordered to Los Angeles, which place it reached March 17.

Captain Owens, in command of Fremont's battalion, had moved all the artillery, ten pieces, from Los Angeles to San Gabriel, probably with the design of preventing it falling into the hands of Colonel Cooke, who was an adherent of General Kearny. General Kearny, under additional instructions from the general government, brought by Colonel Mason from the war department, had established himself as governor at Monterey. With a governor in the north and one in the south, antagonistic to each other, California had fallen back to its normal condition under Mexican rule. Colonel Cooke, shortly after his arrival in the territory, thus describes the condition prevailing: "General Kearny is supreme somewhere up the coast. Colonel Fremont is supreme at Pueblo de Los Angeles; Colonel Stockton is commander-in-

chief at San Diego; Commodore Shubrick the same at Monterey; and I at San Luis Rey; and we are all supremely poor, the government having no money and no credit, and we hold the territory because Mexico is the poorest of all."

Col. R. B. Mason was appointed inspector of the troops in California and made an official visit to Los Angeles. In a misunderstanding about some official matters he used insulting language to Colonel Fremont. Fremont promptly challenged him to fight a duel. The challenge was accepted; double-barreled shotguns were chosen as the weapons and the Rancho Rosa del Castillo as the place of meeting. Mason was summoned north and the duel was postponed until his return. General Kearny, hearing of the proposed affair of honor, put a stop to further proceedings by the duelists.

Col. Philip St. George Cooke, of the Mormon battalion, was made commander of the military district of the south with headquarters at Los Angeles. Fremont's battalion was mustered out of service. The Mormon soldiers and the two companies of United States Dragoons who came with General Kearny were stationed at Los Angeles to do guard duty and prevent any uprising of the natives.

Colonel Fremont's appointment as governor of California had never been recognized by General Kearny. So when the general had made himself supreme at Monterey he ordered Fremont to report to him at the capital and turn over the papers of his governorship. Fremont did so and passed out of office. He was nominally governor of the territory about two months. His appointment was made by Commodore Stockton, but was never confirmed by the president or secretary of war. His jurisdiction did not extend beyond Los Angeles. He left Los Angeles May 12 for Monterey. From that place, in company with General Kearny, on May 31, he took his departure for the states. The relations between the two were strained. While ostensibly traveling as one company, each officer, with his staff and escort, made separate camps. At Fort Leavenworth General Kearny placed Fremont under arrest and preferred charges against him for disobedience of orders. He was tried by court-martial at Washington and was ably defended by his father-in-law, Colonel Benton, and his brother-in-law, William Carey Jones. The court found him guilty and fixed the penalty, dismissal from the service. President Polk remitted the penalty and ordered Colonel Fremont to resume his sword and report for duty. He did so, but shortly afterward resigned his commission and left the army.

While Colonel Cooke was in command of the southern district rumors reached Los Angeles that the Mexican general, Bustamente, with a force of fifteen hundred men, was preparing to reconquer California. "Positive information," writes Colonel Cooke, under date of April 20, 1847, "has been received that the Mexican government has appropriated $600,000 towards fitting out this force." It was also reported that cannon and military stores had been landed at San Vicente, in Lower California. Rumors of an approaching army came thick and fast. The natives were supposed to be in league with Bustamente and to be secretly preparing for an uprising. Precautions were taken against a surprise. A troop of cavalry was sent to Warner's ranch to patrol the Sonora road as far as the desert. The construction of a fort on the hill fully commanding the town, which had previously been determined upon, was begun and a company of infantry posted on the hill.

On the 23d of April, three months after work had ceased on Emory's fort, the construction of the second fort was begun and pushed vigorously. Rumors continued to come of the approach of the enemy. May 3, Colonel Cooke writes: "A report was received through the most available sources of information that General Bustamente had crossed the Gulf of California near its head, in boats of the pearl fishers, and at last information was at a rancho on the western road, seventy leagues below San Diego." Colonel Stevenson's regiment of New York volunteers had recently arrived in California. Two companies of that regiment had been sent to Los Angeles and two to San Diego. The report that Colonel Cooke had received reinforcement and that Los Angeles was being fortified was supposed to have frightened

Bustamente into abandoning his invasion of California. Bustamente's invading army was largely the creation of somebody's fertile imagination. The scare, however, had the effect of hurrying up work on the fort. May 13, Colonel Cooke resigned and Col. J. B. Stevenson succeeded him in the command of the southern military district.

Colonel Stevenson continued work on the fort and on the 1st of July work had progressed so far that he decided to dedicate and name it on the 4th. He issued an official order for the celebration of the anniversary of the birthday of American independence at this port, as he called Los Angeles. "At sunrise a Federal salute will be fired from the field work on the hill which commands this town and for the first time from this point the American standard will be displayed. At 11 o'clock all the troops of the district, consisting of the Mormon battalion, the two companies of dragoons and two companies of the New York volunteers, were formed in a hollow square at the fort. The Declaration of Independence was read in English by Captain Stuart Taylor and in Spanish by Stephen C. Foster. The native Californians, seated on their horses in rear of the soldiers, listened to Don Esteban as he rolled out in sonorous Spanish the Declaration's arraignment of King George III., and smiled. They had probably never heard of King George or the Declaration of Independence, either, but they knew a pronunciamiento when they heard it, and after a pronunciamiento in their governmental system came a revolution, therefore they smiled at the prospect of a gringo revolution. "At the close of this ceremony (reading of the Declaration) the field work will be dedicated and appropriately named; and at 12 o'clock a national salute will be fired. The field work at this post having been planned and the work conducted entirely by Lieutenant Davidson of the First Dragoons, he is requested to hoist upon it for the first time on the morning of the 4th the American standard." * * * The commander directs that from and after the 4th instant the fort shall bear the name of Moore. Benjamin D. Moore, after whom the fort was named, was captain of Company A, First United States Dragoons. He was killed by a lance thrust in the disastrous charge at the battle of San Pasqual. This fort was located on what is now called Fort Hill, near the geographical center of Los Angeles. It was a breastwork about four hundred feet long with bastions and embrasures for cannon. The principal embrasure commanded the church and the plaza, two places most likely to be the rallying points in a rebellion. It was built more for the suppression of a revolt than to resist an invasion. It was in a commanding position; two hundred men, about its capacity, could have defended it against a thousand if the attack came from the front; but as it was never completed, in an attack from the rear it could easily have been captured with an equal force.

Col. Richard B. Mason succeeded General Kearny as commander-in-chief of the troops and military governor of California. Col. Philip St. George Cooke resigned command of the military district of the south May 13, joined General Kearny at Monterey and went east with him. As previously stated, Col. J. D. Stevenson, of the New York volunteers, succeeded him. His regiment, the First New York, but really the Seventh, had been recruited in the eastern part of the state of New York in the summer of 1846, for the double purpose of conquest and colonization. The United States government had no intention of giving up California once it was conquered, and therefore this regiment came to the coast well provided with provisions and implements of husbandry. It came to California via Cape Horn in three transports. The first ship, the Perkins, arrived at San Francisco, March 6, 1847; the second, the Drew, March 19; and the third, the Loo Choo, March 26. Hostilities had ceased in California before their arrival. Two companies, A and B, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Burton, were sent to Lower California, where they saw hard service and took part in several engagements. The other companies of the regiment were sent to different towns in Alta California to do garrison duty.

Another military organization that reached California after the conquest was Company F of the Third United States Artillery. It landed at Monterey January 28, 1847. It was com-

manded by Capt. C. Q. Thompkins. With it came Lieuts. E. O. C. Ord, William T. Sherman and H. W. Halleck, all of whom became prominent in California affairs and attained national reputation during the Civil war. The Mormon battalion was mustered out in July, 1847. One company under command of Captain Hunt re-enlisted. The others made their way to Utah, where they joined their brethren who the year before had crossed the plains and founded the City of Salt Lake. The New York volunteers were discharged in August, 1848. After the treaty of peace, in 1848, four companies of United States Dragoons, under command of Major L. P. Graham, marched from Chihuahua, by way of Tucson, to California. Major Graham was the last military commander of the south.

Commodore W. Branford Shubrick succeeded Commodore Stockton in command of the naval forces of the north Pacific coast. Jointly with General Kearny he issued a circular or proclamation to the people of California, printed in English and Spanish, setting forth "That the president of the United States, desirous to give and secure to the people of California a share of the good government and happy civil organization enjoyed by the people of the United States, and to protect them at the same time from the attacks of foreign foes and from internal commotions, has invested the undersigned with separate and distinct powers, civil and military; a cordial co-operation in the exercise of which, it is hoped and believed, will have the happy results desired.

"To the commander-in-chief of the naval forces the president has assigned the regulation of the import trade, the conditions on which vessels of all nations, our own as well as foreign, may be admitted into the ports of the territory, and the establishment of all port regulations. To the commanding military officer the president has assigned the direction of the operations on land and has invested him with administrative functions of government over the people and territory occupied by the forces of the United States.

"Done at Monterey, capital of California, this 1st day of March, A. D. 1847. W. Branford Shubrick, commander-in-chief of the naval forces. S. W. Kearny, Brig.-Gen. United States Army, and Governor of California."

Under the administration of Col. Richard B. Mason, the successor of General Kearny as military governor, the reconstruction, or, more appropriately, the transformation period began. The orders from the general government were to conciliate the people and to make no radical changes in the form of government. The Mexican laws were continued in force. Just what these laws were, it was difficult to find out. No code commissioner had codified the laws and it sometimes happened that the judge made the law to suit the case. Under the old régime the alcalde was often law-giver, judge, jury and executioner, all in one. Occasionally there was friction between the military and civil powers, and there were rumors of insurrections and invasions, but nothing came of them. The Californians, with easy good nature so characteristic of them, made the best of the situation. "A thousand things," says Judge Hays, "combined to smooth the asperities of war. Fremont had been courteous and gay; Mason was just and firm. The natural good temper of the population favored a speedy and perfect conciliation. The American officers at once found themselves happy in every circle. In suppers, balls, visiting in town and country, the hours glided away with pleasant reflections."

There were, however, a few individuals who were not happy unless they could stir up dissensions and cause trouble. One of the chief of these was Serbulo Varela, agitator and revolutionist. Varela, for some offense not specified in the records, had been committed to prison by the second alcalde of Los Angeles. Colonel Stevenson turned him out of jail, and Varela gave the judge a tongue lashing in refuse Castilian. The judge's official dignity was hurt. He sent a communication to the ayuntamiento saying: "Owing to personal abuse which I received at the hands of a private individual and from the present military commander, I tender my resignation."

The ayuntamiento sent a communication to Colonel Stevenson asking why he had turned Varela out of jail and why he had insulted the

judge. The colonel curtly replied that the military would not act as jailers over persons guilty of trifling offenses while the city had plenty of persons to do guard duty at the jail. As to the abuse of the judge, he was not aware that any abuse had been given, and would take no further notice of him unless he stated the nature of the insult offered him. The council decided to notify the governor of the outrage perpetrated by the military commander, and the second alcalde said since he could get no satisfaction for insults to his authority from the military despot, he would resign; but the council would not accept his resignation, so he refused to act, and the city had to worry along with one alcalde.

Although foreigners had been coming to California ever since 1814, their numbers had not increased very rapidly. Nearly all of these had found their way there by sea. Those who had become permanent residents had married native Californian women and adopted the customs of the country. Capt. Jedediah S. Smith, in 1827, crossed the Sierra Nevada mountains from California and by way of the Humboldt, or, as he named it, the Mary River, had reached the Great Salt Lake. From there through the South Pass of the Rocky mountains the route had been traveled for several years by the fur trappers. This latter became the great emigrant route to California a few years later. A southern route by way of Santa Fe had been marked out and the Pattee party had found their way to the Colorado by the Gila route, but so far no emigrant trains had come from the States to California with women and children. The first of these mixed trains was organized in western Missouri in May, 1841. The party consisted of sixty-nine persons, including men, women and children. This party divided at Soda Springs, half going to Oregon and the others keeping on their way to California. They reached the San Joaquin valley in November, 1841, after a toilsome journey of six months. The first settlement they found was Dr. Marsh's ranch in what is now called Contra Costa county. Marsh gave them a cordial reception at first, but afterwards treated them meanly.

Fourteen of the party started for the Pueblo de San José. At the Mission of San José, twelve miles from the Pueblo, they were all arrested by order of General Vallejo. One of the men was sent to Dr. Marsh to have him come forthwith and explain why an armed force of his countrymen were roaming around the country without passports. Marsh secured their release and passports for all the party. On his return home he charged the men who had remained at his ranch $5 each for a passport, although the passports had cost him nothing. As there was no money in the party, each had to put up some equivalent from his scanty possessions. Marsh had taken this course to reimburse himself for the meal he had given the half-starved emigrants the first night of their arrival at his ranch.

In marked contrast with the meanness of Marsh was the liberality of Captain Sutter. Sutter had built a fort at the junction of the American river and the Sacramento in 1839 and had obtained extensive land grants. His fort was the frontier post for the overland emigration. Gen. John Bidwell, who came with the first emigrant train to California, in a description of "Life in California Before the Gold Discovery," says: "Nearly everybody who came to California then made it a point to reach Sutter's Fort. Sutter was one of the most liberal and hospitable of men. Everybody was welcome, one man or a hundred, it was all the same."

Another emigrant train, known as the Workman-Rowland party, numbering forty-five persons, came from Santa Fe by the Gila route to Los Angeles. About twenty-five of this party were persons who had arrived too late at Westport, Mo., to join the northern emigrant party, so they went with the annual caravan of St. Louis traders to Santa Fe and from there, with traders and trappers, continued their journey to California. From 1841 to the American conquest immigrant trains came across the plains every year.

One of the most noted of these, on account of the tragic fate that befell it, was the Donner party. The nucleus of this party, George and Jacob Donner and James K. Reed, with their families, started from Springfield, Ill., in the spring of 1846. By accretions and combinations, when it reached Fort Bridger, July 25, it had

increased to eighty-seven persons—thirty-six men, twenty-one women and thirty children, under the command of George Donner. A new route called the Hastings Cut-Off, had just been opened by Lansford W. Hastings. This route passed to the south of Great Salt Lake and struck the old Fort Hall emigrant road on the Humboldt. It was claimed that the "cut-off" shortened the distance three hundred miles. The Donner party, by misrepresentations, were induced to take this route. The cut-off proved to be almost impassable. They started on the cut-off the last day of July, and it was the end of September when they struck the old emigrant trail on the Humboldt. They had lost most of their cattle and were nearly out of provisions. From this on, unmerciful disaster followed them fast and faster. In an altercation, Reed, one of the best men of the party, killed Snyder. He was banished from the train and compelled to leave his wife and children behind. An old Belgian named Hardcoop and Wolfinger, a German, unable to keep up, were abandoned to die on the road. Pike was accidentally shot by Foster. The Indians stole a number of their cattle, and one calamity after another delayed them. In the latter part of October they had reached the Truckee. Here they encountered a heavy snow storm, which blocked all further progress. They wasted their strength in trying to ascend the mountains in the deep snow that had fallen. Finally, finding this impossible, they turned back and built cabins at a lake since known as Donner Lake, and prepared to pass the winter. Most of their oxen had strayed away during the storm and perished. Those still alive they killed and preserved the meat.

A party of fifteen, ten men and five women, known as the "Forlorn Hope," started, December 16, on snowshoes to cross the Sierras. They had provisions for six days, but the journey consumed thirty-two days. Eight of the ten men perished, and among them the noble Stanton, who had brought relief to the emigrants from Sutter's Fort before the snows began to fall. The five women survived. Upon the arrival of the wretched survivors of the "Forlorn Hope," the terrible sufferings of the snow-bound immigrants were made known at Sutter's Fort, and the first relief party was organized, and on the 5th of February started for the lake. Seven of the thirteen who started succeeded in reaching the lake. On the 19th they started back with twenty-one of the immigrants, three of whom died on the way. A second relief, under Reed and McCutchen, was organized. Reed had gone to Yerba Buena to seek assistance. A public meeting was called and $1,500 subscribed. The second relief started from Johnston's Ranch, the nearest point to the mountains, on the 23d of February and reached the camp on March 1st. They brought out seventeen. Two others were organized and reached Donner Lake, the last on the 17th of April. The only survivor then was Keseburg, a German, who was hated by all the company. There was a strong suspicion that he had killed Mrs. Donner, who had refused to leave her husband (who was too weak to travel) with the previous relief. There were threats of hanging him. Keseburg had saved his life by eating the bodies of the dead. Of the original party of eighty-seven, a total of thirty-nine perished from starvation. Most of the survivors were compelled to resort to cannabalism. They were not to blame if they did.

CHAPTER XXII.

MEXICAN LAWS AND AMERICAN OFFICIALS.

UPON the departure of General Kearny, May 31, 1847, Col. Richard B. Mason became governor and commander-in-chief of the United States forces in California by order of the president. Stockton, Kearny and Fremont had taken their departure, the dissensions that had existed since the conquest of the territory among the conquerors ceased, and peace reigned.

There were reports of Mexican invasions and suspicions of secret plottings against gringo rule, but the invaders came not and the plottings never produced even the mildest form of a Mexican revolution. Mexican laws were administered for the most part by military officers. The municipal authorities were encouraged to continue in power and perform their governmental functions, but they were indifferent and sometimes rebelled. Under Mexican rule there was no trial by jury. The alcalde acted as judge and in criminal cases a council of war settled the fate of the criminal. The Rev. Walter Colton, while acting as alcalde of Monterey, in 1846-47, impaneled the first jury ever summoned in California. "The plaintiff and defendant," he writes, "are among the principal citizens of the country. The case was one involving property on the one side and integrity of character on the other. Its merits had been pretty widely discussed, and had called forth an unusual interest. One-third of the jury were Mexicans, one-third Californians and the other third Americans. This mixture may have the better answered the ends of justice, but I was apprehensive at one time it would embarrass the proceedings; for the plaintiff spoke in English, the defendant in French; the jury, save the Americans, Spanish, and the witnesses, all the languages known to California. By the tact of Mr. Hartnell, who acted as interpreter, and the absence of young lawyers, we got along very well.

"The examination of witnesses lasted five or six hours. I then gave the case to the jury, stating the questions of fact upon which they were to render their verdict. They retired for an hour and then returned, when the foreman handed in their verdict, which was clear and explicit, though the case itself was rather complicated. To this verdict both parties bowed without a word of dissent. The inhabitants who witnessed the trial said it was what they liked, that there could be no bribery in it, that the opinion of twelve honest men should set the case forever at rest. And so it did, though neither party completely triumphed in the issue. One recovered his property, which had been taken from him by mistake, the other his character, which had been slandered by design."

The process of Americanizing the people was no easy undertaking. The population of the country and its laws were in a chaotic condition. It was an arduous task that Colonel Mason and the military commanders at the various pueblos had to perform, that of evolving order out of the chaos that had been brought about by the change in nations. The native population neither understood the language nor the customs of their new rulers, and the newcomers among the Americans had very little toleration for the slow-going Mexican ways and methods they found prevailing. To keep peace between the factions required more tact than knowledge of law, military or civil, in the commanders.

Los Angeles, under Mexican domination, had been the storm center of revolutions, and here under the new régime the most difficulty was encountered in transforming the quondam revolutionists into law-abiding and peaceful American citizens. The ayuntamiento was convened in 1847, after the conquest, and continued in power until the close of the year. When the time came round for the election of a new ayun-

tamiento there was trouble. Stephen C. Foster, Colonel Stevenson's interpreter, submitted a paper to the council stating that the government had authorized him to get up a register of voters. The ayuntamiento voted to return the paper just as it was received. Then the colonel made a demand of the council to assist Stephen in compiling a register of voters. Regidor Chavez took the floor and said such a register should not be gotten up under the auspices of the military, but, since the government had so disposed, thereby outraging this honorable body, no attention should be paid to said communication. But the council decided that the matter did not amount to much, so they granted the request, much to the disgust of Chavez. The election was held and a new ayuntamiento elected. At the last meeting of the old council, December 29, 1847, Colonel Stevenson addressed a note to it requesting that Stephen C. Foster be recognized as first alcalde and judge of the first instance. The council decided to turn the whole business over to its successor, to deal with as it sees fit.

Colonel Stevenson's request was made in accordance with the wish of Governor Mason that a part of the civil offices be filled by Americans. The new ayuntamiento resented the interference. How the matter terminated is best told in Stephen C. Foster's own words: "Colonel Stevenson was determined to have our inauguration done in style. So on the day appointed, January 1, 1848, he, together with myself and colleague, escorted by a guard of soldiers, proceeded from the colonel's quarters to the alcalde's office. There we found the retiring ayuntamiento and the new one awaiting our arrival. The oath of office was administered by the retiring first alcalde. We knelt to take the oath, when we found they had changed their minds, and the alcalde told us that if two of their number were to be kicked out they would all go. So they all marched out and left us in possession. Here was a dilemma, but Colonel Stevenson was equal to the emergency. He said he could give us a swear as well as the alcalde. So we stood up and he administered to us an oath to support the constitution of the United States and administer justice in accordance with Mexican law. I then knew as much about Mexican law as I did about Chinese, and my colleague knew as much as I did. Guerrero gathered up the books that pertained to his office and took them to his house, where he established his office, and I took the archives and records across the street to a house I had rented, and there I was duly installed for the next seventeen months, the first American alcalde and carpet-bagger in Los Angeles."

Colonel Stevenson issued a call for the election of a new ayuntamiento, but the people stayed at home and no votes were cast. At the close of the year the voters had gotten over their pet and when a call was made a council was elected, but only Californians (hijos del pais) were returned. The ayuntamientos continued to be the governing power in the pueblos until superseded by city and county governments in 1850.

The most difficult problem that General Kearny in his short term had to confront and, unsolved, he handed down to his successor, Colonel Mason, was the authority and jurisdiction of the alcaldes. Under the Mexican régime these officers were supreme in the pueblo over which they ruled. For the Spanish transgressor fines of various degrees were the usual penalty; for the mission neophyte, the lash, well laid on, and labor in the chain gang. There was no written code that defined the amount of punishment; the alcalde meted out justice and sometimes injustice, as suited his humor. Kearny appointed John H. Nash alcalde of Sonoma. Nash was a rather erratic individual, who had taken part in the Bear Flag revolution. When the offices of the prospective California Republic were divided among the revolutionists, he was to be the chief justice. After the collapse of that short-lived republic, Nash was elected alcalde. His rule was so arbitrary and his decisions so biased by favoritism or prejudice that the American settlers soon protested and General Kearny removed him or tried to. He appointed L. W. Boggs, a recently arrived immigrant, to the office. Nash refused to surrender the books and papers of the office. Lieut. W. T. Sherman was detailed by Colonel Mason, after his succession to the office of governor, to

proceed to Sonoma and arrest Nash. Sherman quietly arrested him at night and before the bellicose alcalde's friends (for he had quite a following) were aware of what was going on, marched him off to San Francisco. He was put on board the Dale and sent to Monterey. Finding that it was useless for him to resist the authority of the United States, its army and navy as well, Nash expressed his willingness to submit to the inevitable, and surrendered his office. He was released and ceased from troubling. Another strenuous alcalde was William Blackburn, of Santa Cruz. He came to the country in 1845, and before his elevation to the honorable position of a judge of the first instance he had been engaged in making shingles in the redwoods. He had no knowledge of law and but little acquaintance with books of any kind. His decisions were always on the side of justice, although some of the penalties imposed were somewhat irregular.

In Alcalde Blackburn's docket for August 14, 1847, appears this entry: "Pedro Gomez was tried for the murder of his wife, Barbara Gomez, and found guilty. The sentence of the court is that the prisoner be conducted back to prison, there to remain until Monday, the 16th of August, and then be taken out and shot." August 17, sentence carried into effect on the 16th accordingly. WILLIAM BLACKBURN, Alcalde.

It does not appear in the records that Blackburn was the executioner. He proceeded to dispose of the two orphaned children of the murderer. The older daughter he indentured to Jacinto Castro "to raise until she is twenty-one years of age, unless sooner married, said Jacinto Castro, obligating himself to give her a good education, three cows and calves at her marriage or when of age." The younger daughter was disposed of on similar terms to A. Rodriguez. Colonel Mason severely reprimanded Blackburn, but the alcalde replied that there was no use making a fuss over it; the man was guilty, he had a fair trial before a jury and deserved to die. Another case in his court illustrates the versatility of the judge. A Spanish boy, out of revenge, sheared the mane and tail of a neighbor's horse. The offense was proved, but the judge was sorely perplexed when he came to sentence the culprit. He could find no law in his law books to fit the case. After pondering over the question a while, he gave this decision: "I find no law in any of the statutes to fit this case, except in the law of Moses, 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.' Let the prisoner be taken out in front of this office and there sheared close." The sentence was immediately executed.

Another story is told of Blackburn, which may or may not be true. A mission Indian who had committed murder took the right of sanctuary in the church, and the padre refused to give him up. Blackburn wrote to the governor, stating the case. The Indian, considering himself safe while with the padre, left the church in company with the priest. Blackburn seized him, tried him and hung him. He then reported to the governor: "I received your order to suspend the execution of the condemned man, but I had hung him. When I see you I will explain the affair."

Some of the military commanders of the presidios and pueblos gave Governor Mason as much trouble as the alcaldes. These, for the most part, were officers of the volunteers who had arrived after the conquest. They were unused to "war's alarms," and, being new to the country and ignorant of the Spanish language, they regarded the natives with suspicion. They were on the lookout for plots and revolutions. Sometimes they found these incubating and undertook to crush them, only to discover that the affair was a hoax or a practical joke. The Cañon Perdido (lost cañon) of Santa Barbara episode is a good illustration of the trouble one "finicky" man can make when entrusted with military power.

In the winter of 1847-48 the American bark Elisabeth was wrecked on the Santa Barbara coast. Among the flotsam of the wreck was a brass cannon of uncertain calibre; it might have been a six, a nine or a twelve pounder. What the capacity of its bore matters not, for the gun unloaded made more noise in Santa Barbara than it ever did when it belched forth shot and shell in battle. The gun, after its rescue from a watery grave, lay for some time on the beach,

devoid of carriage and useless, apparently, for offense or defense.

One dark night a little squad of native Californians stole down to the beach, loaded the gun in an ox cart, hauled it to the estero and hid it in the sands. What was their object in taking the gun no one knows. Perhaps they did not know themselves. It might come handy in a revolution, or maybe they only intended to play a practical joke on the gringos. Whatever their object, the outcome of their prank must have astonished them. There was a company (F) of Stevenson's New York volunteers stationed at Santa Barbara, under command of Captain Lippett. Lippett was a fussy, nervous individual who lost his head when anything unusual occurred. In the theft of the cannon he thought he had discovered a California revolution in the formative stages, and he determined to crush it in its infancy. He sent post haste a courier to Governor Mason at Monterey, informing him of the prospective uprising of the natives and the possible destruction of the troops at Santa Barbara by the terrible gun the enemy had stolen.

Colonel Mason, relying on Captain Lippett's report, determined to give the natives a lesson that would teach them to let guns and revolutions alone. He issued an order from headquarters at Monterey, in which he said that ample time having been allowed for the return of the gun, and the citizens having failed to produce it, he ordered that the town be laid under a contribution of $500, assessed in the following manner: A capitation tax of $2 on all males over twenty years of age; the balance to be paid by the heads of families and property-holders in the proportion of the value of their respective real and personal estate in the town of Santa Barbara and vicinity. Col. J. D. Stevenson was appointed to direct the appraisement of the property and the collection of the assessment. If any failed to pay his capitation, enough of his property was to be seized and sold to pay his enforced contribution.

The promulgation of the order at Santa Barbara raised a storm of indignation at the old pueblo. Colonel Stevenson came up from Los Angeles and had an interview with Don Pablo de La Guerra, a leading citizen of Santa Barbara. Don Pablo was wrathfully indignant at the insult put upon his people, but after talking over the affair with Colonel Stevenson, he became somewhat mollified. He invited Colonel Stevenson to make Santa Barbara his headquarters and inquired about the brass band at the lower pueblo. Stevenson took the hint and ordered up the band from Los Angeles. July 4th had been fixed upon as the day for the payment of the fines, doubtless with the idea of giving the Californians a little celebration that would remind them hereafter of Liberty's natal day. Colonel Stevenson contrived to have the band reach Santa Barbara on the night of the 3d. The band astonished Don Pablo and his family with a serenade. The Don was so delighted that he hugged the colonel in the most approved style. The band serenaded all the Dons of note in town and tooted until long after midnight, then started in next morning and kept it up till ten o'clock, the time set for each man to contribute his "dos pesos" to the common fund. By that time every hombre on the list was so filled with wine, music and patriotism that the greater portion of the fine was handed over without protest. The day closed with a grand ball. The beauty and the chivalry of Santa Barbara danced to the music of a gringo brass band and the brass cannon for the nonce was forgotten.

But the memory of the city's ransom rankled, and although an American band played Spanish airs, American injustice was still remembered. When the city's survey was made in 1850 the nomenclature of three streets, Cañon Perdido (Lost Cannon street), Quinientos (Five Hundred street) and Mason street kept the cannon episode green in the memory of the Barbareños. When the pueblo, by legislative act, became a ciudad, the municipal authorities selected this device for a seal: In the center a cannon emblazoned, encircled with these words, Vale Quinientos Pesos—Worth $500, or, more liberally translated, Good-bye, $500, which, by the way, as the sequel of the story will show, is the better translation. This seal was used from the incorporation of the city in 1850 to 1860, when another design was chosen.

After peace was declared, Colonel Mason sent the $500 to the prefect at Santa Barbara, with instructions to use it in building a city jail; and although there was pressing need for a jail, the jail was not built. The prefect's needs were pressing, too. Several years passed; then the city council demanded that the prefect turn the money into the city treasury. He replied that the money was entrusted to him for a specific purpose, and he would trust no city treasurer with it. The fact was that long before he had lost it in a game of monte.

Ten years passed, and the episode of the lost cannon was but a dimly remembered story of the olden time. The old gun reposed peacefully in its grave of sand and those who buried it had forgotten the place of its interment. One stormy night in December, 1858, the estero (creek) cut a new channel to the ocean. In the morning, as some Barbareños were surveying the changes caused by the flood, they saw the muzzle of a large gun protruding from the cut in the bank. They unearthed it, cleaned off the sand and discovered that it was El Cañon Perdido, the lost cannon. It was hauled up State street to Cañon Perdido, where it was mounted on an improvised carriage. But the sight of it was a reminder of an unpleasant incident. The finders sold it to a merchant for $80. He shipped it to San Francisco and sold it at a handsome profit for old brass.

Governor Pio Pico returned from Mexico to California, arriving at San Gabriel July 17, 1848. Although the treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico had been signed and proclaimed, the news had not reached California. Pico, from San Fernando, addressed letters to Colonel Stevenson at Los Angeles and Governor Mason at Monterey, stating that as Mexican governor of California he had come back to the country with the object of carrying out the armistice which then existed between the United States and Mexico. He further stated that he had no desire to impede the establishment of peace between the two countries; and that he wished to see the Mexicans and Americans treat each other in a spirit of fraternity. Mason did not like Pico's assumption of the title of Mexican governor of California, although it is not probable that Pico intended to assert any claim to his former position. Governor Mason sent a special courier to Los Angeles with orders to Colonel Stevenson to arrest the ex-governor, who was then at his Santa Margarita rancho, and send him to Monterey, but the news of the ratification of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo reached Los Angeles before the arrest was made, and Pico was spared this humiliation.

The treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico was signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, a hamlet a few miles from the City of Mexico, February 2, 1848; ratifications were exchanged at Queretaro, May 30 following, and a proclamation that peace had been established between the two countries was published July 4, 1848. Under this treaty the United States assumed the payment of the claims of American citizens against Mexico, and paid, in addition, $15,000,000 to Mexico for Texas, New Mexico and Alta California. Out of what was the Mexican territory of Alta California there has been carved all of California, all of Nevada, Utah and Arizona and part of Colorado and Wyoming. The territory acquired by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was nearly equal to the aggregated area of the thirteen original states at the time of the Revolutionary war.

The news of the treaty of peace reached California August 6, 1848. On the 7th Governor Mason issued a proclamation announcing the ratification of the treaty. He announced that all residents of California, who wished to become citizens of the United States, were absolved from their allegiance to Mexico. Those who desired to retain their Mexican citizenship could do so, provided they signified such intention within one year from May 30, 1848. Those who wished to go to Mexico were at liberty to do so without passports. Six months before, Governor Mason had issued a proclamation prohibiting any citizen of Sonora from entering California except on official business, and then only under flag of truce. He also required all Sonorans in the country to report themselves either at Los Angeles or Monterey.

The war was over; and the treaty of peace had made all who so elected, native or foreign

born, American citizens. Strict military rule was relaxed and the people henceforth were to be self-governing. American and Californian were one people and were to enjoy the same rights and to be subject to the same penalties. The war ended, the troops were no longer needed. Orders were issued to muster out the volunteers. These all belonged to Stevenson's New York regiment. The last company of the Mormon battalion had been discharged in April. The New York volunteers were scattered all along the coast from Sonoma to Cape St. Lucas, doing garrison duty. They were collected at different points and mustered out. Although those stationed in Alta California had done no fighting, they had performed arduous service in keeping peace in the conquered territory. Most of them remained in California after their discharge and rendered a good account of themselves as citizens.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GOLD! GOLD! GOLD!

SEBASTIAN VISCAINO, from the bay of Monterey, writing to the King of Spain three hundred years ago, says of the Indians of California: "They are well acquainted with gold and silver, and said that these were found in the interior." Viscaino was endeavoring to make a good impression on the mind of the king in regard to his discoveries, and the remark about the existence of gold and silver in California was thrown to excite the cupidity of his Catholic majesty. The traditions of the existence of gold in California before any was discovered are legion. Most of these have been evolved since gold was actually found. Col. J. J. Warner, a pioneer of 1831, in his Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County, briefly and very effectually disposes of these rumored discoveries. He says: "While statements respecting the existence of gold in the earth of California and its procurement therefrom have been made and published as historical facts, carrying back the date of the knowledge of the auriferous character of this state as far as the time of the visit of Sir Francis Drake to this coast, there is no evidence to be found in the written or oral history of the missions, the acts and correspondence of the civil or military officers, or in the unwritten and traditional history of Upper California that the existence of gold, either with ores or in its virgin state, was ever suspected by any inhabitant of California previous to 1841, and, furthermore, there is conclusive testimony that the first known grain of native gold dust was found upon or near the San Francisco ranch, about forty-five miles north-westerly from Los Angeles City, in the month of June, 1841. This discovery consisted of grain gold fields (known as placer mines), and the auriferous fields discovered in that year embraced the greater part of the country drained by the Santa Clara river from a point some fifteen or twenty miles from its mouth to its source, and easterly beyond Mount San Bernardino."

The story of the discovery as told by Warner and by Don Abel Stearns agrees in the main facts, but differs materially in the date. Stearns says gold was first discovered by Francisco Lopez, a native of California, in the month of March, 1842, at a place called San Francisquito, about thirty-five miles northwest from this city (Los Angeles). The circumstances of the discovery by Lopez, as related by himself, are as follows: "Lopez, with a companion, was out in search of some stray horses, and about midday they stopped under some trees and tied their horses out to feed, they resting under the shade, when Lopez, with his sheath-knife, dug up some wild onions, and in the dirt discovered a piece of gold, and, searching further, found some more. He brought these to town, and showed them to his friends, who at once declared there must be a placer of gold. This news being circulated, numbers of the citizens went to the place, and commenced prospecting in the neigh-

borhood, and found it to be a fact that there was a placer of gold."

Colonel Warner says: "The news of this discovery soon spread among the inhabitants from Santa Barbara to Los Angeles, and in a few weeks hundreds of people were engaged in washing and winnowing the sands and earth of these gold fields."

Warner visited the mines a few weeks after their discovery. He says: "From these mines was obtained the first parcel of California gold dust received at the United States mint in Philadelphia, and which was sent with Alfred Robinson, and went in a merchant ship around Cape Horn." This shipment of gold was 18.34 ounces before and 18.1 ounces after melting; fineness, .925; value, $344.75, or over $19 to the ounce, a very superior quality of gold dust. It was deposited in the mint July 8, 1843.

It may be regarded as a settled historical fact that the first authenticated discovery of gold in Alta California was made on the San Francisco rancho in the San Feliciano Cañon, Los Angeles county. This cañon is about ten miles northwest of Newhall station on the Southern Pacific railroad, and about forty miles northwest of Los Angeles.

The date of the discovery is in doubt. A petition to the governor (Alvarado) asking permission to work the placers, signed by Francisco Lopez, Manuel Cota and Domingo Bermudez is on file in the California archives. It recites: "That as Divine Providence was pleased to give us a placer of gold on the 9th of last March in the locality of San Francisco rancho, that belongs to the late Don Antonio del Valle." This petition fixes the day of the month the discovery was made, but unfortunately omits all other dates. The evidence is about equally divided between the years 1841 and 1842.

It is impossible to obtain definite information in regard to the yield of the San Fernando placers, as these mines are generally called. William Heath Davis, in his "Sixty Years in California," states that from $80,000 to $100,000 was taken out for the first two years after their discovery. He says that Mellus at one time shipped $5,000 of dust on the ship Alert. Bancroft says: "That by December, 1843, two thousand ounces of gold had been taken from the San Fernando mines." Don Antonio Coronel informed the author that he, with the assistance of three Indian laborers, in 1842, took out $600 worth of dust in two months. De Mofras, in his book, states that Carlos Baric, a Frenchman, in 1842, was obtaining an ounce a day of pure gold from his placer.

These mines were worked continuously from the time of their discovery until the American conquest, principally by Sonorians. The discovery of gold at Coloma, January 24, 1848, drew away the miners, and no work was done on these mines between 1848 and 1854. After the latter dates work was resumed, and in 1855, Francisco Garcia, working a gang of Indians, is reported to have taken out $65,000 in one season. The mines are not exhausted, but the scarcity of water prevents working them profitably.

It is rather a singular coincidence that the exact dates of both the first and second authenticated discoveries of gold in California are still among the undecided questions of history. In the first, we know the day but not the year; in the second, we know the year but not the day of the month on which Marshall picked up the first nuggets in the millrace at Coloma. For a number of years after the anniversary of Marshall's discovery began to be observed the 19th of January was celebrated. Of late years January 24 has been fixed upon as the correct date, but the Associated Pioneers of the Territorial Days of California, an association made up of men who were in the territory at the time of Marshall's discovery or came here before it became a state, object to the change. For nearly thirty years they have held their annual dinners on January 18, "the anniversary of the discovery of gold at Sutter's sawmill, Coloma, Cal." This society has its headquarters in New York City. In a circular recently issued, disapproving of the change of date from the 18th to the 24th, the trustees of that society say: "Upon the organization of this society, February 11, 1875, it was decided to hold its annual dinners on the anniversary of the discovery of gold at Sutter's sawmill, Coloma, Cal. Through the Hon. Newton Booth, of the United States Senate, this infor-

mation was sought, with the result of a communication from the secretary of the state of California to the effect 'that the archives of the state of California recorded the date as of January 18, 1848. Some years ago this date was changed by the society at San Francisco to that of January 24, and that date has been adopted by other similar societies located upon the Pacific and Atlantic coasts. This society took the matter under advisement, with the result that the new evidence upon which it was proposed to change the date was not deemed sufficient to justify this society in ignoring its past records, founded on the authority of the state of California; therefore it has never accepted the new date."

Marshall himself was uncertain about the exact date. At various times he gave three different dates—the 18th, 19th and 20th, but never moved it along as far as the 24th. In the past thirty years three different dates—the 18th, 19th and 24th of January—have been celebrated as the anniversary of Marshall's gold discovery.

The evidence upon which the date was changed to the 24th is found in an entry in a diary kept by H. W. Bigler, a Mormon, who was working for Marshall on the millrace at the time gold was discovered. The entry reads: "January 24. This day some kind of metal that looks like goold was found in the tailrace." On this authority about ten years ago the California Pioneers adopted the 24th as the correct date of Marshall's discovery.

While written records, especially if made at the time of the occurrence of the event, are more reliable than oral testimony given long after, yet when we take into consideration the conflicting stories of Sutter, Marshall, the Winners and others who were immediately concerned in some way with the discovery, we must concede that the Territorial Pioneers have good reasons to hesitate about making a change in the date of their anniversary. In Dr. Trywhitt Brook's "Four Months Among the Gold Finders," a book published in London in 1849, and long since out of print, we have Sutter's version of Marshall's discovery given only three months after that discovery was made. Dr. Brooks visited Sutter's Fort early in May, 1848, and received from Sutter himself the story of the find. Sutter stated that he was sitting in his room at the fort, one afternoon, when Marshall, whom he supposed to be at the mill, forty miles up the American river, suddenly burst in upon him. Marshall was so wildly excited that Sutter, suspecting that he was crazy, looked to see whether his rifle was in reach. Marshall declared that he had made a discovery that would give them both millions and millions of dollars. Then he drew his sack and poured out a handful of nuggets on the table. Sutter, when he had tested the metal and found that it was gold, became almost as excited as Marshall. He eagerly asked if the workmen at the mill knew of the discovery. Marshall declared that he had not spoken to a single person about it. They both agreed to keep it secret. Next day Sutter and Marshall arrived at the sawmill. The day after their arrival, they prospected the bars of the river and the channels of some of the dry creeks and found gold in all.

"On our return to the mill," says Sutter, "we were astonished by the work-people coming up to us in a body and showing us some flakes of gold similar to those we had ourselves procured. Marshall tried to laugh the matter off with them, and to persuade them that what they had found was only some shining mineral of trifling value; but one of the Indians, who had worked at a gold mine in the neighborhood of La Paz, Lower California, cried out: 'Ora! Ora!' (gold! gold!), and the secret was out."

Captain Sutter continues: "I heard afterward that one of them, a sly Kentuckian, had dogged us about and, that, looking on the ground to see if he could discover what we were in search of, he lighted on some of the flakes himself."

If this account is correct, Bigler's entry in his diary was made on the day that the workmen found gold, which was five or six days after Marshall's first find, and consequently the 24th is that much too late for the true date of the discovery. The story of the discovery given in the "Life and Adventures of James W. Marshall," by George Frederick Parsons, differs materially from Sutter's account. The date of the discovery given in that book is January 19,

1848. On the morning of that day Marshall, after shutting off the water, walked down the tailrace to see what sand and gravel had been removed during the night. (The water was turned into the tailrace during the night to cut it deeper.) While examining a mass of debris, "his eye caught the glitter of something that lay lodged in a crevice on a riffle of soft granite some six inches under water." Picking up the nugget and examining it, he became satisfied that it must be one of three substances—mica, sulphurets of copper, or gold. Its weight satisfied him that it was not mica. Knowing that gold was malleable, he placed the specimen on a flat rock and struck it with another; it bent, but did not crack or break. He was satisfied that it was gold. He showed the nugget to his men. In the course of a few days he had collected several ounces of precious metal. "Some four days after the discovery it became necessary for him to go below, for Sutter had failed to send a supply of provisions to the mill, and the men were on short commons. While on his way down he discovered gold in a ravine at a place afterwards known as Mormon island. Arrived at the fort, he interviewed Sutter in his private office and showed him about three ounces of gold nuggets. Sutter did not believe it to be gold, but after weighing it in scales against $3.25 worth of silver, all the coin they could raise at the fort, and testing it with nitric acid obtained from the gun shop, Sutter became convinced and returned to the mill with Marshall. So little did the workmen at the mill value the discovery that they continued to work for Sutter until the mill was completed, March 11, six weeks after the nuggets were found in the tailrace.

The news of the discovery spread slowly. It was two months in reaching San Francisco, although the distance is not over one hundred and twenty-five miles. The great rush to the mines from San Francisco did not begin until the middle of May, nearly four months after the discovery. On the 10th of May, Dr. Brooks, who was in San Francisco, writes: "A number of people have actually started off with shovels, mattocks and pans to dig the gold themselves. It is not likely, however, that this will be allowed, for Captain Folsom has already written to Colonel Mason about taking possession of the mine on behalf of the government, it being, he says, on public land."

As the people began to realize the richness and extent of the discovery, the excitement increased rapidly. May 17, Dr. Brooks writes: "This place (San Francisco) is now in a perfect furore of excitement; all the workpeople have struck. Walking through the town to-day, I observed that laborers were employed only upon about half a dozen of the fifty new buildings which were in course of being run up. The majority of the mechanics at this place are making preparations for moving off to the mines, and several people of all classes—lawyers, storekeepers, merchants, etc., are smitten with the fever; in fact, there is a regular gold mania springing up. I counted no less than eighteen houses which were closed, the owners having left. If Colonel Mason is moving a force to the American Fork, as is reported here, their journey will be in vain."

Colonel Mason's soldiers moved without orders—they nearly all deserted, and ran off to the mines.

The first newspaper announcement of the discovery appeared in *The Californian* of March 15, 1848, nearly two months after the discovery. But little attention was paid to it. In the issue of April 19, another discovery is reported. The item reads: "New gold mine. It is stated that a new gold mine has been discovered on the American Fork of the Sacramento, supposed to be on the land of W. A. Leidesdorff, of this place. A specimen of the gold has been exhibited, and is represented to be very pure." On the 29th of May, *The Californian* had suspended publication. "Othello's occupation is gone," wails the editor. "The majority of our subscribers and many of our advertising patrons have closed their doors and places of business and left town, and we have received one order after another conveying the pleasant request that the printer will please stop my paper or my ad, as I am about leaving for Sacramento."

The editor of the other paper, *The California Star*, made a pilgrimage to the mines in the latter part of April, but gave them no extended write-up. "Great country, fine climate," he wrote on his return. "Full flowing streams, mighty

timber, large crops, luxuriant clover, fragrant flowers, gold and silver," were his comments on what he saw. The policy of both papers seems to have been to ignore as much as possible the gold discovery. To give it publicity was for a time, at least, to lose their occupation.

In *The Star* of May 20, 1848, its eccentric editor, E. C. Kemble, under the caption "El Dorado Anew," discourses in a dubious manner upon the effects of the discovery and the extent of the gold fields: "A terrible visitant we have had of late. A fever which has well-nigh depopulated a town, a town hard pressing upon a thousand souls, and but for the gracious interposition of the elements, perhaps not a goose would have been spared to furnish a quill to pen the melancholy fate of the remainder. It has preyed upon defenseless old age, subdued the elasticity of careless youth and attacked indiscriminately sex and class, from town councilman to tow-frocked cartman, from tailor to tippler, of which, thank its pestilential powers, it has beneficially drained (of tipplers, we mean) every villainous pulperia in the place.

"And this is the gold fever, the only form of that popular southerner, yellow jack, with which we can be alarmingly threatened. The insatiate maw of the monster, not appeased by the easy conquest of the rough-fisted yeomanry of the north, must needs ravage a healthy, prosperous place beyond his dominion and turn the town topsy-turvy in a twinkling.

"A fleet of launches left this place on Sunday and Monday last bound up the Sacramento river, close stowed with human beings, led by love of filthy lucre to the perennial yielding gold mines of the north. When any man can find two ounces a day and two thousand men can find their hands full, of work, was there ever anything so superlatively silly!

"Honestly, though, we are inclined to believe the reputed wealth of that section of country, thirty miles in extent, all sham, a superb take-in as was ever got up to guzzle the gullible. But it is not improbable that this mine, or, properly, placer of gold can be traced as far south as the city of Los Angeles, where the precious metal has been found for a number of years in the bed of a stream issuing from its mountains, said to be a continuation of this gold chain which courses southward from the base of the snowy mountains. But our best information respecting the metal and the quantity in which it is gathered varies much from many reports current, yet it is beyond a question that no richer mines of gold have ever been discovered upon this continent.

"Should there be no paper forthcoming on Saturday next, our readers may assure themselves it will not be the fault of us individually. To make the matter public, already our devil has rebelled, our pressman (poor fellow) last seen was in search of a pickaxe, and we feel like Mr. Hamlet, we shall never again look upon the likes of him. Then, too, our compositors have, in defiance, sworn terrible oaths against type-sticking as vulgar and unfashionable. Hope has not yet fled us, but really, in the phraseology of the day, 'things is getting curious.'"

And things kept getting more and more curious. The rush increased. The next issue of *The Star* (May 27) announces that the Sacramento, a first-class craft, left here Thursday last thronged with passengers for the gold mines, a motley assemblage, composed of lawyers, merchants, grocers, carpenters, cartmen and cooks, all possessed with the desire of becoming rich. The latest accounts from the gold country are highly flattering. Over three hundred men are engaged in washing gold, and numbers are continually arriving from every part of the country. Then the editor closes with a wail: "Persons recently arrived from the country speak of ranches deserted and crops neglected and suffered to waste. The unhappy consequence of this state of affairs is easily foreseen. One more twinkle, and *The Star* disappeared in the gloom. On June 14 appeared a single sheet, the size of foolscap. The editor announced: "In fewer words than are usually employed in the announcement of similar events, we appear before the remnant of a reading community on this occasion with the material or immaterial information that we have stopped the paper, that its publication ceased with the last regular issue (June 7). On the approach of autumn, we shall again appear to announce *The Star's* redivus. We have done. Let our parting word be hasto-

luego." (*Star and Californian* reappeared November 14, 1848. *The Star* had absorbed *The Californian*. E. C. Kemble was its editor and proprietor.)

Although there was no paper in existence on the coast to spread the news from the gold fields, it found its way out of California, and the rush from abroad began. It did not acquire great force in 1848, but in 1849 the immigration to California exceeded all previous migrations in the history of the race.

Among the first foreigners to rush to the mines were the Mexicans of Sonora. Many of these had had some experience in placer mining in their native country, and the report of rich placers in California, where gold could be had for the picking up, aroused them from their lazy self-content and stimulated them to go in search of it. Traveling in squads of from fifty to one hundred, they came by the old Auza trail across the Colorado desert, through the San Gorgonio Pass, then up the coast and on to the mines. They were a job lot of immigrants, poor in purse and poor in brain. They were despised by the native Californians and maltreated by the Americans. Their knowledge of mining came in play, and the more provident among them soon managed to pick up a few thousand dollars, and then returned to their homes, plutocrats. The improvident gambled away their earnings and remained in the country to add to its criminal element. The Oregonians came in force, and all the towns in California were almost depopulated of their male population. By the close of 1848, there were ten thousand men at work in the mines.

The first official report of the discovery was sent to Washington by Thomas O. Larkin, June 1, and reached its destination about the middle of September. Lieutenant Beale, by way of Mexico, brought dispatches dated a month later, which arrived about the same time as Larkin's report. These accounts were published in the eastern papers, and the excitement began.

In the early part of December, Lieutenant Loeser arrived at Washington with Governor Mason's report of his observations in the mines made in August. But the most positive evidence was a tea caddy of gold dust containing about two hundred and thirty ounces that Governor Mason had caused to be purchased in the mines with money from the civil service fund. This the lieutenant had brought with him. It was placed on exhibition at the war office. Here was tangible evidence of the existence of gold in California, the doubters were silenced and the excitement was on and the rush began.

By the 1st of January, 1849, vessels were fitting out in every seaport on the Atlantic coast and the Gulf of Mexico. Sixty ships were announced to sail from New York in February and seventy from Philadelphia and Boston. All kinds of crafts were pressed into the service, some to go by way of Cape Horn, others to land their passengers at Vera Cruz, Greytown and Chagres, the voyagers to take their chances on the Pacific side for a passage on some unknown vessel.

With opening of spring, the overland travel began. Forty thousand men gathered at different points on the Missouri river, but principally at St. Joseph and Independence. Horses, mules, oxen and cows were used for the propelling power of the various forms of vehicles that were to convey the provisions and other impedimenta of the army of gold seekers. By the 1st of May the grass was grown enough on the plains to furnish feed for the stock, and the vanguard of the grand army of gold hunters started. For two months, company after company left the rendezvous and joined the procession until for one thousand miles there was an almost unbroken line of wagons and pack trains. The first half of the journey was made with little inconvenience, but on the last part there was great suffering and loss of life. The cholera broke out among them, and it is estimated that five thousand died on the plains. The alkali desert of the Humboldt was the place where the immigrants suffered most. Exhausted by the long journey and weakened by lack of food, many succumbed under the hardship of the desert journey and died. The crossing of the Sierras was attended with great hardships. From the loss of their horses and oxen, many were compelled to cross the mountains on foot. Their provisions exhausted, they would have perished but for relief sent out from California. The

greatest sufferers were the woman and children, who in considerable numbers made the perilous journey.

The overland immigration of 1850 exceeded that of 1849. According to record kept at Fort Laramie, there passed that station during the season thirty-nine thousand men, two thousand five hundred women and six hundred children, making a total of forty-two thousand one hundred persons. These immigrants had with them when passing Fort Laramie twenty-three thousand horses, eight thousand mules, three thousand six hundred oxen, seven thousand cows and nine thousand wagons.

Besides those coming by the northern route, that is by the South Pass and the Humboldt river, at least ten thousand found their way to the land of gold by the old Spanish trail, by the Gila route and by Texas, Coahuila and Chihuahua into Arizona, and thence across the Colorado desert to Los Angeles, and from there by the coast route or the San Joaquin valley to the mines.

The Pacific Mail Steamship Company had been organized before the discovery of gold in California. March 3, 1847, an act of Congress was passed authorizing the secretary of the navy to advertise for bids to carry the United States mails by one line of steamers between New York and Chagres, and by another line between Panama and Astoria, Ore. On the Atlantic side the contract called for five ships of one thousand five hundred tons burden, on the Pacific side two of one thousand tons each, and one of six hundred tons. These were deemed sufficient for the trade and travel between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the United States. The Pacific Mail Steamship Company was incorporated April 12, 1848, with a capital stock of $500,000. October 6, 1848, the California, the first steamer for the Pacific, sailed from New York, and was followed in the two succeeding months by the Oregon and the Panama. The California sailed before the news of the gold discovery had reached New York, and she had taken no passengers. When she arrived at Panama, January 30, 1849, she encountered a rush of fifteen hundred gold hunters, clamorous for a passage. These had reached Chagres on sailing vessels, and ascended the Chagres river in bongos or dugouts to Gorgona, and from thence by land to Panama. The California had accommodations for only one hundred, but four hundred managed to find some place to stow themselves away. The price of tickets rose to a fabulous sum, as high as $1,000 having been paid for a steerage passage. The California entered the bay of San Francisco February 28, 1849, and was greeted by the boom of cannon and the cheers of thousands of people lining the shores of the bay. The other two steamers arrived on time, and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company became the predominant factor in California travel for twenty years, or up to the completion of the first transcontinental railroad in 1869. The charges for fare on these steamers in the early '50s were prohibitory to men of small means. From New York to Chagres in the saloon the fare was $150, in the cabin $120. From Panama to San Francisco in the saloon, $250; cabin, $200. Add to these the expense of crossing the isthmus, and the argonaut was out a goodly sum when he reached the land of the golden fleece, indeed, he was often fleeced of his last dollar before he entered the Golden Gate.

The first effect of the gold discovery on San Francisco, as we have seen, was to depopulate it, and of necessity suspend all building operations. In less than three months the reaction began, and the city experienced one of the most magical booms in history. Real estate doubled in some instances in twenty-four hours. The *Californian* of September 3, 1848, says: "The vacant lot on the corner of Montgomery and Washington streets was offered the day previous for $5,000 and next day sold readily for $10,000." Lumber went up in value until it was sold at a dollar per square foot. Wages kept pace with the general advance. Sixteen dollars a day was mechanic's wages, and the labor market was not overstocked even at these high rates. With the approach of winter, the gold seekers came flocking back to the city to find shelter and to spend their suddenly acquired wealth. The latter was easily accomplished, but the former was more difficult. Any kind of a shelter that would keep out the rain was utilized for a dwelling. Rows of tents that circled around the business por-

tion, shanties patched together from pieces of packing boxes and sheds thatched with brush from the chaparral-covered hills constituted the principal dwellings at that time of the future metropolis of California. The yield of the mines for 1848 has been estimated at ten million dollars. This was the result of only a few months' labor of not to exceed at any time ten thousand men. The rush of miners did not reach the mines until July, and mining operations were mainly suspended by the middle of October.

New discoveries had followed in quick succession Marshall's find at Coloma until by the close of 1848 gold placers had been located on all the principal tributaries of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. Some of the richest yields were obtained from what was known as "Dry Diggins." These were dry ravines from which pay dirt had to be packed to water for washing or the gold separated by dry washing, tossing the earth into the air until it was blown away by the wind, the gold, on account of its weight, remaining in the pan.

A correspondent of the *Californian,* writing August 15, 1848, from what he designates as "Dry Diggins," gives this account of the richness of that gold field: "At the lower mines (Mormon Island) the miners count the success of the day in dollars; at the upper mines near the mill (Coloma), in ounces, and here in pounds. The only instrument used at first was a butcher knife, and the demand for that article was so great that $40 has been refused for one.

"The earth is taken out of the ravines which make out of the mountains and is carried in wagons or packed on horses from one to three miles to water and washed. Four hundred dollars is the average to the cart load. In one instance five loads yielded $16,000. Instances are known here where men have carried the earth on their backs and collected from $800 to $1,500 a day."

The rapidity with which the country was explored by prospectors was truly remarkable. The editor of the *Californian,* who had suspended the publication of his paper on May 29 to visit the mines, returned and resumed it on July 15 (1848). In an editorial in that issue he gives his observations: "The country from the Ajuba (Yuba) to the San Joaquin rivers, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, and from the base toward the summit of the mountains as far as Snow Hill, about seventy miles, has been explored, and gold found in every part. There are probably three thousand men, including Indians, engaged in collecting gold. The amount collected by each man who works ranges from $10 to $350 per day. The publisher of this paper, while on a tour alone to the mining district, collected, with the aid of a shovel, pick and pan, from $44 to $128 a day, averaging about $100. The largest piece of gold known to be found weighed four pounds." Among other remarkable yields the *Californian* reports these: "One man dug $12,000 in six days, and three others obtained thirty-six pounds of pure metal in one day."

CHAPTER XXIV.

MAKING A STATE.

COL. R. B. MASON, who had been the military governor of California since the departure of General Kearny in May, 1847, had grown weary of his task. He had been in the military service of his country thirty years and wished to be relieved. His request was granted, and on the 12th of April, 1849, Brevet Brigadier General Bennett Riley, his successor, arrived at Monterey and the next day entered upon his duties as civil governor. Gen. Persifer F. Smith, who had been appointed commander of the Pacific division of the United States army, arrived at San Francisco February 26, 1849, and relieved Colonel Mason of his military command. A brigade of troops six hundred and fifty strong had been sent to

California for military service on the border and to maintain order. Most of these promptly deserted as soon as an opportunity offered and found their way to the mines.

Colonel Mason, who under the most trying circumstances had faithfully served his government and administered justice to the people of California, took his departure May 1, 1849. The same year he died at St. Louis of cholera.

A year had passed since the treaty of peace with Mexico had been signed, which made California United States territory, but Congress had done nothing toward giving it a government. The anomalous condition existed of citizens of the United States, living in the United States, being governed by Mexican laws administered by a mixed constituency of Mexican-born and American-born officials. The pro-slavery element in Congress was determined to foist the curse of human slavery on a portion of the territory acquired from Mexico, but the discovery of gold and the consequent rush of freemen to the territory had disarranged the plans of the slave-holding faction in Congress, and as a consequence all legislation was at a standstill.

The people were becoming restive at the long delay. The Americanized Mexican laws and forms of government were unpopular and it was humiliating to the conqueror to be governed by the laws of the people conquered. The question of calling a convention to form a provisional government was agitated by the newspapers and met a hearty response from the people. Meetings were held at San José, December 11, 1848; at San Francisco, December 21, and at Sacramento, January 6, 1849, to consider the question of establishing a provisional government. It was recommended by the San José meeting that a convention be held at that place on the second Monday of January. The San Francisco convention recommended the 5th of March; this the Monterey committee considered too early as it would take the delegates from below fifteen days to reach the pueblo of San José. There was no regular mail and the roads in February (when the delegates would have to start) were impassable. The committee recommended May 1 as the earliest date for the meeting to consider the question of calling of a convention. Sonoma, without waiting, took the initiative and elected ten delegates to a provisional government convention. There was no unanimity in regard to the time of meetting or as to what could be done if the convention met. It was finally agreed to postpone the time of meeting to the first Monday of August, when, if Congress had done nothing towards giving California some form of government better than that existing, the convention should meet and organize a provisional government.

The local government of San Francisco had become so entangled and mixed up by various councils that it was doubtful whether it had any legal legislative body. When the term of the first council, which had been authorized by Colonel Mason in 1848, was about to expire an election was held December 27, to choose their successors. Seven new councilmen were chosen. The old council declared the election fraudulent and ordered a new one. An election was held, notwithstanding the protest of a number of the best citizens, and another council chosen. So the city was blessed or cursed with three separate and distinct councils. The old council voted itself out of existence and then there were but two, but that was one too many. Then the people, disgusted with the condition of affairs, called a public meeting, at which it was decided to elect a legislative assembly of fifteen members, who should be empowered to make the necessary laws for the government of the city. An election was held on the 21st of February, 1849, and a legislative assembly and justices elected. Then Alcalde Levenworth refused to turn over the city records to the Chief Magistrate-elect Norton. On the 22d of March the legislative assembly abolished the office of alcalde, but Levenworth still held on to the records. He was finally compelled by public opinion and a writ of replevin to surrender the official records to Judge Norton. The confusion constantly arising from the attempt to carry on a government that was semi-military and semi-Mexican induced Governor Riley to order an election to be held August 1st, to elect delegates to a convention to meet in Monterey September 1st,

1849, to form a state constitution or territorial organization to be ratified by the people and submitted to Congress for its approval. Judges, prefects and alcaldes were to be elected at the same time in the principal municipal districts. The constitutional convention was to consist of thirty-seven delegates, apportioned as follows: San Diego two, Los Angeles four, Santa Barbara two, San Luis Obispo two, Monterey five, San José five, San Francisco five, Sonoma four, Sacramento four, and San Joaquin four. Instead of thirty-seven delegates as provided for in the call, forty-eight were elected and seated.

The convention met September 1, 1849, at Monterey in Colton Hall. This was a stone building erected by Alcalde Walter Colton for a town hall and school house. The money to build it was derived partly from fines and partly from subscriptions, the prisoners doing the greater part of the work. It was the most commodious public building at that time in the territory.

Of the forty-eight delegates elected twenty-two were natives of the northern states; fifteen of the slave states; four were of foreign birth, and seven were native Californians. Several of the latter neither spoke nor understood the English language and William E. P. Hartnell was appointed interpreter. Dr. Robert Semple of Bear Flag fame was elected president, William G. Marcy and J. Ross Browne reporters.

Early in the session the slavery question was disposed of by the adoption of a section declaring that neither slavery or involuntary servitude, unless for the punishment of crimes, shall ever be tolerated in this state. The question of fixing the boundaries of the future state excited the most discussion. The pro-slavery faction was led by William M. Gwin, who had a few months before migrated from Mississippi to California with the avowed purpose of representing the new state in the United States senate. The scheme of Gwin and his southern associates was to make the Rocky mountains the eastern boundary. This would create a state with an era of about four hundred thousand square miles. They reasoned that when the admission of the state came before congress the southern members would oppose the admission of so large an area under a free state constitution and that ultimately a compromise might be effected. California would be split in two from east to west, the old dividing line, the parallel of 36° 30′, would be established and Southern California come into the Union as a slave state. There were at that time fifteen free and fifteen slave states. If two states, one free and one slave, could be made out of California, the equilibrium between the opposing factions would be maintained. The Rocky mountain boundary was at one time during the session adopted, but in the closing days of the session the free state men discovered Gwin's scheme and it was defeated. The present boundaries were established by a majority of two.

A committee had been appointed to receive propositions and designs for a state seal. Only one design was offered. It was presented by Caleb Lyon of Lyondale, as he usually signed his name, but was drawn by Major Robert S. Garnett, an army officer. It contained a figure of Minerva in the foreground, a grizzly bear feeding on a bunch of grapes; a miner with an uplifted pick; a gold rocker and pan; a view of the Golden Gate with ships riding at anchor in the Bay of San Francisco; the peaks of the Sierra Nevadas in the distance; a sheaf of wheat; thirty-one stars and above all the word "Eureka" (I have found it), which might apply either to the miner or the bear. The design seems to have been an attempt to advertise the resources of the state. General Vallejo wanted the bear taken out of the design, or if allowed to remain, that he be made fast by a lasso in the hands of a vaquero. This amendment was rejected, as was also one submitted by O. M. Wozencraft to strike out the figures of the gold digger and the bear and introduce instead bales of merchandise and bags of gold. The original design was adopted with the addition of the words, "The Great Seal of the State of California." The convention voted to give Lyon $1,000 as full compensation for engraving the seal and furnishing the press and all appendages.

Garnett, the designer of the seal, was a Virginian by birth. He graduated from West Point in 1841, served through the Mexican war and through several of the Indian wars on the

Pacific coast. At the breaking out of the rebellion in 1861 he joined the Confederates and was made a brigadier general. He was killed at the battle of Carrick's Ford July 15, 1861.

The constitution was completed on the 11th of October and an election was called by Governor Riley to be held on the 13th of November to vote upon the adoption of the constitution and to elect state officers, a legislature and members of congress.

At the election Peter H. Burnett, recently from Oregon territory, who had been quite active in urging the organization of a state government, was chosen governor; John McDougall, lieutenant governor, and George W. Wright and Edward Gilbert members of congress. San José had been designated by the constitutional convention the capital of the state pro tem.

The people of San José had pledged themselves to provide a suitable building for the meeting of the legislature in hopes that their town might be made the permanent capital. They were unable to complete the building designed for a state capital in time for the meeting. The uncomfortable quarters furnished created a great deal of dissatisfaction. The legislature consisted of sixteen senators and thirty-six assemblymen. There being no county organization, the members were elected by districts. The representation was not equally distributed; San Joaquin district had more senators than San Francisco. The senate and assembly were organized on the 17th of December. E. K. Chamberlain of San Diego was elected president pro tem. of the senate and Thomas J. White of Sacramento speaker of the assembly. The governor and lieutenant-governor were sworn in on the 20th. The state government being organized the legislature proceeded to the election of United States senators. The candidates were T. Butler King, John C. Fremont, William M. Gwin, Thomas J. Henly, John W. Geary, Robert Semple and H. W. Halleck. Fremont received twenty-nine out of forty-six votes on the first ballot and was declared elected. Of the aspirants, T. Butler King and William M. Gwin represented the ultra pro-slavery element. King was a cross-roads politician from down in Georgia, who had been sent to the coast as a confidential agent of the government. The officers of the army and navy were enjoined to "in all matters aid and assist him in carrying out the views of the government and be guided by his advice and council in the conduct of all proper measures within the scope of those instructions." He made a tour of the mines, accompanied by General Smith and his staff; Commodore Ap Catesby Jones and staff and a cavalry escort under Lieutenant Stoneman. He wore a black stovepipe hat and a dress coat. He made himself the laughing stock of the miners and by traveling in the heat of the day contracted a fever that very nearly terminated his existence. He had been active so far as his influence went in trying to bring California into the Union with the hope of representing it in the senate. Gwin had come a few months before from Mississippi with the same object in view. Although the free state men were in the majority in the legislature they recognized the fact that to elect two senators opposed to the extension of slavery would result in arraying the pro-slavery faction in congress against the admission of the state into the Union. Of the two representatives of the south, Gwin was the least objectionable and on the second ballot he was elected. On the 21st Governor Burnett delivered his message. It was a wordy document, but not marked by any very brilliant ideas or valuable suggestions. Burnett was a southerner from Missouri. He was hobbied on the subject of the exclusion of free negroes. The African, free to earn his own living unrestrained by a master, was, in his opinion, a menace to the perpetuity of the commonwealth.

On the 22d the legislature elected the remaining state officers, viz.: Richard Roman, treasurer; John I. Houston, controller; E. J. C. Kewen, attorney general; Charles J. Whiting, surveyor-general; S. C. Hastings, chief justice; Henry Lyons and Nathaniel Bennett, associate justices. The legislature continued in session until April 22, 1850. Although it was nicknamed the "Legislature of a thousand drinks," it did a vast amount of work and did most of it well. It was not made up of hard

drinkers. The majority of its members were above the average legislator in intelligence, temperance and patriotism. The members were not there for pay or for political preferment. They were there for the good of their adopted state and labored conscientiously for its benefit. The opprobrious nickname is said to have originated thus: A roystering individual by the name of Green had been elected to the senate from Sacramento as a joke. He regarded the whole proceedings as a huge joke. He kept a supply of liquors on hand at his quarters and when the legislature adjourned he was in the habit of calling: "Come, boys, let us take a thousand drinks."

The state had set up housekeeping without a cent on hand to defray expenses. There was not a quire of paper, a pen, nor an inkstand belonging to the state and no money to buy supplies. After wrestling with the financial problem some time an act authorizing a loan of $200,000 for current expenses was passed. Later on in the session another act was passed authorizing the bonding of the state for $300,000 with interest at the rate of three per cent a month. The legislature divided the state into twenty-seven counties, created nine judicial districts, passed laws for the collection of revenue, taxing all real and personal property and imposing a poll tax of $5 on all male inhabitants over twenty-one and under fifty years of age.

California was a self-constituted state. It had organized a state government and put it into successful operation without the sanction of congress. Officials, state, county and town, had been elected and had sworn to support the constitution of the state of California and yet there was really no state of California. It had not been admitted into the Union. It was only a state de facto and it continued in that condition nine months before it became a state de jure.

When the question of admitting California into the Union came before congress it evoked a bitter controversy. The senate was equally divided, thirty senators from the slave states and the same number from the free. There were among the southern senators some broad minded and patriotic men, willing to do what was right, but they were handicapped by an ultra pro-slavery faction, extremists, who would willingly sacrifice the Union if by that they could extend and perpetuate that sum of all villainies, human slavery. This faction in the long controversy resorted to every known parliamentary device to prevent the admission of California under a free state constitution. To admit two senators from a free state would destroy the balance of power. That gone, it could never be regained by the south. The north was increasing in power and population, while the south, under the blighting influence of slavery, was retrograding.

Henry Clay, the man of compromises, undertook to bridge over the difficulty by a set of resolutions known as the Omnibus bill. These were largely concessions to the slave holding faction for the loss of the territory acquired by the Mexican war. Among others was this, that provision should be made by law for the restitution of fugitive slaves in any state or territory of the Union. This afterward was embodied into what was known as the fugitive slave law and did more perhaps than any other cause to destroy the south's beloved institution.

These resolutions were debated through many months and were so amended and changed that their author could scarcely recognize them. Most of them were adopted in some form and effected a temporary compromise.

On August 13th the bill for the admission of California finally came to a vote. It passed the senate, thirty-four ayes to eighteen noes. Even then the opposition did not cease. Ten of the southern pro-slavery extremists, led by Jefferson Davis, joined in a protest against the action of the majority, the language of which was an insult to the senate and treason to the government. In the house the bill passed by a vote of one hundred and fifty ayes to fifty-six ultra southern noes. It was approved and signed by President Fillmore September 9, 1850. On the 11th of September the California senators and congressmen presented themselves to be sworn in. The slave holding faction in the senate, headed by Jefferson Davis, who had been one of the most bitter opponents to the admission, objected. But their protest availed them nothing. Their ascendency was gone. We

might sympathize with them had their fight been made for a noble principle, but it was not. From that day on until the attempt was made in 1861 these men schemed to destroy the Union. The admission of California as a free state was the beginning of the movement to destroy the Union of States.

The news of the admission of California reached San Francisco on the morning of October 18, by the mail steamer Oregon, nearly six weeks after congress had admitted it. Business was at once suspended, the courts were adjourned and the people went wild with excitement. Messengers, mounted on fleet steeds, spread the news throughout the state. Newspapers from the states containing an account of the proceedings of congress at the time of admission sold for $5 each. It was decided to hold a formal celebration of the event on the 29th and preparations were begun for a grand demonstration. Neither labor nor money was spared to make the procession a success. The parade was cosmopolitan in the fullest meaning of that word. There were people in it from almost every nation under the sun. The Chinese made quite an imposing spectacle in the parade. Dressed in rich native costumes, each carrying a gaudily painted fan, they marched under command of their own marshals, Ah He and Ah Sing. At their head proudly marched a color bearer carrying a large blue silk banner, inscribed the "China boys." Following them came a triumphal car, in which was seated thirty boys in black trousers and white shirts, representing the thirty states. In the center of this group, seated on a raised platform, was a young girl robed in white with gold and silver gauze floating about her and supporting a breast plate, upon which was inscribed "California, the Union, it must and shall be preserved." The California pioneers carried a banner on which was represented a New Englander in the act of stepping ashore and facing a native Californian with lasso and serape. In the center the state seal and the inscription, "Far west, Eureka 1846, California pioneers, organized August, 1850." Army and navy officers, soldiers, sailors and marines, veterans of the Mexican war, municipal officers, the fire department, secret and benevolent societies and associations, with a company of mounted native Californians bearing a banner with thirty-one stars on a blue satin ground with the inscription in gold letters, California, E Pluribus Unum, all these various organizations and orders with their marshals and aids mounted on gaily caparisoned steeds and decked out with their gold and silver trimmed scarfs, made an imposing display that has seldom if ever been equaled since in the metropolis of California.

At the plaza a flag of thirty-one stars was raised to the mast head. An oration was delivered by Judge Nathaniel Bennett and Mrs. Wills recited an original ode of her own composition. The rejoicing over, the people settled down to business. Their unprecedented action in organizing a state government and putting it into operation without the sanction of congress had been approved and legalized by that body.

Like the Goddess Minerva, represented on its great seal, who sprung full grown from the brain of Jupiter, California was born a fully matured state. She passed through no territorial probation. No state had such a phenomenal growth in its infancy. No state before or since has met with such bitter opposition when it sought admission into the family of states. Never before was there such a medley of nationalities—Yankees, Mexicans, English, Germans, French, Spaniards, Peruvians, Polynesians, Mongolians—organized into a state and made a part of the body politic nolens volens.

The constitutional convention of 1849 did not definitely fix the state capital. San José was designated as the place of meeting for the legislature and the organization of the state government. San José had offered to donate a square of thirty-two acres, valued at $60,000, for capitol grounds and provide a suitable building for the legislature and state officers. The offer was accepted, but when the legislature met there December 15, 1849, the building was unfinished and for a time the meetings of the legislature were held at a private residence. There was a great deal of complaining and dissatisfaction. The first capitol of the state was a two-story adobe building 40x60, which had been intended for a hotel. It was destroyed by fire April 29,

1853. The accommodations at San José were so unsatisfactory that the legislature decided to locate the capital at some other point. Propositions were received from Monterey, from Reed of San José, from Stevenson & Parker of New York of the Pacific and from Gen. M. G. Vallejo. Vallejo's proposition was accepted. He offered to donate one hundred and fifty-six acres of land in a new town that he proposed to lay out on the straits of Carquinez (now Vallejo) for a capital site and within two years to give $370,000 in money for the erection of public buildings. He asked that his proposition be submitted to a vote of the people at the next general election. His proposition was accepted by the legislature. At the general election, October 7, 1850, Vallejo received seventy-four hundred and seventy-seven votes; San José twelve hundred and ninety-two, and Monterey three hundred and ninety-nine. The second legislature convened at San José. General Vallejo exerted himself to have the change made in accordance with the previous proposition. The citizens of San José made an effort to retain the capital, but a bill was passed making Vallejo the permanent seat of government after the close of the session, provided General Vallejo should give bonds to carry out his proposals. In June Governor McDougal caused the governmental archives to be removed from San José to Vallejo.

When the members of the third legislature met at the new capital January 2, 1852, they found a large unfurnished and partly unfinished wooden building for their reception. Hotel accommodations could not be obtained and there was even a scarcity of food to feed the hungry lawmakers. Sacramento offered its new court house and on the 16th of January the legislature convened in that city. The great flood of March, 1852, inundated the city and the lawmakers were forced to reach the halls of legislation in boats and again there was dissatisfaction. Then Benicia came to the front with an offer of her new city hall, which was above high water mark. General Vallejo had become financially embarrassed and could not carry out his contract with the state, so it was annulled. The offer of Benicia was accepted and on May 18, 1853, that town was declared the permanent capital.

In the legislature of 1854 the capital question again became an issue. Offers were made by several aspiring cities, but Sacramento won with the proffer of her court house and a block of land betwen I and J, Ninth and Tenth streets. Then the question of the location of the capital got into the courts. The supreme court decided in favor of Sacramento. Before the legislature met again the court house that had been offered to the state burned down. A new and more commodious one was erected and rented to the state at $12,000 a year. Oakland made an unsuccessful effort to obtain the capital. Finally a bill was passed authorizing the erection of a capitol building in Sacramento at a cost not to exceed $500,000. Work was begun on the foundation in October, 1860. The great flood of 1861-62 inundated the city and ruined the foundations of the capitol. San Francisco made a vigorous effort to get the capital removed to that city, but was unsuccessful. Work was resumed on the building, the plans were changed, the edifice enlarged, and, finally, after many delays, it was ready for occupancy in December, 1869. From the original limit of half a million dollars its cost when completed had reached a million and a half. The amount expended on the building and grounds to date foots up $2,600,000.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE ARGONAUTS.

WHEN or by whom the name argonaut was first applied to the early California gold seekers I have not been able to ascertain. The earliest allusion to the similarity of Jason's voyage after the Golden Fleece and the miners' rush to the gold fields of California is found in a caricature published in the *London Punch* in 1849. On the shore of an island is a guide board bearing the inscription "California;" near it is a miner digging gold and presumably singing at his work. In a boat near the shore is a fat individual, a typical "Johnny Bull." He is struggling desperately with two individuals who are holding him back from leaping into the water, so fascinated is he by the song of the miner. Under the drawing are the words, "The Song of the Sirens."

If we include among the argonauts all who traveled by land or voyaged by sea in search of the golden fleece in the days of '49 we will have a motley mixture. The tales of the fabulous richness of the gold fields of California spread rapidly throughout the civilized world and drew to the territory all classes and conditions of men, the bad as well as the good, the indolent as well as the industrious, the vicious as well as the virtuous. They came from Europe, from South America and from Mexico. From Australia and Tasmania came the ex-convict and the ticket-of-leave man; from the isles of the sea came the Polynesian, and from Asia the Hindoo and the "Heathen Chinee."

The means of reaching the land of gold were as varied as the character of the people who came. Almost every form of vehicle was pressed into service on land. One individual, if not more, made the trip trundling his impedimenta in a wheelbarrow. Others started out in carriages, intent on making the journey in comfort and ease, but finished on foot, weary, worn and ragged. When the great rush came, old sailing vessels that had long been deemed unseaworthy were fitted out for the voyage to California. It must have been the providence that protects fools which prevented these from going to the bottom of the ocean. With the desperate chances that the argonauts took on these old tubs, it is singular that there were so few shipwrecks and so little loss of life. Some of these were such slow sailers that it took them the greater part of a year to round Cape Horn and reach their destination. On one of these some passengers, exasperated at its slowness, landed near Cape St. Lucas and made the long journey up the peninsula of Lower California and on to San Francisco on foot, arriving there a month before their vessel. Another party undertook to make the voyage from Nicaragua in a whale boat and actually did accomplish seven hundred miles of it before they were picked up in the last extremities by a sailing vessel.

The Sierra Nevada region, in which gold was first found, comprised a strip about thirty miles wide and two hundred miles long from north to south in the basins of the Feather, Yuba, Bear, American, Cosumne, Mokolumne, Stanislaus, Tuolumne and Merced rivers, between the elevations of one thousand and five thousand feet. In all these streams miners washed gold in 1848. The placer mines on the Upper Sacramento and in the Shasta region were discovered and worked late in the fall of 1848. The Klamath mines were discovered later.

The southern mines, those on the San Joaquin, Fresno, Kern and San Gabriel rivers, were located between 1851 and 1855. Gold was found in some of the ravines and creeks of San Diego county. Practically the gold belt of California extends from the Mexican line to Oregon, but at some points it is rather thin. The first gold digging was done with butcher knives, the gold hunter scratching in the sand and crevices of the rock to find nuggets. Next the gold pan came into use and the miners became experts.

in twirling the pan in a pool of water, so as to wash out the sand and gravel and leave the gold dust in the pan. Isaac Humphreys, who had mined gold in Georgia, was the first person to use a rocker or gold cradle in California. Although a very simple piece of machinery those who reached the mines early found it quite an expensive one. Dr. Brooks in his diary, under date of June 11, 1848, writes: "On Tuesday we set to work upon our cradle. We resolved upon the construction of two and for this purpose went down to the store in a body to see about the boards. We found timber extravagantly dear, being asked $40 a hundred feet. The next question was as to whether we should hire a carpenter. We were told there was one or two in the diggings, who might be hired, though at a very extravagant rate. Accordingly Bradley and I proceeded to see one of these gentlemen, and found him washing away with a hollow log and a willow branch sieve. He offered to help us at the rate of $35 a day, we finding provisions and tools, and could not be brought to charge less. We thought this by far too extravagant and left him, determined to undertake the work ourselves. After two days' work of seven men they produced two rough cradles and found that three men with a cradle or rocker could wash out as much gold in a day as six could with pans in the same time."

A rocker or gold cradle had some resemblance to a child's cradle with similar rockers and was rocked by means of a perpendicular handle fastened to the cradle box. The cradle box consisted of a wooden trough about twenty inches wide and forty inches long with sides four or five inches high. The lower end was left open. On the upper end sat the hopper, a box twenty inches square with sides four inches high and a bottom of sheet iron or zinc pierced with holes one-half inch in diameter. Where zinc or iron could not be obtained a sieve of willow rods was used. Under the hopper was an apron of canvas, which sloped down from the lower end of the hopper to the upper end of the cradle box. A wooden riffle bar an inch square was nailed across the bottom of the cradle box about its middle, and another at its lower end. Under the cradle box were nailed rockers, and near the middle an upright handle by which motion was imparted. If water and pay dirt were convenient two men were sufficient to operate the machine. Seated on a stool or rock the operator rocked with one hand, while with a long handled dipper he dipped water from a pool and poured it on the sand and gravel in the hopper. When the sand and earth had been washed through the holes in the sieve the rocks were emptied and the hopper filled again from the buckets of pay dirt supplied by the other partner. The gold was caught on the canvas apron by the riffle bars, while the thin mud and sand were washed out of the machine by the water.

In the dry diggings a method of separating the gold from the earth was resorted to principally by Sonorans. The pay dirt was dug and dried in the sun, then pulverized by pounding into fine dust. With a batéa or bowl-shaped Indian basket filled with this dust, held in both hands, the Mexican skillfully tossed the earth in the air, allowing the wind to blow away the dust and catching the heavier particles and the gold in the basket, repeating the process until there was little left but the gold.

The Long Tom was a single sluice with a sieve and a box underneath at the end and riffle bars to stop the gold. The pay dirt was shoveled in at the upper end and a rapid current of water washed away the sand and earth, the gold falling into the receptacle below. Ground sluicing was resorted to where a current of water from a ditch could be directed against a bank of earth or hill with a sloping bedrock. The stream of water washing against the upper side of the bank caved it down and carried the loose earth through a string of sluices, depositing the gold in the riffle bars in the bottom of the sluices.

In the creeks and gulches where there was not much fall, sluice mining was commonly resorted to. A string of sluice boxes was laid, each fitting into the upper end of the one below, and in the lower ones riffle bars were placed to stop the gold. The sluice boxes were placed on trestles four feet from the ground and given an incline of five or six inches to the rod. The gravel from the bedrock up as far as there was any pay dirt was shoveled into the upper boxes and a rapid current of water flowing through the

boxes carried away the gravel and rocks, the gold remaining in the riffles. Quicksilver was placed between the riffles to catch the fine gold. The gold amalgamated with quicksilver was cleaned out of the boxes at the end of the day's work and separated from the quicksilver in a retort. These were the principal methods of mining used by the argonauts. The machinery and appliances were simple and inexpensive. Hydraulic mining came in later, when larger capital was required and the mines had fallen into the hands of corporations.

When the news spread throughout the states of the wonderful "finds" of gold in California, the crudest ideas prevailed in regard to how the precious metal was to be extracted from the earth. Gold mining was an almost unknown industry in the United States. Only in a few obscure districts of North Carolina and Georgia had gold been found, and but very few people outside of these districts had ever visited the mines. Not one in ten thousand of those who joined the rush to California in 1849 had ever seen a grain of virgin gold. The idea prevailed among the gold seekers that the gold being found in grains it could be winnowed from the sand and earth in which it was found like wheat is separated from chaff. Imbued with this idea Yankee ingenuity set to work to invent labor-saving machines that would accomplish the work quickly and enrich the miner proportionally. The ships that bore the argonauts from their native land carried out a variety of these gold machines, all guaranteed to wrest from the most secret recesses the auriferous deposits in nature's treasure vaults. These machines were of all varieties and patterns. They were made of copper, iron, zinc and brass. Some were operated by means of a crank, others had two cranks, while others were worked with a treadle. Some required that the operator should stand, others allowed the miner to sit in an arm chair and work in comfort.

Haskins, in his "Argonauts of California," describes one of these machines that was brought around the Horn in the ship he came on: "It was in the shape of a huge fanning mill, with sieves properly arranged for sorting the gold ready for bottling. All chunks too large for the bottle would be consigned to the pork barrel." (The question of bringing home the gold in bottles or barrels had been seriously discussed and decided in favor of barrels because these could be rolled and thus save cost of transportation from the mines.)

"This immense machine which, during our passage, excited the envy and jealousy of all who had not the means and opportunity of securing a similar one required, of course, the services of a hired man to turn the crank, whilst the proprietor would be busily engaged in shovcling in pay dirt and pumping water; the greater portion of the time, however, being required, as was firmly believed, in corking the bottles and fitting the heads in the barrels. This machine was owned by a Mr. Allen of Cambridge, Mass., who had brought with him a colored servant to manage and control the crank portion of the invaluable institution.

"Upon landing we found lying on the sand and half buried in the mud hundreds of similar machines, bearing silent witness at once to the value of our gold saving machines without the necessity of a trial."

Nor was it the argonaut alone who came by sea that brought these machines. Some of these wonderful inventions were hauled across the plains in wagons, their owners often sacrificing the necessities of life to save the prized machine. And, when, after infinite toil and trouble, they had landed their prize in the mines, they were chagrined to find it the subject of jest and ridicule by those who had some experience in mining.

The gold rush came early in the history of California placer mining. The story of a rich strike would often depopulate a mining camp in a few hours. Even a bare rumor of rich diggings in some indefinite locality would send scores of miners tramping off on a wild goose chase into the mountains. Some of these rushes originated through fake stories circulated for sinister purpose; others were caused by exaggerated stories of real discoveries.

One of the most famous fakes of early days was the Gold Lake rush of 1850. This wonderful lake was supposed to be located about two

hundred miles northeast of Marysville, on the divide between the Feather and the Yuba rivers. The *Sacramento Transcript* of June 19, 1850, says: "We are informed by a gentleman from Marysville that it is currently reported there that the Indians upon this lake use gold for their commonest purposes; that they have a ready way of knocking out square blocks, which they use for seats and couches upon which to place their beds, which are simply bundles of wild oats, which grow so profusely in all sections of the state. According to report also they use for fishhooks crooked pieces of gold and kill their game with arrows made of the same material. They are reported to be thunderstruck at the movements of the whites and their eagerness to collect and hoard the materials of the very ground upon which they tread.

"A story is current that a man at Gold Lake saw a large piece of gold floating on the lake which he succeeded in getting ashore. So clear are the waters that another man saw a rock of gold on the bottom. After many efforts he succeeded in lassoing the rock. Three days afterward he was seen standing holding on to his rope."

The *Placer Times* of Marysville reports that the specimens brought into Marysville are of a value from $1,500 down. Ten ounces is reported as no unusual yield to the pan. The first party of sixty which started out under guidance of one who had returned successful were assured that they would not get less than $500 each per day. We were told that two hundred had left town with a full supply of provisions and four hundred mules. Mules and horses have doubled in value. Many places of business are closed. The diggings at the lake are probably the best ever discovered." The *Times* of June 19 says: "It is reported that up to last Thursday two thousand persons had taken up their journey. Many who were working good claims deserted them for the new discovery. Mules and horses were about impossible to obtain. Although the truth of the report rests on the authority of but two or three who have returned from Gold Lake, yet few are found who doubt the marvelous revelations. A party of Kanakas are said to have wintered at Gold Lake, subsisting chiefly on the flesh of their animals. They are said to have taken out $75,000 the first week. When a conviction takes such complete possession of a whole community, who are fully conversant with all the exaggerations that have had their day, it is scarcely prudent to utter even a qualified dissent from what is universally believed."

The denouement of the Gold Lake romance may be found in the *Transcript* of July 1, 1850. "The Gold Lake excitement, so much talked of and acted upon of late, has almost subsided. A crazy man comes in for a share of the responsibility. Another report is that they have found one of the pretended discoverers at Marysville and are about to lynch him. Indeed, we are told that a demonstration against the town is feared by many. People who have returned after traveling some one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles say that they left vast numbers of people roaming between the sources of the Yuba and the Feather rivers."

Scarcely had the deluded argonauts returned from a bootless search for the lake of gold when another rumored discovery of gold fields of fabulous richness sent them rushing off toward the sea coast. Now it was Gold Bluff that lured them away. On the northwest coast of California, near the mouth of the Klamath river, precipitous bluffs four hundred feet high mark the coast line of the ocean. A party of prospectors in the fall of 1850, who had been up in the Del Norte country, were making their way down to the little trading and trapping station of Trinidad to procure provisions. On reaching the bluffs, thirty miles above Trinidad, they were astonished to find stretching out before them a beach glittering with golden sands. They could not stop to gather gold; they were starving. So, scraping up a few handfuls of the glittering sands, they hastened on. In due time they reached San Francisco, where they exhibited their sand, which proved to be nearly half gold. The report of the wonderful find was spread by the newspapers and the excitement began. Companies were formed and claims located at long range. One company of nine locators sent an expert to examine their claims. He, by a careful mathematical calculation, as-

certained that the claim would yield forty-three million dollars to each partner. As there were fifteen miles of gold beach, the amount of gold in the sands was sufficient to demonetize the precious metal. A laudable desire to benefit the human race possessed some of the claim owners. They formed joint stock companies with shares at $100 each. Gold Bluff mining stock went off like the proverbial hot cakes and prospectors went off as rapidly. Within two days after the expert's wonderful story was spread abroad nine ships were fitted out for Gold Bluff. The first to arrive off the Bluff was the vessel containing a party of the original discoverers. In attempting to land in a boat, the boat was upset in the breakers and five of the six occupants were drowned, Bertram, the leader of the party making the discovery, alone escaping. The vessel put back to Trinidad and the gold hunters made their way up the coast to the Bluff. But alas for their golden dreams! Where they had hoped to gather gold by the ship load no gold was found. Old ocean had gathered it back into his treasure vaults.

The bubble burst as suddenly as it had expanded. And yet there was gold at Gold Bluff and there is gold there yet. If the ocean could be drained or coffer dammed for two hundred miles along the gold coast of northern California and Oregon, all the wealth of Alaska would be but the panning out of a prospect hole compared to the richness that lies hidden in the sands of Gold Beach. For years after the bursting of the Gold Bluff bubble, when the tide was low, the sands along Gold Beach were mined with profit.

The Kern river excitement in the spring of 1855 surpassed everything that had preceded it. Seven years of mining had skimmed the richness of the placers. The northern and central gold fields of California had been thoroughly prospected. The miners who had been accustomed to the rich strikes of early years could not content themselves with moderate returns. They were on the qui vive for a rich strike and ready for a rush upon the first report of one. The first discoveries on the Kern river were made in the summer of 1854, but no excitement followed immediately. During the fall and winter rumors were set afloat of rich strikes on the head waters of that stream. The stories grew as they traveled. One that had a wide circulation and was readily accepted ran about as follows: "A Mexican doctor had appeared in Mariposa loaded down with gold nuggets. He reported that he and four companions had found a region paved with gold. The very hills were yellow with outcroppings. While gloating over their wealth and loading it into sacks the Indians attacked them and killed his four companions. He escaped with one sack of gold. He proposed to organize a company large enough to exterminate the Indians and then bring out the gold on pack mules." This as well as other stories as improbable were spread broadcast throughout the state. Many of the reports of wonderful strikes were purposely magnified by merchants and dealers in mining supplies who were overstocked with unsalable goods; and by transportation companies with whom business was slack. Their purpose was accomplished and the rush was on. It began in January, 1855. Every steamer down the coast to Los Angeles was loaded to the guards with adventurers for the mines. The sleepy old metropolis of the cow counties waked up to find itself suddenly transformed into a bustling mining camp. The *Southern Californian* of February 8, 1855, thus describes the situation: "The road from our valley is literally thronged with people on their way to the mines. Hundreds of people have been leaving not only the city, but every portion of the county. Every description of vehicle and animal has been brought into requisition to take the exultant seekers after wealth to the goal of their hopes. Immense ten-mule wagons strung out one after another; long trains of pack mules and men mounted and on foot, with picks and shovels; boarding-house keepers with their tents; merchants with their stocks of miners' necessaries and gamblers with their 'papers' are constantly leaving for the Kern river mines. The wildest stories are afloat. If the mines turn out $10 a day to the man everybody ought to be satisfied. The opening of these mines has been a Godsend to all of us, as the business of the entire country was on the point of taking to a

tree. The great scarcity of money is seen in the present exorbitant rates of interest which it commands; 8, 10 and even 15 per cent a month is freely paid and the supply even at these rates is too meager to meet the demands." As the rush increased our editor grows more jubilant. In his issue of March 7, he throws out these headlines: "Stop the Press! Glorious News from Kern River! Bring Out the Big Gun! There are a thousand gulches rich with gold and room for ten thousand miners. Miners averaged $50 a day. One man with his own hands took out $160 in a day. Five men in ten days took out $4,500."

Another stream of miners and adventurers was pouring into the mines by way of the San Joaquin valley. From Stockton to the Kern river, a distance of three hundred miles, the road was crowded with men on foot, on stages, on horseback and on every form of conveyance that would take them to the new El Dorado. In four months five or six thousand men had found their way into the Kern river basin. There was gold there, but not enough to go around. A few struck it rich, the many struck nothing but "hard luck" and the rush out began. Those who had ridden into the valley footed it out, and those who had footed it in on sole leather footed it out on their natural soles.

After the wild frenzy of Kern river, the press of the state congratulated the public with the assurance that the era of wild rushes was past—"what had been lost in money had been gained in experience." As if prospectors ever profited by experience! Scarcely had the victims of Kern river resumed work in the old creeks and cañons they had deserted to join in the rush when a rumor came, faint at first, but gathering strength at each repetition, that rich diggings had been struck in the far north. This time it is Frazer river. True, Frazer river is in the British possessions, but what of that? There are enough miners in California to seize the country and hold it until the cream of the mines has been skimmed. Rumors of the richness of mines increased with every arrival of a steamer from the north. Captains, pursers, mates, cooks and waiters all confirmed the stories of rich strikes. Doubters asserted that the dust and nuggets exhibited had made the trip from San Francisco to Victoria and back. But they were silenced by the assurance that the transportation company was preparing to double the number of its vessels on that route. Commodore Wright was too smart to run his steamers on fake reports, and thus the very thing that should have caused suspicion was used to confirm the truth of the rumors. The doubters doubted no more, but packed their outfits for Frazer river. California was played out. Where could an honest miner pan out $100 a day in California now? He could do it every day in Frazer; the papers said so. The first notice of the mines was published in March, 1858. The rush began the latter part of April and in four months thirty thousand men, one-sixth of the voting population of the state, had rushed to the mines.

The effect of the craze was disastrous to business in California. Farms were abandoned and crops lost for want of hands to harvest them. Rich claims in old diggings were sold for a trifle of their value. Lots on Montgomery street that a few years later were worth $1,500 a front foot were sold for $100. Real estate in the interior towns was sacrificed at 50 to 75 per cent less than it was worth before the rush began. But a halt was called in the mad rush. The returns were not coming in satisfactorily. By the middle of July less than $100,000 in dust had reached San Francisco, only about $3 for each man who had gone to the diggings. There was gold there and plenty of it, so those interested in keeping up the excitement said: "The Frazer river is high; wait till it subsides." But it did not subside, and it has not subsided since. If the Frazer did not subside the excitement did, and that suddenly. Those who had money enough or could borrow from their friends got away at once. Those who had none hung around Victoria and New Westminster until they were shipped back at the government's expense. The Frazer river craze was the last of the mad, unreasoning "gold rushes." The Washoe excitement of '59 and the "Ho! for Idaho of 1863-64" had some of the characteristics of the early gold rushes, but they soon settled down to steady business and the yield from these fairly

recompensed those who were frugal and industrious.

Never before perhaps among civilized people was there witnessed such a universal leveling as occurred in the first years of the mining excitement in California. "As the labor required was physical instead of mental, the usual superiority of head workers over hand workers disappeared entirely. Men who had been governors and legislators and judges in the old states worked by the side of outlaws and convicts; scholars and students by the side of men who could not read or write; those who had been masters by the side of those who had been slaves; old social distinctions were obliterated; everybody did business on his own account, and not one man in ten was the employe and much less the servant of another. Social distinctions appeared to be entirely obliterated and no man was considered inferior to another. The hard-fisted, unshaven and patch-covered miner was on terms of perfect equality with the well-dressed lawyer, surgeon or merchant; and in general conferences, discussions and even conversations the most weather-beaten and strongly marked face, or, in other words, the man who had seen and experienced the most, notwithstanding his wild and tattered attire, was listened to with more attention and respectful consideration than the man of polished speech and striking antithesis. One reason of this was that in those days the roughest-looking man not infrequently knew more than anybody else of what was wanted to be known, and the raggedest man not infrequently was the most influential and sometimes the richest man in the locality."*

This independent spirit was characteristic of the men of '48 and '49. Then nearly everybody was honest and theft was almost unknown. With the advent of the criminal element in 1850 and later there came a change. Before that a pan of gold dust could be left in an open tent unguarded, but with the coming of the Sydney ducks from Australia and men of their class it became necessary to guard property with sedulous care.

* Hittell's History of California, Vol. III.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SAN FRANCISCO.

IN 1835 Capt. William A. Richardson built the first house on the Yerba Buena cove. It was a shanty of rough board, which he replaced a year later with an adobe building. He was granted a lot in 1836 and his building stood near what is now the corner of Dupont and Clay streets. Richardson had settled at Sausalito in 1822. He was an Englishman by birth and was one of the first foreigners to settle in California.

Jacob P. Leese, an American, in partnership with Spear & Hinckley, obtained a lot in 1836 and built a house and store near that of Captain Richardson. There is a tradition that Mr. Leese began his store building on the first of July and finished it at ten o'clock on the morning of July 4, and for a house warming celebrated the glorious Fourth in a style that astonished the natives up and down the coast. The house was sixty feet long and twenty-five broad, and, if completed in three days, Mr. Leese certainly deserves the credit of having eclipsed some of the remarkable feats in house building that were performed after the great fires of San Francisco in the early '50s. Mr. Leese and his neighbor, Captain Richardson, invited all the high-toned Spanish families for a hundred miles around to the celebration. The Mexican and American flags floated over the building and two six-pounders fired salutes. At five o'clock the guests sat down to a sumptuous dinner which lasted, toasts and all, till 10 o'clock, and then came dancing; and, as Mr. Leese remarks in his diary: "Our Fourth ended on the evening of the fifth." Mr. Leese was an energetic person. He built a house in three days, gave a Fourth of July celebration that lasted two days, and inside of a week had a store opened and was doing a thriving business with his late guests. He fell in love with the same energy that he did busi-

ness. Among the guests at his 4th of July celebration were the Vallejos, the nabobs of Sonoma. Leese courted one of the girls and in a few months after the celebration married her. Their daughter, Rosalie Leese, was the first child born in Yerba Buena. Such was the beginning of San Francisco.

This settlement was on a crescent-shaped cove that lay between Clark's Point and the Rincon. The locality was known as Yerba Buena (good herb), a species of mint to which the native Californians attributed many medicinal virtues. The peninsula still bore the name that had been applied to it when the mission and presidio were founded, San Francisco. Yerba Buena was a local appellation and applied only to the little hamlet that had grown up on the cove. This settlement, although under the Mexican government, was not a Mexican town. The foreign element, the American predominating, had always been in the ascendency. At the time of the conquest, among its two hundred inhabitants, were representatives of almost every civilized nation on the globe. It was a cosmopolitan town. In a very short time after the conquest it began to take on a new growth and was recognized as the coming metropolis of California. The curving beach of the cove at one point (Jackson street) crossed the present line of Montgomery street.

Richardson and Leese had built their stores and warehouses back from the beach because of a Mexican law that prohibited the building of a house on the beach where no custom house existed. All houses had to be built back a certain number of varas from high-water mark. This regulation was made to prevent smuggling. Between the shore line of the cove and anchorage there was a long stretch of shallow water. This made transportation of goods from ship to shore very inconvenient and expensive. With the advent of the Americans and the inauguration of a more progressive era it became necessary for the convenient landing of ships and for the discharging and receiving of their cargoes that the beach front of the town should be improved by building wharves and docks. The difficulty was to find the means to do this. The general government of the United States could not undertake it. The war with Mexico was still in progress. The only available way was to sell off beach lots to private parties, but who was to give title was the question. Edwin Bryant, February 22, 1847, had succeeded Washington Bartlett as alcalde. Bryant was a progressive man, and, recognizing the necessity of improvement in the shipping facilities of the town, he urged General Kearny, the acting governor, to relinquish, on the part of the general government, its claim to the beach lands in front of the town in favor of the municipality under certain conditions. General Kearny really had no authority to relinquish the claim of the general government to the land, for the simple reason that the general government had not perfected a claim. The country was held as conquered territory. Mexico had made no concession of the land by treaty. It was not certain that California would be ceded to the United States. Under Mexican law the governor of the territory, under certain conditions, had the right to make grants, and General Kearny, assuming the power given a Mexican governor, issued the following decree: "I, Brig.-Gen. S. W. Kearny, Governor of California, by virtue of authority in me vested by the President of the United States of America, do hereby grant, convey, and release unto the Town of San Francisco, the people or corporate authorities thereof, all the right, title and interest of the Government of the United States and of the Territory of California in and to the Beach and Water Lots on the East front of said Town of San Francisco included between the points known as the Rincon and Fort Montgomery, excepting such lots as may be selected for the use of the United States Government by the senior officers of the army and navy now there; provided, the said ground hereby ceded shall be divided into lots and sold by public auction to the highest bidder, after three months' notice previously given; the proceeds of said sale to be for the benefit of the town of San Francisco. Given at Monterey, capital of California, this 10th day of March, 1847, and the seventy-first year of the independence of the United States."

S. W. Kearny,
Brig.-Gen'l & Gov. of California.

In pursuance of this decree, Alcalde Bryant advertised in the *Californian* that the ground described in the decree, known as Water Lots, would be surveyed and divided into convenient building lots and sold to the highest bidder on the 29th of June (1847). He then proceeds in the advertisement to boom the town. "The site of the town of San Francisco is known by all navigators and mercantile men acquainted with the subject to be the most commanding commercial position on the entire western coast of the Pacific ocean, and the Town itself is no doubt destined to become the commercial emporium of the western side of the North American continent." The alcaldes' assertions must have seemed rather extravagant to the dwellers in the little burgh on the cove of Yerba Buena. But Bryant was a far-seeing man and proved himself in this instance to be a prophet.

It will be noticed that both General Kearny and Alcalde Bryant call the town San Francisco. Alcalde Bartlett, the predecessor in office of Alcalde Bryant, had changed its name just before he was recalled to his ship. He did not like the name Yerba Buena, so he summarily changed it. He issued a proclamation setting forth that hereafter the town should be known as San Francisco. Having proclaimed a change of name, he proceeded to give his reasons: Yerba Buena was a paltry cognomen for a certain kind of mint found on an island in the bay; it was a merely local name, unknown beyond the district, while San Francisco had long been familiar on the maps. "Therefore it is hereby ordained, etc." Bartlett builded better than he knew. It would have been a sad mistake for the city to have carried the "outlandish name which Americans would mangle in pronouncing," as the alcalde said.

The change was made in the latter part of January, 1847, but it was some time before the new name was generally adopted.

The *California Star,* Sam Brannan's paper, which had begun to shine January 9, 1847, in its issue of March 20, alluding to the change, says: "We acquiesce in it, though we prefer the old name. When the change was first attempted we viewed it as a mere assumption of authority, without law of precedent, and therefore we adhered to the old name—Yerba Buena."

"It was asserted by the late alcalde, Washington Bartlett, that the place was called San Francisco in some old Spanish paper which he professed to have in his possession; but how could we believe a man even about that which it is said 'there is nothing in it,' who had so often evinced a total disregard for his own honor and character and the honor of the country which gave him birth and the rights of his fellow citizens in the district?" Evidently the editor had a grievance and was anxious to get even with the alcalde. Bartlett demanded an investigation of some charges made against his administration. He was cleared of all blame. He deserves the thanks of all Californians in summarily suppressing Yerba Buena and preventing it from being fastened on the chief city of the state.

There was at that time (on paper) a city of Francisca. The city fathers of this budding metropolis were T. O. Larkin and Robert Semple. In a half-column advertisement in the *Californian* of April 20, 1847, and several subsequent issues, headed "Great Sale of City Lots," they set forth the many advantages and merits of Francisca. The streets are eighty feet wide, the alleys twenty feet wide, and the lots fifty yards front and forty yards back. The whole city comprises five square miles."

"Francisca is situated on the Straits of Carquinez, on the north side of the Bay of San Francisco, about thirty miles from the mouth of the bay and at the head of ship navigation. In front of the city is a commodious bay, large enough for two hundred ships to ride at anchor, safe from any wind." * * * "The entire trade of the great Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, a fertile country of great width and near seven hundred miles long from north to south, must of necessity pass through the narrow channel of Carquinez and the bay and country is so situated that every person who passes from one side of the bay to the other will find the nearest and best way by Francisca." Francisca, with its manifold natural advantages, ought to have been a great city, the metropolis of California, but the Fates were against it. Alcalde

Bartlett, probably without any design of doing so, dealt it a fearful blow when he dubbed the town of the good herb, San Francisco. Two cities with names so nearly alike could not live and thrive in the same state. Francisca became Benicia. The population of San Francisco (or Yerba Buena, as it was then called) at the time that Captain Montgomery raised the stars and stripes and took possession of it probably did not exceed two hundred. Its change of masters accelerated its growth. The *Californian* of September 4, 1847 (fourteen months after it came under the flag of the United States), gives the following statistics of its population and progress: Total white male population, 247; female, 123; Indians, male, 26; female, 8; South Sea Islanders, male, 39; female 1; negroes, male, 9; female 1; total population, 454.

Nearly every country on the globe had representatives in its population, and the various vocations by which men earn a living were well represented. Minister, one; doctors, three; lawyers, three; surveyors, two; agriculturists, eleven; bakers, seven; blacksmiths, six; brewer, one; butchers, seven; cabinetmakers, two; carpenters, twenty-six; cigarmaker, one; coopers, three; clerks, thirteen; gardener, one; grocers, five; gunsmiths, two; hotel-keepers, three; laborers, twenty; masons, four; merchants, eleven; miner, one; morocco case maker, one; navigators (inland), six; navigator (ocean), one; painter, one; printer, one; soldier, one; shoemakers, four; silversmith, one; tailors, four; tanners, two; watchmaker, one; weaver, one. Previous to April 1, 1847, according to the *Californian,* there had been erected in the town seventy-nine buildings, classified as follows: Shanties, twenty-two; frame buildings, thirty-one; adobe buildings, twenty-six. Since April 1, seventy-eight buildings have been erected, viz.: Shanties, twenty; frame buildings, forty-seven; adobe buildings, eleven. "Within five months last past," triumphantly adds the editor of the *Californian,* "as many buildings have been built as were erected in all the previous years of the town's existence."

The town continued to grow with wonderful rapidity throughout the year 1847, considering that peace had not yet been declared and the destiny of California was uncertain. According to a school census taken in March, 1848, by the Board of Trustees, the population was: Males, five hundred and seventy-five; females, one hundred and seventy-seven; and "children of age to attend school," sixty, a total of eight hundred and twelve. Building kept pace with the increase of population until the "gold fever" became epidemic. Dr. Brooks, writing in his diary May 17, says: "Walking through the town to-day, I observed that laborers were employed only upon about half a dozen of the fifty new buildings which were in the course of being run up."

The first survey of lots in the town had been made by a Frenchman named Vioget. No names had been given to the streets. This survey was made before the conquest. In 1847, Jasper O'Farrell surveyed and platted the district extending about half a mile in the different directions from the plaza. The streets were named, and, with a very few changes, still retain the names then given. In September the council appointed a committee to report upon the building of a wharf. It was decided to construct two wharves, one from the foot of Clay street and the other from the foot of Broadway. Money was appropriated to build them and they had been extended some distance seaward when the rush to the mines suspended operations. After considerable agitation by the two newspapers and canvassing for funds, the first schoolhouse was built. It was completed December 4, 1847, but, for lack of funds, or, as the *Star* says, for lack of energy in the council, school was not opened on the completion of the house. In March the council appropriated $400 and April 1, 1848, Thomas Douglas, a graduate of Yale College, took charge of the school. San Francisco was rapidly developing into a progressive American city. Unlike the older towns of California, it had but a small Mexican population. Even had not gold been discovered, it would have grown into a commercial city of considerable size.

The first effect of the gold discovery and the consequent rush to the mines was to bring everything to a standstill. As Kemble, of the *Star,* puts it, it was "as if a curse had arrested

our onward course of enterprise; everything wears a desolate and sombre look; everywhere all is dull, monotonous, dead." The return of the inhabitants in a few months and the influx of new arrivals gave the town a boom in the fall of 1848. Building was only limited by the lack of material, and every kind of a makeshift was resorted to to provide shelter against winter rains. From the many attempts at describing the town at this stage of its development, I select this from "Sights in the Gold Regions," a book long since out of print. Its author, T. T. Johnson, arrived at San Francisco April 1, 1849. "Proceeding on our survey, we found the streets, or, properly, the roads, laid out regularly, those parallel with the water being a succession of terraces, and these ascending the hills or along their sides being in some instances cut down ten or twelve feet below the surface. Except a portion of the streets fronting upon the cove, they are all of hard-beaten, sandy clay, as solid as if macadamized. About three hundred houses, stores, shanties and sheds, with a great many tents, composed the town at that period. The houses were mostly built of rough boards and unpainted; brown cottons or calico nailed against the beams and joists answered for wall and ceiling of the better class of tenements. With the exception of the brick warehouse of Howard and Mellus, the establishments of the commercial houses of which we had heard so much were inferior to the outhouses of the country seats on the Hudson; and yet it would puzzle the New York Exchange to produce merchant princes of equal importance." * * * "We strolled among the tents in the outskirts of the town. Here was 'confusion worse confounded,' chiefly among Mexicans, Peruvians and Chilians. Every kind, size, color and shape of tent pitched helter-skelter and in the most awkward manner were stowed full of everything under the sun."

In the first six months of 1849 fifteen thousand souls were added to the population of San Francisco; in the latter half of that year about four thousand arrived every month by sea alone. At first the immigrants were from Mexico, Chile, Peru and the South American ports generally; but early in the spring the Americans began to arrive, coming by way of Panama and Cape Horn, and later across the plains. Europe sent its contingent by sea via Cape Horn; and China, Australia and the Hawaiian Islands added to the city's population an undesirable element. A large majority of those who came by sea made their way to the mines, but many soon returned to San Francisco, some to take their departure for home, others to become residents. At the end of the year San Francisco had a population of twenty-five thousand. The following graphic description of life in San Francisco in the fall of '49 and spring of '50 I take from a paper, "Pioneer Days in San Francisco," written by John Williamson Palmer, and published in the Century Magazine (1890): "And how did they all live? In frame houses of one story, more commonly in board shanties and canvas tents, pitched in the midst of sand or mud and various rubbish and strange filth and fleas; and they slept on rude cots or on soft planks, under horse blankets, on tables, counters, floors, on trucks in the open air, in bunks braced against the weather-boarding, forty of them in one loft; and so they tossed and scratched and swore and laughed and sang and skylarked, those who were not tired or drunk enough to sleep. And in the working hours they bustled, and jostled, and tugged, and sweated, and made money, always made money. They labored and they lugged; they worked on lighters, drove trucks, packed mules, rang bells, carried messages, 'waited' in restaurants, 'marked' for billiard tables, served drinks in bar rooms, 'faked' on the plaza, 'cried' at auctions, toted lumber for houses, ran a game of faro or roulette in the El Dorado or the Bella Union, or manipulated three-card monte on the head of a barrel in front of the Parker House; they speculated, and, as a rule, gambled.

"Clerks in stores and offices had munificent salaries. Five dollars a day was about the smallest stipend even in the custom house, and one Baptist preacher was paid $10,000 a year. Laborers received $1 an hour; a pick or a shovel was worth $10; a tin pan or a wooden bowl $5, and a butcher knife $30. At one time carpenters who were getting $12 a day struck

for $16. Lumber rose to $500 per thousand feet, and every brick in a house cost a dollar one way or another. Wheat, flour and salt pork sold at $40 a barrel; a small loaf of bread was fifty cents and a hard-boiled egg a dollar. You paid $3 to get into the circus and $55 for a private box at the theater. Forty dollars was the price for ordinary coarse boots, and a pair that came above the knees and would carry you gallantly through the quagmires brought a round hundred. When a shirt became very dirty the wearer threw it away and bought a new one. Washing cost $15 a dozen in 1849.

"Rents were simply monstrous; $3,000 a month in advance for a 'store' hurriedly built of rough boards. Wright & Co. paid $75,000 for the wretched little place on the corner of the plaza that they called the Miners' Bank, and $36,000 was asked for the use of the Old Adobe as a custom-house. The Parker House paid $120,000 a year in rents, nearly one-half of that amount being collected from gamblers who held the second floor; and the canvas tent next door used as a gambling saloon, and called the El Dorado, was good for $40,000 a year. From 10 to 15 per cent a month was paid in advance for the use of money borrowed on substantial security. The prices of real estate went up among the stars; $8,000 for a fifty-vara lot that had been bought in 1849 for $20. A lot purchased two years before for a barrel of aguardiente sold for $18,000. Yet, for all that, everybody made money.

"The aspect of the streets of San Francisco at this time was such as one may imagine of an unsightly waste of sand and mud churned by the continual grinding of heavy wagons and trucks and the tugging and floundering of horses, mules and oxen; thoroughfares irregular and uneven, ungraded, unpaved, unplanked, obstructed by lumber and goods, alternate lumps and holes, the actual dumping-places of the town, handy receptacles for the general sweepings and rubbish and indescribable offal and filth, the refuse of an indiscriminate population 'pigging' together in shanties and tents. And these conditions extended beyond the actual settlement into the chaparral and underbrush that covered the sand hills on the north and west.

"The flooding rains of winter transformed what should have been thoroughfares into treacherous quagmires set with holes and traps fit to smother horse and man. Loads of brushwood and branches of trees cut from the hills were thrown into these swamps; but they served no more than a temporary purpose and the inmates of tents and houses made such bridges and crossings as they could with boards, boxes and barrels. Men waded through the slough and thought themselves lucky when they sank no deeper than their waists."

It is said that two horses mired down in the mud of Montgomery street were left to die of starvation, and that three drunken men were suffocated between Washington and Jackson streets. It was during the winter of '49 that the famous sidewalk of flour sacks, cooking stoves and tobacco boxes was built. It extended from Simmons, Hutchinson & Co.'s store to Adams Express office, a distance of about seventy-five yards. The first portion was built of Chilean flour in one hundred pound sacks, next came the cooking stoves in a long row, and then followed a double row of tobacco boxes of large size, and a yawning gap of the walk was bridged by a piano. Chile flour, cooking stoves, tobacco and pianos were cheaper material for building walks, owing to the excessive supply of these, than lumber at $600 a thousand.

In the summer of '49 there were more than three hundred sailing vessels lying in the harbor of San Francisco, from which the sailors had deserted to go to the mines. Some of these vessels rotted where they were moored. Some were hauled up in the sand or mud flats and used for store houses, lodging houses and saloons. As the water lots were filled in and built upon, these ships sometimes formed part of the line of buildings on the street. The brig Euphemia was the first jail owned by the city; the store ship Apollo was converted into a lodging house and saloon, and the Niantic Hotel at the corner of Sansome and Clay streets was built on the hull of the ship Niantic. As the wharves were extended out into the bay the space between was filled in from the sand hills

and houses built along the wharves. In this way the cove was gradually filled in. The high price of lumber and the great scarcity of houses brought about the importation from New York, Boston, Philadelphia and London of houses ready framed to set up. For a time immense profits were made in this, but an excessive shipment like that of the articles of which the famous sidewalk was made brought down the price below cost, and the business ceased.

The first of the great fires that devastated San Francisco occurred on Christmas eve, 1849. It started in Denison's Exchange, a gambling house on the east side of the plaza. It burned the greater part of the block between Washington and Clay streets and Kearny and Montgomery streets. The loss was estimated at a million and a quarter dollars. The second great fire occurred on May 4, 1850. It burned over the three blocks between Montgomery and Dupont streets, bounded by Jackson and Clay streets, and the north and east sides of Portsmouth square. The loss was estimated at $4,000,000. It started in the United States Exchange, a gambling den, at four o'clock in the morning, and burned for seven hours. The fire was believed to be of incendiary origin and several suspicious characters were arrested, but nothing could be proved against them. A number of the lookers-on refused to assist in arresting the progress of the flames unless paid for their labor; and $3 an hour was demanded and paid to some who did.

On the 14th of June, 1850, a fire broke out in the Sacramento House, on the east side of Kearny street, between Clay and Sacramento. The entire district from Kearny street between Clay and California to the water front was burned over, causing a loss of $3,000,000. Over three hundred houses were destroyed. The fourth great fire of the fateful year of 1850 occurred September 17. It started on Jackson street and destroyed the greater part of the blocks between Dupont and Montgomery streets from Washington to Pacific streets. The loss in this was not so great from the fact that the district contained mostly one-story houses. It was estimated at half a million dollars. December 14 of the same year a fire occurred on Sacramento street below Montgomery. Although the district burned over was not extensive, the loss was heavy. The buildings were of corrugated iron, supposed to be fireproof, and were filled with valuable merchandise. The loss amounted to $1,000,000. After each fire, building was resumed almost before the embers of the fire that consumed the former buildings were extinguished. After each fire better buildings were constructed. A period of six months' exemption had encouraged the inhabitants of the fire-afflicted city to believe that on account of the better class of buildings constructed the danger of great conflagrations was past, but the worst was yet to come. At 11 p. m. May 3, 1851, a fire, started by incendiaries, broke out on the south side of the plaza. A strong northwest wind swept across Kearny street in broad sheets of flame, first southeastward, then, the wind changing, the flames veered to the north and east. All efforts to arrest them were useless; houses were blown up and torn down in attempts to cut off communication, but the engines were driven back step by step, while some of the brave firemen fell victims to the fire fiend. The flames, rising aloft in whirling volumes, swept away the frame houses and crumbled up with intense heat the supposed fireproof structures. After ten hours, when the fire abated for want of material to burn, all that remained of the city were the sparsely settled outskirts. All of the business district between Pine and Pacific streets, from Kearny to the Battery on the water front, was in ruins. Over one thousand houses had been burned. The loss of property was estimated at $10,000,000, an amount greater than the aggregate of all the preceding fires. A number of lives were lost. During the progress of the fire large quantities of goods were stolen by bands of thieves. The sixth and last of the great conflagrations that devastated the city occurred on the 22d of June, 1851. The fire started in a building on Powell street and ravaged the district between Clay and Broadway, from Powell to Sansome. Four hundred and fifty houses were burned, involving a loss of $2,500,000. An improved fire department, more stringent building regulations and a bet-

ter water supply combined to put an end to the era of great fires.

After the great fires of 1851 had swept over the city there was practically nothing left of the old metropolis of the early gold rush. The hastily constructed wooden shanties were gone; the corrugated iron building imported from New York and London, and warranted to be fireproof, had proved to be worthless to withstand great heat; the historic buildings had disappeared; the new city that, Phœnix-like, arose from the ashes of the old was a very different city from its predecessor that had been wiped from the earth by successive conflagrations. Stone and brick buildings covered the former site of wooden structures. The unsightly mud flats between the wharves were filled in from the sand hills and some of the streets paved. The year 1853 was memorable for the rapid progress of the city. Assessed property values increased from $18,000,000 to $28,000,000. Real estate values went soaring upward and the city was on the high tide of prosperity; but a reaction came in 1855. The rush to the mines had ceased, immigration had fallen off, and men had begun to retrench and settle down to steady business habits. Home productions had replaced imports, and the people were abandoning mining for farms. The transition from gold mining to grain growing had begun. All these affected the city and real estate declined. Lots that sold for $8,000 to $10,000 in 1853 could be bought for half that amount in 1855. Out of one thousand business houses, three hundred were vacant. Another influence that helped to bring about a depression was the growing political corruption and the increased taxation from peculations of dishonest officials.

The defalcations and forgeries of Harry Meigs, which occurred in 1854, were a terrible blow to the city. Meigs was one of its most trusted citizens. He was regarded as the embodiment of integrity, the stern, incorruptible man, the watch-dog of the treasury. By his upright conduct he had earned the sobriquet of Honest Harry Meigs. Over-speculation and reaction from the boom of 1853 embarrassed him. He forged a large amount of city scrip and hypothecated it to raise money. His forgeries were suspected, but before the truth was known he made his escape on the barque America to Costa Rica and from there he made his way to Peru. His forgeries amounted to $1,500,000, of which $1,000,000 was in comptroller's warrants, to which he forged the names of Mayor Garrison and Controller Harris. The vigilance committee of 1856 cleared the political atmosphere by clearing the city, by means of hemp and deportation, of a number of bad characters. The city was just beginning to regain its former prosperity when the Frazer river excitement brought about a temporary depression. The wild rush carried away about one-sixth of its population. These all came back again, poorer and perhaps wiser; at least, their necessities compelled them to go to work and weaned them somewhat of their extravagant habits and their disinclination to work except for the large returns of earlier days. Since 1857 the growth of the city has been steady, unmarked by real estate booms; nor has it been retarded by long periods of financial depression.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CRIME, CRIMINALS AND VIGILANCE COMMITTEES.

THERE was but little crime in California among its white inhabitants during the Spanish and Mexican eras of its history. The conditions were not conducive to the development of a criminal element. The inhabitants were a pastoral people, pursuing an outdoor vocation, and there were no large towns or cities where the viciously inclined could congregate and find a place of refuge from justice. "From 1819 to 1846, that is, during the entire period of Mexican domination under the Republic," says Bancroft, "there were but six murders among the whites in all California." There were no lynchings, no mobs, unless some of the revolutionary uprisings might be called such, and but one vigilance committee.

San Francisco is credited with the origin of that form of popular tribunal known as the vigilance committee. The name "vigilance committee" originated with the uprising, in 1851, of the people of that city against the criminal element; but, years before there was a city of San Francisco, Los Angeles had originated a tribunal of the people, had taken criminals from the lawfully constituted authorities and had tried and executed them. The causes which called into existence the first vigilance committee in California were similar to those that created the later ones, namely, laxity in the administration of the laws and distrust in the integrity of those chosen to administer them. During the "decade of revolutions," that is, between 1830 and 1840, the frequent change of rulers and the struggles of the different factions for power engendered in the masses a disregard, not only for their rulers, but for law and order as well. Criminals escaped punishment through the law's delays. No court in California had power to pass sentence of death on a civilian until its findings had been approved by the superior tribunal of Mexico. In the slow and tedious processes of the different courts, a criminal stood a good show of dying of old age before his case reached final adjudication. The first committee of vigilance in California was organized at Los Angeles, in the house of Juan Temple, April 7, 1836. It was called "Junta Defensora de La Seguridad Publica," United Defenders of the Public Security (or safety). Its motto, which appears in the heading of its "acta," and is there credited as a quotation from Montesquieu's Exposition of the Laws, Book 26, Chapter 23, was, "Salus populi suprema lex est" (The safety of the people is the supreme law). There is a marked similarity between the proceedings of the Junta Defensora of 1836 and the San Francisco vigilance committee of 1856; it is not probable, however, that any of the actors in the latter committee participated in the former. Although there is quite a full account of the proceedings of the Junta Defensora in the Los Angeles city archives, no historian heretofore except Bancroft seems to have found it.

The circumstances which brought about the organization of the Junta Defensora are as follows: The wife of Domingo Feliz (part owner of the Los Feliz Rancho), who bore the poetical name of Maria del Rosario Villa, became infatuated with a handsome but disreputable Sonoran vaquero, Gervacio Alispaz by name. She abandoned her husband and lived with Alispaz as his mistress at San Gabriel. Feliz sought to reclaim his erring wife, but was met by insults and abuse from her paramour, whom he once wounded in a personal altercation. Feliz finally invoked the aid of the authorities. The woman was arrested and brought to town. A reconciliation was effected between the husband and wife. Two days later they left town for the rancho, both riding one horse. On the way they were met by Alispaz, and in a personal encounter Feliz was stabbed to death by the wife's paramour. The body was dragged into a ravine and covered with brush and leaves. Next day, March 29, the body was found and brought to the city. The murderer and the woman were arrested and imprisoned. The people were filled with horror and indignation, and there were threats of summary vengeance, but better counsel prevailed.

On the 30th the funeral of Feliz took place, and, like that of James King of William, twenty years later, was the occasion for the renewal of the outcry for vengeance. The attitude of the people became so threatening that on the 1st of April an extraordinary session of the ayuntamiento was held. A call was made upon the citizens to form an organization to preserve the peace. A considerable number responded and were formed into military patrols under the command of Don Juan B. Leandry. The illustrious ayuntamiento resolved "that whomsoever shall disturb the public tranquillity shall be punished according to law." The excitement apparently died out, but it was only the calm that precedes the storm. The beginning of the Easter ceremonies was at hand, and it was deemed a sacrilege to execute the assassins in holy week, so all further attempts at punishment were deferred until April 7, the Monday after Easter, when at dawn, by previous understanding, a number of the better class of citizens gathered at the house of Juan Temple, which stood on the site of the new postoffice. An or-

ganization was effected. Victor Prudon, a native of Breton, France, but a naturalized citizen of California, was elected president; Manuel Arzaga, a native of California, was elected secretary, and Francisco Araujo, a retired army officer, was placed in command of the armed force. Speeches were made by Prudon, and by the military commandant and others, setting forth the necessity of their organization and justifying their actions. It was unanimously decided that both the man and the woman should be shot; their guilt being evident, no trial was deemed necessary.

An address to the authorities and the people was formulated. A copy of this is preserved in the city archives. It abounds in metaphors. It is too long for insertion here. I make a few extracts: "* * * Believing that immorality has reached such an extreme that public security is menaced and will be lost if the dike of a solemn example is not opposed to the torrent of atrocious perfidy, we demand of you that you execute or deliver to us for immediate execution the assassin, Gervacio Alispaz, and the unfaithful Maria del Rosario Villa, his accomplice. * * * Nature trembles at the sight of these venomous reptiles and the soil turns barren in its refusal to support their detestable existence. Let the infernal pair perish! It is the will of the people. We will not lay down our arms until our petition is granted and the murderers are executed. The proof of their guilt is so clear that justice needs no investigation. Public vengeance demands an example and it must be given. The blood of the Alvarez, of the Patinos, of the Jenkins, is not yet cold—they, too, being the unfortunate victims of the brutal passions of their murderers. Their bloody ghosts shriek for vengeance. Their terrible voices re-echo from their graves. The afflicted widow, the forsaken orphan, the aged father, the brother in mourning, the inconsolable mother, the public —all demand speedy punishment of the guilty. We swear that outraged justice shall be avenged to-day or we shall die in the attempt. The blood of the murderers shall be shed to-day or ours will be to the last drop. It will be published throughout the world that judges in Los Angeles tolerate murderers, but that there are virtuous citizens who sacrifice their lives in order to preserve those of their countrymen."

"A committee will deliver to the First Constitutional Alcalde a copy of these resolutions, that he may decide whatever he finds most convenient, and one hour's time will be given him in which to do so. If in that time no answer has been received, then the judge will be responsible before God and man for what will follow. Death to the murderers!

"God and liberty. Angeles, April 7, 1836."

Fifty-five signatures are attached to this document; fourteen of these are those of naturalized foreigners and the remainder those of native Californians. The junta was made up of the best citizens, native and foreign. An extraordinary session of the ayuntamiento was called. The members of the junta, fully armed, marched to the city hall to await the decision of the authorities. The petition was discussed in the council, and, in the language of the archives: "This Illustrious Body decided to call said Breton Prudon to appear before it and to compel him to retire with the armed citizens so that this Illustrious Body may deliberate at liberty."

"This was done, but he declined to appear before this body, as he and the armed citizens were determined to obtain Gervacio Alispaz and Maria del Rosario Villa. The ayuntamiento decided that as it had not sufficient force to compel the armed citizens to disband, they being in large numbers and composed of the best and most respectable men of the town, to send an answer saying that the judges could not accede to the demand of the armed citizens."

The members of the Junta Defensora then marched in a body to the jail and demanded the keys of the guard. These were refused. The keys were secured by force and Gervacio Alispaz taken out and shot. The following demand was then sent to the first alcalde, Manuel Requena:

"It is absolutely necessary that you deliver to this junta the key of the apartment where Maria del Rosario Villa is kept.

"God and liberty.

"Victor Prudon, President.

"Manuel Arzaga, Secretary."

To this the alcalde replied: "Maria del Rosario Villa is incarcerated at a private dwelling, whose owner has the key, with instructions not to deliver the same to any one. The prisoner is left there at the disposition of the law only.

"God and liberty.

"MANUEL REQUENA, Alcalde."

The key was obtained. The wretched Maria was taken to the place of execution on a carréta and shot. The bodies of the guilty pair were brought back to the jail and the following communication sent to the alcalde:

"Junta of the Defenders of Public Safety.

"To the 1st Constitutional Alcalde:

"The dead bodies of Gervacio Alispaz and Maria del Rosario Villa are at your disposal. We also forward you the jail keys that you may deliver them to whomsoever is on guard. In case you are in need of men to serve as guards, we are all at your disposal.

"God and liberty. Angeles, April 7, 1836.

"VICTOR PRUDON, Pres.

"MANUEL ARZAGA, Sec."

A few days later the Junta Defensora de La Seguridad Publica disbanded; and so ended the only instance in the seventy-five years of Spanish and Mexican rule in California, of the people, by popular tribunal, taking the administration of justice out of the hands of the legally constituted authorities.

The tales of the fabulous richness of the gold fields of California were quickly spread throughout the world and drew to the territory all classes and conditions of men, the bad as well as the good, the vicious as well as the virtuous; the indolent, the profligate and the criminal came to prey upon the industrious. These conglomerate elements of society found the Land of Gold practically without law, and the vicious among them were not long in making it a land without order. With that inherent trait, which makes the Anglo-Saxon wherever he may be an organizer, the American element of the gold seekers soon adjusted a form of government to suit the exigencies of the land and the people. There may have been too much lynching, too much vigilance committee in it and too little respect for lawfully constituted authorities, but it was effective and was suited to the social conditions existing.

In 1851 the criminal element became so dominant as to seriously threaten the existence of the chief city, San Francisco. Terrible conflagrations had swept over the city in May and June of that year and destroyed the greater part of the business portion. The fires were known to be of incendiary origin. The bold and defiant attitude of the vicious classes led to the organization by the better element, of that form of popular tribunal called a committee of vigilance. The law abiding element among the citizens disregarding the legally constituted authorities, who were either too weak or too corrupt to control the law-defying, took the power in their own hands, organized a vigilance committee and tried and executed by hanging four notorious criminals, namely: Jenkins, Stuart, Whitaker and McKenzie.

During the proceedings of the vigilance committee a case of mistaken identity came near costing an innocent man his life. About 8 o'clock in the evening of February 18, two men entered the store of a Mr. Jansen on Montgomery street and asked to see some blankets. As the merchant stooped to get the blankets one of the men struck him with a sling shot and both of them beat him into insensibility. They then opened his desk and carried away all the gold they could find, about $2,000. The police arrested two men on suspicion of being the robbers. One of the men was identified as James Stuart, a noted criminal, who had murdered Sheriff Moore at Auburn. He gave the name of Thomas Burdue, but this was believed to be one of Stuart's numerous aliases. The men were identified by Mr. Jansen as his assailants. They were put on trial. When the court adjourned over to the next day a determined effort was made by the crowd to seize the men and hang them. They were finally taken out of the hands of the officers and given a trial by a jury selected by a committee of citizens. The jury failed to agree, three of the jury being convinced that the men were not Jansen's assailants. Then the mob made a rush to hang the jury, but were kept back by a show of revolvers. The prison-

ers were turned over to the court. One of them, Wildred, broke jail and escaped. Burdue was tried, convicted and sentenced to fourteen years' imprisonment. Before the sentence of the court was executed he was taken to Marysville and arraigned for the murder of Sheriff Moore. A number of witnesses swore positively that the man was Stuart; others swore even more positively that he was not. A close examination revealed that the prisoner bore every distinguishing mark on his person by which Stuart could be identified. He was convicted and sentenced to be hanged in thirty days. In the meantime the vigilance committee of 1856 was organized and the real Stuart accidentally fell into the hands of the vigilantes at San Francisco. He was arrested for a theft he had not committed and recognized by one of the committee's guards that he had formerly employed in the mines. By adroit questioning he was forced to confess that he was the real Stuart, the murderer of Sheriff Moore and the assailant of Jansen. His confederate in the robbery was Whitaker, one of the four hanged by the committee. Burdue was finally released, after having twice stood under the shadow of the gallows for the crimes of his double. The confessions of Stuart and Whitaker implicated a number of their pals. Some of these were convicted and sent to prison and others fled the country; about thirty were banished. Nearly all of the criminals were exconvicts from Australia and Tasmania.

The vigorous measures adopted by the committee purified the city of the vicious class that had preyed upon it. Several of the smaller towns and some of the mining camps organized vigilance committees and a number of the knaves who had fled from San Francisco met a deserved fate in other places.

In the early '50s the better elements of San Francisco's population were so engrossed in business that they had no time to spare to look after its political affairs; and its government gradually drifted into the hands of vicious and corrupt men. Many of the city authorities had obtained their offices by fraud and ballot stuffing and "instead of protecting the community against scoundrels they protected the scoundrels against the community." James King of William, an ex-banker and a man of great courage and persistence, started a small paper called the *Daily Evening Bulletin*. He vigorously assailed the criminal elements and the city and county officials. His denunciations aroused public sentiment. The murder of United States Marshal Richardson by a gambler named Cora still further inflamed the public mind. It was feared that by the connivance of some of the corrupt county officials Cora would escape punishment. His trial resulted in a hung jury. There was a suspicion that some of the jurymen were bribed. King continued through the *Bulletin* to hurl his most bitter invectives against the corrupt officials. They determined to silence him. He published the fact that James Casey, a supervisor from the twelfth ward, was an exconvict of Sing Sing prison. Casey waylaid King at the corner of Montgomery and Washington streets and in a cowardly manner shot him down. The shooting occurred on the 14th of May, 1856. Casey immediately surrendered himself to a deputy sheriff, Lafayete M. Byrne, who was near. King was not killed, but an examination of the wound by the physicians decided that there was no hopes of his recovery. Casey was conducted to the city prison and as a mob began to gather, for greater safety he was taken to the county jail. A crowd pursued him crying, "Hang him," "kill him." At the jail the mob was stopped by an array of deputy sheriffs, police officers and a number of Casey's friends, all armed. The excitement spread throughout the city. The old vigilance committee of 1851, or rather a new organization out of the remnant of the old, was formed. Five thousand men were enrolled in a few days. Arms were procured and headquarters established on Sacramento street between Davis and Front. The men were divided into companies. William T. Coleman, chairman of the vigilance committee of 1851, was made president or No. 1, and Isaac Bluxome, Jr., the secretary, was No. 33. Each man was known by number. Charles Doane was elected chief marshal of the military division.

The *San Francisco Herald* (edited by John Nugent), then the leading paper of the city, came out with a scathing editorial denouncing the

vigilance committee. The merchants at once withdrew their advertising patronage. Next morning the paper appeared reduced from forty columns to a single page, but still hostile to the committee. It finally died for want of patronage.

On Sunday, May 18, 1856, the military division was ready to storm the jail if necessary to obtain possession of the prisoners, Casey and Cora. The different companies, marching from their headquarters by certain prescribed routes, all reached the jail at the same time and completely invested it. They had with them two pieces of artillery. One of these guns was planted so as to command the door of the jail. There were fifteen hundred vigilantes under arms. A demand was made on Sheriff Scannell for the prisoners, Cora and Casey. The prison guard made no resistance, the prisoners were surrendered and taken at once to the vigilantes' headquarters.

On the 20th of May the murderers were put on trial; while the trial was in progress the death of King was announced. Both men were convicted and sentenced to be hanged. King's funeral, the largest and most imposing ever seen in San Francisco, took place on the 23d. While the funeral cortege was passing through the streets Casey and Cora were hanged in front of the windows of the vigilance headquarters. About an hour before his execution Cora was married to a notorious courtesan, Arabella Ryan, but commonly called Belle Cora. A Catholic priest, Father Accolti, performed the ceremony.

Governor J. Neely Johnson, who at first seemed inclined not to interfere with the vigilantes, afterwards acting under the advice of David S. Terry, Volney E. Howard and others of "the law and order faction," issued a proclamation commanding the committee to disband, to which no attention was paid. The governor then appointed William T. Sherman major-general. Sherman called for recruits to suppress the uprising. Seventy-five or a hundred, mostly gamblers, responded to his call. General Wool, in command of the troops in the department of the Pacific, refused to loan Governor Johnson arms to equip his "law and order" recruits and General Sherman resigned. Volney E. Howard was then appointed major-general. His principal military service consisted in proclaiming what he would do to the "pork merchants" who constituted the committee. He did nothing except to bluster. A squad of the vigilance police attempted to arrest a man named Maloney. Maloney was at the time in the company of David S. Terry (then chief justice of the state) and several other members of the "law and order" party. They resisted the police and in the melee Terry stabbed the sergeant of the squad, Sterling A. Hopkins, and then he and his associates made their escape to the armory of the San Francisco Blues, one of their strongholds.

When the report of the stabbing reached headquarters the great bell sounded the alarm and the vigilantes in a very brief space of time surrounded the armory building and had their cannon planted to batter it down. Terry, Maloney, and the others of their party in the building, considering discretion the better part of valor, surrendered and were at once taken to Fort Gunnybags,* the vigilantes' headquarters. The arms of the "law and order" party at their various rendezvous were surrendered to the vigilantes and the companies disbanded.

Terry was closely confined in a cell at the headquarters of the committee; Hopkins, after lingering some time between life and death, finally recovered. Terry was tried for assault on Hopkins and upon several other persons, was found guilty, but, after being held as a prisoner for some time, was finally released. He at once joined Johnson and Howard at Sacramento, where he felt much safer than in San Francisco. He gave the vigilantes no more trouble.

On the 29th of July, Hethrington and Brace were hanged from a gallows erected on Davis street, between Sacramento and Commercial. Both of these men had committed murder. These were the last executions by the committee. The committee transported from the state thirty disreputable characters and a number deported themselves. A few, and among them the

*The vigilantes built around the building which they used for headquarters a breastwork made of gunnysacks filled with sand. Cannon were planted at the corners of the redout.

notorious Ned McGowan, managed to keep concealed until the storm was over. A few of the expatriated returned after the committee dissolved and brought suit for damages, but failed to recover anything. The committee had paid the fare of the exiles. It was only the high toned rascals who were given a cabin passage that brought the suits. The committee finished its labors and dissolved with a grand parade on the 18th of August (1856). It did a good work. For several years after, San Francisco from being one of the worst, became one of the best governed cities in the United States. The committee was made up of men from the northern and western states. The so-called "law and order" party was mostly composed of the pro-slavery office-holding faction that ruled the state at that time.

When the vigilance committees between 1851 and 1856 drove disreputable characters from San Francisco and the northern mines, many of them drifted southward and found a lodgment for a time in the southern cities and towns. Los Angeles was not far from the Mexican line, and any one who desired to escape from justice, fleet mounted, could speedily put himself beyond the reach of his pursuers. All these causes and influences combined to produce a saturnalia of crime that disgraced that city in the early '50s.

Gen. J. H. Bean, a prominent citizen of Southern California, while returning to Los Angeles from his place of business at San Gabriel late one evening in November, 1852, was attacked by two men, who had been lying in wait for him. One seized the bridle of his horse and jerked the animal back on his haunches; the other seized the general and pulled him from the saddle. Bean made a desperate resistance, but was overpowered and stabbed to death. The assassination of General Bean resulted in the organization of a vigilance committee and an effort was made to rid the country of desperadoes. A number of arrests were made. Three suspects were tried by the committee for various crimes. One, Cipiano Sandoval, a poor cobbler of San Gabriel, was charged with complicity in the murder of General Bean. He strenuously maintained that he was innocent. He, with the other two, were sentenced to be hanged. On the following Sunday morning the doomed men were conducted to the top of Fort Hill, where the gallows stood. Sandoval made a brief speech, again declaring his innocence. The others awaited their doom in silence. The trap fell and all were launched into eternity. Years afterward one of the real murderers on his deathbed revealed the truth and confessed his part in the crime. The poor cobbler was innocent.

In 1854 drunkenness, gambling, murder and all forms of immorality and crime were rampant in Los Angeles. The violent deaths, it is said, averaged one for every day in the year. It was a common question at the breakfast table, "Well, how many were killed last night?" Little or no attention was paid to the killing of an Indian or a half breed; it was only when a gente de razon was the victim that the community was aroused to action.

The Kern river gold rush, in the winter of 1854-55, brought from the northern mines fresh relays of gamblers and desperadoes and crime increased. The *Southern Californian* of March 7, 1855, commenting on the general lawlessness prevailing, says: "Last Sunday night was a brisk night for killing. Four men were shot and killed and several wounded in shooting affrays."

A worthless fellow by the name of David Brown, who had, without provocation, killed a companion named Clifford, was tried and sentenced to be hanged with one Felipe Alvitre, a Mexican, who had murdered an American named Ellington, at El Monte. There was a feeling among the people that Brown, through quibbles of law, would escape the death penalty, and there was talk of lynching. Stephen C. Foster, the mayor, promised that if justice was not legally meted out to Brown by the law, then he would resign his office and head the lynching party. January 10, 1855, an order was received from Judge Murray, of the supreme court, staying the execution of Brown, but leaving Alvitre to his fate. January 12 Alvitre was hanged by the sheriff in the jail yard in the presence of an immense crowd. The gallows were taken down and the guards dismissed. The crowd gathered

outside the jail yard. Speeches were made. The mayor resigned his office and headed the mob. The doors of the jail were broken down; Brown was taken across Spring street to a large gateway opening into a corral and hanged from the crossbeam. Foster was re-elected by an almost unanimous vote at a special election. The city marshal, who had opposed the action of the vigilantes, was compelled to resign.

During 1855 and 1856 lawlessness increased. There was an organized band of about one hundred Mexicans, who patroled the highways, robbing and murdering. They threatened the extermination of the Americans and there were fears of a race war, for many who were not members of the gang sympathized with them. In 1856 a vigilance committee was organized with Myron Norton as president and H. N. Alexander as secretary. A number of disreputable characters were forced to leave town. The banditti, under their leaders, Pancho Daniel and Juan Flores, were plundering and committing outrages in the neighborhood of San Juan Capistrano.

On the night of January 22, 1857, Sheriff James R. Barton left Los Angeles with a posse, consisting of William H. Little, Charles K. Baker, Charles F. Daley, Alfred Hardy and Frank Alexander with the intention of capturing some of the robbers. At Sepulveda's ranch next morning the sheriff's party was warned that the robbers were some fifty strong, well armed and mounted, and would probably attack them. Twelve miles further the sheriff and his men encountered a detachment of the banditti. A short, sharp engagement took place. Barton, Baker, Little and Daley were killed. Hardy and Alexander made their escape by the fleetness of their horses. When the news reached Los Angeles the excitement became intense. A public meeting was held to devise plans to rid the community not only of the roving gang of murderers, but also of the criminal classes in the city, who were known to be in sympathy with the banditti. All suspicious houses were searched and some fifty persons arrested. Several companies were organized; the infantry to guard the city and the mounted men to scour the country. Companies were also formed at San Bernardino and El Monte, while the military authorities at Fort Tejon and San Diego despatched soldiers to aid in the good work of exterminating crime and criminals.

The robbers were pursued into the mountains and nearly all captured. Gen. Andres Pico, with a company of native Californians, was most efficient in the pursuit. He captured Silvas and Ardillero, two of the most noted of the gang, and hanged them where they were captured. Fifty-two were lodged in the city jail. Of these, eleven were hanged for various crimes and the remainder set free. Juan Flores, one of the leaders, was condemned by popular vote and on February 14, 1857, was hanged near the top of Fort Hill in the presence of nearly the entire population of the town. He was only twenty-one years of age. Pancho Daniel, another of the leaders, was captured on the 19th of January, 1858, near San José. He was found by the sheriff, concealed in a haystack. After his arrest he was part of the time in jail and part of the time out on bail. He had been tried three times, but through law quibbles had escaped conviction. A change of venue to Santa Barbara had been granted. The people determined to take the law in their own hands. On the morning of November 30, 1858, the body of Pancho was hanging from a beam across the gateway of the jail yard. Four of the banditti were executed by the people of San Gabriel, and Leonardo Lopez, under sentence of the court, was hanged by the sheriff. The gang was broken up and the moral atmosphere of Los Angeles somewhat purified.

November 17, 1862, John Rains of Cucamonga ranch was murdered near Azusa. December 9, 1863, the sheriff was taking Manuel Cerradel to San Quentin to serve a ten years' sentence. When the sheriff went aboard the tug boat Cricket at Wilmington, to proceed to the Senator, quite a number of other persons took passage. On the way down the harbor, the prisoner was seized by the passengers, who were vigilantes, and hanged to the rigging; after hanging twenty minutes the body was taken down, stones tied to the feet and it was thrown overboard. Cerradel was implicated in the murder of Rains.

In the fall of 1863 lawlessness had again become rampant in Los Angeles; one of the chiefs of the criminal class was a desperado by the name of Boston Daimwood. He was suspected of the murder of a miner on the desert and was loud in his threats against the lives of various citizens. He and four other well-known criminals, Wood, Chase, Ybarra and Olivas, all of whom were either murderers or horse thieves, were lodged in jail. On the 21st of November two hundred armed citizens battered down the doors of the jail, took the five wretches out and hanged them to the portico of the old court house on Spring street, which stood on the present site of the Phillips block.

On the 24th of October, 1871, occurred in Los Angeles a most disgraceful affair, known as the Chinese massacre. It grew out of one of those interminable feuds between rival tongs of highbinders, over a woman. Desultory firing had been kept up between the rival factions throughout the day. About 5:30 p. m. Policeman Bilderrain visited the seat of war, an old adobe house on the corner of Arcadia street and "Nigger alley," known as the Coronel building. Finding himself unable to quell the disturbance he called for help. Robert Thompson, an old resident of the city, was among the first to reach the porch of the house in answer to the police call for help. He received a mortal wound from a bullet fired through the door of a Chinese store. He died an hour later in Wollweber's drug store. The Chinese in the meantime barricaded the doors and windows of the old adobe and prepared for battle. The news of the fight and of the killing of Thompson spread throughout the city and an immense crowd gathered in the streets around the building with the intention of wreaking vengeance on the Chinese.

The first attempt by the mob to dislodge the Chinamen was by cutting holes through the flat brea covered roof and firing pistol shots into the interior of the building. One of the besieged crawled out of the building and attempted to escape, but was shot down before half way across Negro alley. Another attempted to escape into Los Angeles street; he was seized, dragged to the gate of Tomlinson's corral on New High street, and hanged.

About 9 o'clock a part of the mob had succeeded in battering a hole in the eastern end of the building; through this the rioters, with demoniac howlings, rushed in, firing pistols to the right and left. Huddled in corners and hidden behind boxes they found eight terror-stricken Chinamen, who begged piteously for their lives. These were brutally dragged out and turned over to the fiendish mob. One was dragged to death by a rope around his neck; three, more dead than alive from kicking and beating, were hanged to a wagon on Los Angeles street; and four were hanged to the gateway of Tomlinson's corral. Two of the victims were mere boys. While the shootings and hangings were going on thieves were looting the other houses in the Chinese quarters. The houses were broken into, trunks, boxes and other receptacles rifled of their contents, and any Chinamen found in the buildings were dragged forth to slaughter. Among the victims was a doctor, Gene Tung, a quiet, inoffensive old man. He pleaded for his life in good English, offering his captors all his money, some $2,000 to $3,000. He was hanged, his money stolen and one of his fingers cut off to obtain a ring he wore. The amount of money stolen by the mob from the Chinese quarters was variously estimated at from $40,000 to $50,000.

About 9:30 p. m. the law abiding citizens, under the leadership of Henry Hazard, R. M. Widney, H. C. Austin, Sheriff Burns and others, had rallied in sufficient force to make an attempt to quell the mob. Proceeding to Chinatown they rescued several Chinamen from the rioters. The mob finding armed opposition quickly dispersed.

The results of the mob's murderous work were ten men hanged on Los Angeles street, some to wagons and some to awnings; five hanged at Tomlinson's corral and four shot to death in Negro alley, nineteen in all. Of all the Chinamen murdered, the only one known to be implicated in the highbinder war was Ah Choy. All the other leaders escaped to the country before the attack was made by the mob. The

grand jury, after weeks of investigation, found indictments against one hundred and fifty persons alleged to have been actively engaged in the massacre. The jury's report severely censured "the officers of this county, as well as of this city, whose duty it is to preserve peace," and declared that they "were deplorably inefficient in the performance of their duty during the scenes of confusion and bloodshed which disgraced our city, and has cast a reproach upon the people of Los Angeles county." Of all those indicted but six were convicted. These were sentenced to from four to six years in the state's prison, but through some legal technicality they were all released after serving a part of their sentence.

The last execution in Los Angeles by a vigilance committee was that of Michael Lachenias, a French desperado, who had killed five or six men. The offense for which he was hanged was the murder of Jacob Bell, a little inoffensive man, who owned a small farm near that of Lachenias, south of the city. There had been a slight difference between them in regard to the use of water from a zanja. Lachenias, without a word of warning, rode up to Bell, where he was at work in his field, drew a revolver and shot him dead. The murderer then rode into town and boastingly informed the people of what he had done and told them where they would find Bell's body. He then surrendered himself to the officers and was locked up in jail.

Public indignation was aroused. A meeting was held in Stearns' hall on Los Angeles street. A vigilance committee was formed and the details of the execution planned. On the morning of the 17th of December, 1870, a body of three hundred armed men marched to the jail, took Lachenias out and proceeded with him to Tomlinson's corral on Temple and New High streets, and hanged him. The crowd then quietly dispersed.

A strange metamorphosis took place in the character of the lower classes of the native Californians after the conquest. (The better classes were not changed in character by the changed conditions of the country, but throughout were true gentlemen and most worthy and honorable citizens.) Before the conquest by the Americans they were a peaceful and contented people. There were no organized bands of outlaws among them. After the discovery of gold the evolution of a banditti began and they produced some of the boldest robbers and most daring highwaymen the world has seen.

The injustice of their conquerors had much to do with producing this change. The Americans not only took possession of their country and its government, but in many cases they despoiled them of their ancestral acres and their personal property. Injustice rankles; and it is not strange that the more lawless among the native population sought revenge and retaliation. They were often treated by the rougher American element as aliens and intruders, who had no right in the land of their birth. Such treatment embittered them more than loss of property. There were those, however, among the natives, who, once entered upon a career of crime, found robbery and murder congenial occupations. The plea of injustice was no extenuation for their crimes.

Joaquin Murieta was the most noted of the Mexican and Californian desperadoes of the early '50s. He was born in Sonora of good family and received some education. He came to California with the Sonoran migration of 1849, and secured a rich claim on the Stanislaus. He was dispossessed of this by half a dozen American desperadoes, his wife abused and both driven from the diggings. He next took up a ranch on the Calaveras, but from this he was driven by two Americans. He next tried mining in the Murphy diggings, but was unsuccessful. His next occupation was that of a monte player. While riding into town on a horse borrowed from his half-brother he was stopped by an American, who claimed that the horse was stolen from him. Joaquin protested that the horse was a borrowed one from his half-brother and offered to procure witnesses to prove it. He was dragged from the saddle amid cries of "hang the greaser." He was taken to the ranch of his brother. The brother was hanged to the limb of a tree, no other proof of his crime being needed than the assertion of the American that the horse was his. Joaquin was stripped, bound

to the same tree and flogged. The demon was aroused within him, and no wonder, he vowed revenge on the men who had murdered his brother and beaten him. Faithfully he carried out his vow of vengeance. Had he doomed only these to slaughter it would have been but little loss, but the implacable foe of every American, he made the innocent suffer with the guilty. He was soon at the head of a band of desperadoes, varying in numbers from twenty to forty. For three years he and his band were the terror of the state. From the northern mines to the Mexican border they committed robberies and murders. Claudio and some of his subordinates were killed, but the robber chief seemed to bear a charmed life. Large rewards were offered for him dead or alive and numerous attempts were made to take him. Capt. Harry Love at the head of a band of rangers August, 1853, came upon Joaquin and six of his gang in a camp near the Tejon Pass. In the fight that ensued Joaquin and Three Fingered Jack were killed. With the loss of their leaders the organization was broken up.

The last organized band of robbers which terrorized the southern part of the state was that of Vasquez. Tiburcio Vasquez was born in Monterey county, of Mexican parents, in 1837. Early in life he began a career of crime. After committing a number of robberies and thefts he was captured and sent to San Quentin for horse stealing. He was discharged in 1863, but continued his disreputable career. He united with Procopio and Soto, two noted bandits. Soto was killed by Sheriff Morse of Alameda county in a desperate encounter. Vasquez and his gang of outlaws committed robberies throughout the southern part of the state, ranging from Santa Clara and Alameda counties to the Mexican line. Early in May, 1874, Sheriff William Rowland of Los Angeles county, who had repeatedly tried to capture Vasquez, but whose plans had been foiled by the bandit's spies, learned that the robber chief was making his headquarters at the house of Greek George, about ten miles due west of Los Angeles, toward Santa Monica, in a cañon of the Cahuenga mountains. The morning of May 15 was set for the attack. To avert suspicion Sheriff Rowland remained in the city. The attacking force, eight in number, were under command of Under-Sheriff Albert Johnson, the other members of the force were Major H. M. Mitchell, attorney-at-law; J. S. Bryant, city constable; E. Harris, policeman; W. E. Rogers, citizen; B. F. Hartley, chief of police; and D. K. Smith, citizen, all of Los Angeles, and a Mr. Beers, of San Francisco, special correspondent of the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

At 4 a. m. on the morning of the 15th of May the posse reached Major Mitchell's bee ranch in a small cañon not far from Greek George's. From this point the party reconnoitered the bandit's hiding place and planned an attack. As the deputy sheriff and his men were about to move against the house a high box wagon drove up the cañon from the direction of Greek George's place. In this were two natives; the sheriff's party climbed into the high wagon box and, lying down, compelled the driver to drive up to the back of Greek George's house, threatening him and his companion with death on the least sign of treachery. Reaching the house they surrounded it and burst in the door. Vasquez, who had been eating his breakfast, attempted to escape through a small window. The party opened fire on him. Being wounded and finding himself surrounded on all sides, he surrendered. He was taken to the Los Angeles jail. His injuries proved to be mere flesh wounds. He received a great deal of maudlin sympathy from silly women, who magnified him into a hero. He was taken to San José, tried for murder, found guilty and hanged, March 19, 1875. His band was thereupon broken up and dispersed.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FILIBUSTERS AND FILIBUSTERING.

THE rush of immigration to California in the early '50s had brought to the state a class of adventurers who were too lazy or too proud to work. They were ready to engage in almost any lawless undertaking that promised plunder and adventure. The defeat of the pro-slavery politicians in their attempts to fasten their "peculiar institution" upon any part of the territory acquired from Mexico had embittered them. The more unscrupulous among them began to look around for new fields, over which slavery might be extended. As it could be made profitable only in southern lands, Cuba, Mexico and Central America became the arenas for enacting that form of piracy called "filibustering." The object of these forays, when organized by Americans, was to seize upon territory as had been done in Texas and erect it into an independent government that ultimately would be annexed to the United States and become slave territory. Although the armed invasion of countries with which the United States was at peace was a direct violation of its neutrality laws, yet the federal office-holders in the southern states and in California, all of whom belonged to the pro-slavery faction, not only made no attempt to prevent these invasions, but secretly aided them or at least sympathized with them to the extent of allowing them to recruit men and depart without molestation. There was a glamour of romance about these expeditions that influenced unthinking young men of no fixed principles to join them; these were to be pitied. But the leaders of them and their abettors were cold, selfish, scheming politicians, willing, if need be, to overthrow the government of the nation and build on its ruins an oligarchy of slave holders.

The first to organize a filibuster expedition in California was a Frenchman. Race prejudices were strong in early mining days. The United States had recently been at war with Mexico. The easy conquest of that country had bred a contempt for its peoples. The Sonoran migration, that begun soon after the discovery of gold in California, brought a very undesirable class of immigrants to the state. Sailing vessels had brought from the west coast of South America another despised class of mongrel Spanish. It exasperated the Americans to see these people digging gold and carrying it out of the country. This antagonism extended, more or less, to all foreigners, but was strongest against men of the Latin races. Many Frenchmen, through emigration schemes gotten up in Paris, had been induced to come to California. Some of these were men of education and good standing, but they fell under the ban of prejudices and by petty persecutions were driven out of the mines and forced to earn a precarious living in the cities. There was a great deal of dissatisfaction among the Frenchmen with existing conditions in California, and they were ready to embark in any scheme that promised greater rewards. Among the French population of San Francisco was a man of noble family, Count Gaston Roaul de Raousset-Boulbon. He had lost his ancestral lands and was in reduced circumstances. He was a man of education and ability, but visionary. He conceived the idea of establishing a French colony on the Sonora border and opening the mines that had been abandoned on account of Apache depredations. By colonizing the border he hoped to put a stop to American encroachments. He divulged his scheme to the French consul, Dillon, at San Francisco, who entered heartily into it. Raousset was sent to the City of Mexico, where he obtained from President Arista the desired concession of land and the promise of financial assistance from a leading banking house there on condition that he proceed at

once to Sonora with an armed company of Frenchmen. Returning to San Francisco he quickly recruited from among the French residents two hundred and fifty men and with these he sailed for Guaymas, where he arrived early in June, 1852. He was well received at first, but soon found himself regarded with suspicion. He was required by the authorities to remain at Guaymas. After a month's detention he was allowed to proceed through Hermosilla to the Arizona border.

When about one hundred miles from Arispe he received an order from General Blanco, then at Hermosilla, to report to him. While halting at El Caric to consider his next move he received a reinforcement of about eighty French colonists, who had come to the country the year before under command of Pindray. Pindray had met his death in a mysterious manner. It was supposed that he was poisoned. The colonist had remained in the country. Raousset sent one of his men, Garnier, to interview Blanco. General Blanco gave his ultimatum—First, that the Frenchmen should become naturalized citizens of Mexico; or, secondly, they should wait until letters of security could be procured from the capital, when they might proceed to Arizona and take possession of any mines they found; or, lastly, they might put themselves under the leadership of a Mexican officer and then proceed. Raousset and his followers refused to accede to any of these propositions. Blanco began collecting men and munitions of war to oppose the French. Raousset raised the flag of revolt and invited the inhabitants to join him in gaining the independence of Sonora. After drilling his men a few weeks and preparing for hostilities he began his march against Hermosilla, distant one hundred and fifty miles. He met with no opposition, the people along his route welcoming the French. General Blanco had twelve hundred men to defend the city. But instead of preparing to resist the advancing army he sent delegates to Raousset to offer him money to let the city alone. Raousset sent back word that at 8 o'clock he would begin the attack; and at 11 would be master of the city. He was as good as his word. The Frenchmen charged the Mexicans and although the opposing force numbered four to one of the assailants, Raousset's men captured the town and drove Blanco's troops out of it. The Mexican loss was two hundred killed and wounded. The French loss seventeen killed and twenty-three wounded Raousset's men were mere adventurers and were in the country without any definite purpose. Could he have relied on them, he might have captured all of Sonora.

He abandoned Hermosilla. Blanco, glad to get rid of the filibusters on any terms, raised $11,000 and chartered a vessel to carry them back to San Francisco. A few elected to remain. Raousset went to Mazatlan and a few months later he reached San Francisco, where he was lionized as a hero. Upon an invitation from Santa Ana, who had succeeded Arista as president, he again visited the Mexican capital in June, 1853. Santa Ana was profuse in promises. He wanted Raousset to recruit five hundred Frenchmen to protect the Sonora frontier against the Indians, promising ample remuneration and good pay for their services. Raousset, finding that Santa Ana's promises could not be relied upon, and that the wiley schemer was about to have him arrested, made his escape to Acapulco, riding several horses to death to reach there ahead of his pursuers. He embarked immediately for San Francisco.

In the meantime another filibuster, William Walker, with forty-one followers had landed at La Paz November 3, 1853, and proclaimed a new nation, the Republic of Lower California. Santa Ana, frightened by this new invasion, began making overtures through the Mexican consul, Luis del Valle, at San Francisco to secure French recruits for military service on the Mexican frontier. Del Valle applied to the French consul, Dillon, and Dillon applied to Raousset. Raousset soon secured eight hundred recruits and chartered the British ship Challenge to take them to Guaymas. Then the pro-slavery federal officials at San Francisco were aroused to action. The neutrality laws were being violated. It was not that they cared for the laws, but they feared that this new filibustering scheme might interfere with their pet, Walker, who had, in addition to the Republic of Lower California, founded another nation, the Republic of Sonora,

in both of which he had decreed slavery. The ship was seized, but after a short detention was allowed to sail with three hundred Frenchmen.

Del Valle was vigorously prosecuted by the federal authorities for violation of a section of the neutrality laws, which forbade the enlistment within the United States of soldiers to serve under a foreign power. Dillon, the French consul, was implicated and on his refusal to testify in court he was arrested. He fell back on his dignity and asserted that his nation had been insulted through him and closed his consulate. For a time there were fears of international trouble.

Del Valle was found guilty of violating the neutrality laws, but was never punished. The pro-slavery pet, Walker, and his gang were driven out of Mexico and the federal officials had no more interest in enforcing neutrality laws. Meanwhile Raousset, after great difficulties, had joined the three hundred Frenchmen at Guaymas. A strip of northern Sonora had been sold under what is known as the Gadsden purchase to the United States. There was no longer any opportunity to secure mines there from Mexico, but Raousset thought he could erect a barrier to any further encroachments of the United States and eventually secure Mexico for France. His first orders on reaching Guaymas to the commander of the French, Desmaris, was to attack the Mexican troops and capture the city. His order did not reach Desmaris. His messenger was arrested and the Mexican authorities begun collecting forces to oppose Raousset. Having failed to receive reinforcements, and his condition becoming unendurable, he made an attack on the Mexican forces, twelve hundred strong. After a brave assault he was defeated. He surrendered to the French consul on the assurance that his life and that of his men would be spared. He was treacherously surrendered by the French consul to the Mexican general. He was tried by a court-martial, found guilty and sentenced to be shot. On the morning of August 12, 1854, he was executed. His misguided followers were shipped back to San Francisco. So ended the first California filibuster.

The first American born filibuster who organized one of these piratical expeditions was William Walker, a native of Tennessee. He came to California with the rush of 1850. He had started out in life to be a doctor, had studied law and finally drifted into journalism. He belonged to the extreme pro-slavery faction. He located in San Francisco and found employment on the *Herald*. His bitter invective against the courts for their laxity in punishing crime raised the ire of Judge Levi Parsons, who fined Walker $500 for contempt of court and ordered him imprisoned until the fine was paid. Walker refused to pay the fine and went to jail. He at once bounded into notoriety. He was a martyr to the freedom of the press. A public indignation meeting was called. An immense crowd of sympathizers called on Walker in jail. A writ of habeas corpus was sued out and he was released from jail and discharged. In the legislature of 1852 he tried to have Parson impeached, but failed. He next opened a law office in Marysville.

The success of Raousset-Boulbon in his first expedition to Sonora had aroused the ambition of Walker to become the founder of a new government. His first efforts were directed towards procuring from Mexico a grant on the Sonora border; this was to be colonized with Americans, who would protect the Mexican frontier from Apache incursion. This was a mere subterfuge and the Mexican authorities were not deceived by it—he got no grant. To forestall Raousset-Boulbon, who was again in the field with his revolutionary scheme, Walker opened a recruiting office. Each man was to receive a square league of land and plunder galore. The bait took, meetings were held, scrip sold and recruits flocked to Walker. The brig Arrow was chartered to carry the liberators to their destination. The pro-slavery officials, who held all the offices, winked at this violation of the neutrality laws. There was but one man, General Hitchcock, who dared to do his duty. He seized the vessel; it was released, and Hitchcock removed from command. Jefferson Davis was secretary of war and Hitchcock was made to feel his wrath for interfering with one of Davis' pet projects, the extension of slavery. Walker

sailed in another vessel, the Caroline, taking with him forty-one of his followers, well armed with rifles and revolvers to develop the resources of the country.

The vessel with Walker and his gang sneaked into La Paz under cover of a Mexican flag. He seized the unsuspecting governor and other officials and then proclaimed the Republic of Lower California. He appointed from his following a number of officials with high sounding titles. He adopted the code of Louisiana as the law of the land. This, as far as he was able, introduced into the country human slavery, which indeed was about the sole purpose of his filibustering schemes. Fearing that the Mexican government might send an expedition across the gulf to stop his marauding, he slipped out of the harbor and sailed up to Todas Santos, so as to be near the United States in case the Mexican government should make it uncomfortable for him. With this as headquarters he began preparations for an invasion of Sonora. His delectable followers appropriated to their own use whatever they could find in the poverty-stricken country. The news of the great victory at La Paz reached San Francisco and created great enthusiasm among Walker's sympathizers. His vice-president, Watkins, enrolled three hundred recruits and sent them to him, "greatly to the relief of the criminal calendar."

Walker began to drill his recruits for the conquest of Sonora. These patriots, who had rallied to the support of the new republic, under the promise of rich churches to pillage and well-stocked ranches to plunder, did not take kindly to a diet of jerked beef and beans and hard drilling under a torrid sun. Some rebelled and it became necessary for Walker to use the lash and even to shoot two of them for the good of the cause. The natives rebelled when they found their cattle and frijoles disappearing and the so-called battle of La Gualla was fought between the natives and a detachment of Walker's foragers, several of whom were killed. The news of this battle reached San Francisco and was magnified into a great victory. The new republic had been baptized in the blood of its martyrs.

After three months spent in drilling, Walker began his march to Sonora with but one hundred men, and a small herd of cattle for food. Most of the others had deserted. In his journey across the desert the Indians stole some of his cattle and more of his men deserted. On reaching the Colorado river about half of his force abandoned the expedition and marched to Fort Yuma, where Major Heintzelman relieved their necessities. Walker with thirty-five men had started back for Santa Tomas. They brought up at Tia Juana, where they crossed the American line, surrendered and gave their paroles to Major McKinstry of the United States army. When Walker and his Falstaffian army reached San Francisco they were lionized as heroes. All they had done was to kill a few inoffensive natives on the peninsula and steal their cattle. Their valiant leader had proclaimed two republics and decreed (on paper) that slavery should prevail in them. He had had several of his dupes whipped and two of them shot, which was probably the most commendable thing he had done. His proclamations were ridiculous and his officers with their high sounding titles had returned from their burlesque conquest with scarcely rags enough on them to cover their nakedness. Yet, despite all this, the attempt to enlarge the area of slave territory covered him with glory and his rooms were the resort of all the pro-slavery officials of California.

The federal officials made a show of prosecuting the filibusters. Watkins, the vice-president of the Republic of Lower California and Sonora, was put on trial in the United States district court. The evidence was so plain and the proof so convincing that the judge was compelled to convict against his will. This delightful specimen of a pro-slavery justice expressed from the bench his sympathy for "those spirited men who had gone forth to upbuild the broken altars and rekindle the extinguished fires of liberty in Mexico and Lower California." With such men to enforce the laws, it was not strange that vigilance committees were needed in California. Watkins and Emory, the so-called secretary of state, were fined each $1,500. The fines were never paid and no effort was ever made to compel their payment. The secretary of war and the secretary of the navy were put

on trial and acquitted. This ended the shameful farce.

Walker's next expedition was to Nicaragua in 1855. A revolution was in progress there. He joined forces with the Democratic party or anti-legitimists. He took but fifty-six men with him. These were called the American phalanx. His first engagement was an attack upon the fortified town of Rivas. Although his men fought bravely, they were defeated and two of his best officers, Kewen and Crocker, killed. His next fight was the battle of Virgin Bay, in which, with fifty Americans and one hundred and twenty natives, he defeated six hundred legitimists. He received reinforcements from California and reorganized his force. He seized the Accessory Transit Company's lake steamer La Virgin against the protest of the company, embarked his troops on board of it and by an adroit movement captured the capital city, Granada. His exploits were heralded abroad and recruits flocked to his support. The legitimist had fired upon a steamer bringing passengers up the San Juan river and killed several. Walker in retaliation ordered Mateo Mazorga, the legitimist secretary of state, whom he had taken prisoner at Granada, shot. Peace was declared between the two parties and Patrico Rivas made president. Rivas was president only in name; Walker was the real head of the government and virtually dictator.

He was now at the zenith of his power. By a series of arbitrary acts he confiscated the Accessory Transit Company's vessels and charter. This company had become a power in California travel and had secured the exclusive transit of passengers by the Nicaragua route, then the most popular route to California.

By this action he incurred the enmity of Vanderbilt, who henceforth worked for his downfall. The confiscation of the transit company's right destroyed confidence in the route, and travel virtually ceased by it. This was a blow to the prosperity of the country. To add to Walker's misfortunes, the other Central American states combined to drive the hated foreigners out of the country. He had gotten rid of Rivas and had secured the presidency for himself. He had secured the repeal of the Nicaragua laws against slavery and thus paved the way for the introduction of his revered institution. His army now amounted to about twelve hundred men, mostly recruited from California and the slave states. The cholera broke out among his forces and in the armies of the allies and numbers died. His cause was rapidly waning. Many of his dupes deserted. A series of disasters arising from his blundering and incapacity, resulted in his overthrow. He and sixteen of his officers were taken out of the country on the United States sloop of war, St. Mary's. The governor of Panama refused to allow him to land in that city. He was sent across the isthmus under guard to Aspinwall and from there with his staff took passage to New Orleans. His misguided followers were transported to Panama and found their way back to the United States.

Upon arriving at New Orleans he began recruiting for a new expedition. One hundred and fifty of his "emigrants" sailed from Mobile; the pro-slavery federal officials allowing them to depart. They were wrecked on Glover's reef, about seventy miles from Balize. They were rescued by a British vessel and returned to Mobile. Walker, with one hundred and thirty-two armed emigrants, landed at Punta Arenas, November 25, 1857, and hoisted his Nicaraguan flag and called himself commander-in-chief of the army of Nicaragua. He and his men began a career of plunder; seized the fort or castillo on the San Juan river; captured steamers, killed several inhabitants and made prisoners of others. Commander Paulding, of the United States flagship Wabash, then on that coast, regarded these acts as rapine and murder, and Walker and his men as outlaws and pirates. He broke up their camp, disarmed Walker and his emigrants and sent them to the United States for trial. But instead of Walker and his followers being tried for piracy their pro-slavery abettors made heroes of them.

Walker's last effort to regain his lost prestige in Nicaragua was made in 1860. With two hundred men, recruited in New Orleans, he landed near Truxillo, in Honduras. His intention was to make his way by land to Nicaragua. He very soon found armed opposition. His new recruits

were not inclined to sacrifice themselves to make him dictator of some country that they had no interest in. So they refused to stand up against the heavy odds they encountered in every fight. Finding his situation growing desperate, he was induced to surrender himself to the captain of the British man-of-war Icarus. The authorities of Honduras made a demand on the captain for Walker. That British officer promptly turned the filibuster over to them. He was tried by a court-martial, hastily convened, found guilty of the offenses charged, and condemned to die. September 25, 1860, he was marched out and, in accordance with his sentence, shot to death.

Walker's career is an anomaly in the history of mankind. Devoid of all the characteristics of a great leader, without a commanding presence, puny in size, homely to the point of ugliness, in disposition, cold, cruel, selfish, heartless, stolidly indifferent to the suffering of others, living only to gratify the cravings of his inordinate ambition—it is strange that such a man could attract thousands to offer their lives for his aggrandizement and sacrifice themselves for a cause of which he was the exponent, a cause the most ignoble, the extension of human slavery, that for such a man and for such a cause thousands did offer up their lives is a sad commentary on the political morality of that time. It is said that over ten thousand men joined Walker in his filibustering schemes and that fifty-seven hundred of these found graves in Nicaragua. Of the number of natives killed in battle or who died of disease, there is no record, but it greatly exceeded Walker's losses.

While Walker was attaining some success in Nicaragua, another California filibuster entered the arena. This was Henry A. Crabb, a Stockton lawyer. Like Walker, he was a native of Tennessee, and, like him, too, he was a rabid pro-slavery advocate. He had served in the assembly and one term in the state senate. It is said he was the author of a bill to allow slaveholders who brought their slaves into California before its admission to take their human chattels back into bondage. He was originally a Whig, but had joined the Know-Nothing party and was a candidate of that party for United States senator in 1856; but his extreme southern principles prevented his election. He had married a Spanish wife, who had numerous and influential relatives in Sonora. It was claimed that Crabb had received an invitation from some of these to bring down an armed force of Americans to overthrow the government and make himself master of the country. Whether he did or did not receive such an invitation, he did recruit a body of men for some kind of service in Sonora. With a force of one hundred men, well armed with rifles and revolvers, he sailed, in January, 1857, on the steamer Sea Bird, from San Francisco to San Pedro and from there marched overland. As usual, no attempt was made by the federal authorities to prevent him from invading a neighboring country with an armed force.

He entered Sonora at Sonita, a small town one hundred miles from Yuma. His men helped themselves to what they could find. When approaching the town of Cavorca they were fired upon by a force of men lying in ambush. The fire was kept up from all quarters. They made a rush and gained the shelter of the houses. In the charge two of their men had been killed and eighteen wounded. In the house they had taken possession of they were exposed to shots from a church. Crabb and fifteen of his men attempted to blow open the doors of the church with gunpowder, but in the attempt, which failed, five of the men were killed, and seven, including Crabb, wounded. After holding out for five days they surrendered to the Mexicans, Gabilondo, the Mexican commander, promising to spare their lives. Next morning they were marched out in squads of five to ten and shot. Crabb was tied to a post and a hundred balls fired into him; his head was cut off and placed in a jar of mescal. The only one spared was a boy of fifteen, Charles E. Evans. A party of sixteen men whom Crabb had left at Sonita was surprised and all massacred. The boy Evans was the only one left to tell the fate of the ill-starred expedition. This put an end to filibustering expeditions into Sonora.

These armed forays on the neighboring countries to the south of the United States ceased with the beginning of the war of secession. They had all been made for the purpose of acquiring slave territory. The leaders of them

were southern men and the rank and file were mostly recruited from natives of the slave states. Bancroft truthfully says of these filibustering expeditions: "They were foul robberies, covered by the flimsiest of political and social pretenses, gilded by false aphorisms and profane distortion of sacred formulæ. Liberty dragged in the mud for purposes of theft and human enslavement; the cause of humanity bandied in filthy mouths to promote atrocious butcheries; peaceful, blooming valleys given over to devastation and ruin; happy families torn asunder, and widows and orphans cast adrift to nurse affliction; and finally, the peace of nations imperiled, and the morality of right insulted. The thought of such results should obliterate all romance, and turn pride to shame. They remain an ineffaceable stain upon the government of the most progressive of nations, and veil in dismal irony the dream of manifest destiny."

CHAPTER XXIX.

FROM GOLD TO GRAIN AND FRUITS.

UNDER the Spanish and Mexican jurisdictions there was but little cultivation of the soil in California. While the gardens of some of the missions, and particularly those of Santa Barbara and San Buenaventura, presented a most appetizing display of fruit and vegetables, at the ranchos there were but meager products. Gilroy says that when he came to the country, in 1814, potatoes were not cultivated and it was a rare thing outside of the mission gardens to find any onions or cabbages. A few acres of wheat and a small patch of maize or corn furnished bread, or, rather, tortillas for a family. At the missions a thick soup made of boiled wheat or maize and meat was the standard article of diet for the neophytes. This was portioned out to them in the quantity of about three pints to each person. Langsdorff, who witnessed the distribution of soup rations to the Indians at Santa Clara, says: "It appeared incomprehensible how any one could three times a day eat so large a portion of such nourishing food." The neophytes evidently had healthy appetites. Frijoles (beans) were the staple vegetable dish in Spanish families. These were served up at almost every meal. The bill of fare for a native Californian family was very simple.

A considerable amount of wheat was raised at the more favorably located missions. It was not raised for export, but to feed the neophytes. The wheat fields had to be fenced in, or perhaps it would be more in accordance with the facts to say that the cattle had to be fenced out. As timber was scarce, adobe brick did duty for fencing as well as for house building. Sometimes the low adobe walls were made high and safe by placing on top of them a row of the skulls of Spanish cattle with the long, curving horns attached to them pointing outward. These were brought from the matanzas or slaughter corrals where there were thousands of them lying around. It was almost impossible for man or beast to scale such a fence.

The agricultural implements of the early Californians were few and simple. The Mexican plow was a forked stick with an iron point fastened to the fork or branch that penetrated the ground. It turned no furrow, but merely scratched the surface of the ground. After sowing it was a race between the weeds and the grain. It depended on the season which won. If the season was cold and backward, so that the seed did not sprout readily, the weeds got the start and won out easily. And yet with such primitive cultivation the yield was sometimes astonishing. At the Mission San Diego the crop of wheat one year produced one hundred and ninety-five fold. As the agriculturist had a large area from which to select his arable land, only the richest soils were chosen. Before the discovery of gold there was little or no market

for grain, and each ranchero raised only enough for his own use. For a time there was some trade with the Russians in grain to supply their settlements in Alaska, but this did not continue long.

When some of the Americans who came in the gold rush began to turn their attention to agriculture they greatly underrated the productiveness of the country. To men raised where the summer rains were needed to raise a crop it seemed impossible to produce a crop in a country that was rainless for six or eight months of the year. All attempts at agriculture hitherto had been along the rivers, and it was generally believed that the plains back from the water courses could never be used for any other purpose than cattle raising.

The mining rush of '49 found California without vegetables and fresh fruit. The distance was too great for the slow transportation of that day to ship these into the country. Those who first turned their attention to market gardening made fortunes. The story is told of an old German named Schwartz who had a small ranch a few miles below Sacramento. In 1848, when everybody was rushing to the mines, he remained on his farm, unmoved by the stories of the wonderful finds of gold. Anticipating a greater rush in 1849, he planted several acres in watermelons. As they ripened he took them up to the city and disposed of them at prices ranging from $1 to $5, according to size. He realized that season from his melons alone $30,000. The first field of cabbages was grown by George H. Peck and a partner in 1850. From defective seed or some other cause the cabbage failed to come to a head. Supposing that the defect was in the climate and not in the cabbage, the honest rancher marketed his crop in San Francisco, carrying a cabbage in each hand along the streets until he found a customer. To the query why there were no heads to them the reply was, "That's the way cabbages grow in California." He got rid of his crop at the rate of $1 apiece for each headless cabbage. But all the vegetable growing experiments were not a financial success. The high price of potatoes in 1849 started a tuber-growing epidemic in 1850. Hundreds of acres were planted to "spuds" in the counties contiguous to San Francisco, the agriculturists paying as high as fifteen cents per pound for seed. The yield was enormous and the market was soon overstocked. The growers who could not dispose of their potatoes stacked them up in huge piles in the fields; and there they rotted, filling the country around with their effluvia. The next year nobody planted potatoes, and prices went up to the figures of '49 and the spring of '50.

The size to which vegetables grew astonished the amateur agriculturists. Beets, when allowed to grow to maturity, resembled the trunks of trees; onions looked like squash, while a patch of pumpkins resembled a tented field; and corn grew so tall that the stalks had to be felled to get at the ears. Onions were a favorite vegetable in the mining camps on account of their anti-scorbutic properties as a preventive of scurvy. The honest miner was not fastidious about the aroma. They were a profitable crop, too. One ranchero in the Napa valley was reported to have cleared $8,000 off two acres of onions.

With the decline of gold mining, wheat became the staple product of central California. The nearness to shipping ports and the large yields made wheat growing very profitable. In the years immediately following the Civil war the price ranged high and a fortune was sometimes made from the products of a single field. It may be necessary to explain that the field might contain anywhere from five hundred to a thousand acres. The grain area was largely extended by the discovery that land in the upper mesas, which had been regarded as only fit for pasture land, was good for cereals. The land in the southern part of the state, which was held in large grants, continued to be devoted to cattle raising for at least two decades after the American conquest. After the discovery of gold, cattle raising became immensely profitable. Under the Mexican régime a steer was worth what his hide and tallow would bring or about $2 or $3. The rush of immigration in 1849 sent the price of cattle up until a fat bullock sold for from $30 to $35. The profit to a ranchero who had a thousand or more marketable cattle was a fortune. A good, well-stocked

cattle ranch was more valuable than a gold mine.

The enormous profits in cattle raising dazed the Californians. Had they been thrifty and economical, they might have grown rich. But the sudden influx of wealth engendered extravagant habits and when the price of cattle fell, as it did in a few years, the spendthrift customs were continued. When the cattle market was dull it was easy to raise money by mortgaging the ranch. With interest at the rate of 5 per cent per month, compounded monthly, it did not take long for land and cattle both to change hands. It is related of the former owner of the Santa Gertrudes rancho that he borrowed $500 from a money lender, at 5 per cent a month, to beat a poker game, but did not succeed. Then he borrowed more money to pay the interest on the first and kept on doing so until interest and principal amounted to $100,000; then the mortgage was foreclosed and property to-day worth $1,000,000 was lost for a paltry $500 staked on a poker game.

Gold mining continued to be the prevailing industry of northern California. The gold production reached its acme in 1853, when the total yield was $65,000,000. From that time there was a gradual decline in production and in the number of men employed. Many had given up the hopes of striking it rich and quit the business for something more certain and less illusive. The production of gold in 1852 was $60,000,000, yet the average yield to each man of the one hundred thousand engaged in it was only about $600, or a little over $2 per day to the man, scarcely living wages as prices were then. It has been claimed that the cost of producing the gold, counting all expenditures, was three times the value of that produced. Even if it did, the development of the country and impulse given to trade throughout the world would more than counterbalance the loss.

At the time of the discovery of gold nearly all of the fruit raised in California was produced at Santa Barbara and Los Angeles. In Spanish and Mexican days, Los Angeles had been the principal wine-producing district of California. Although wine, as well as other spirituous liquors, were in demand, the vineyardists found it more profitable to ship their grapes to San Francisco than to manufacture them into wine. Grapes retailed in the city of San Francisco at from twelve and one-half to twenty-five cents a pound. The vineyards were as profitable as the cattle ranches. The mission Indians did the labor in the vineyards and were paid in aguardiente on Saturday night. By Sunday morning they were all drunk; then they were gathered up and put into a corral. On Monday morning they were sold to pay the cost of their dissipation. It did not take many years to kill off the Indians. The city has grown over the former sites of the vineyards.

The first orange trees were planted at the Mission San Gabriel about the year 1815 and a few at Los Angeles about the same time. But little attention was given to the industry by the Californians. The first extensive grove was planted by William Wolfskill in 1840. The impression then prevailed that oranges could be grown only on the low lands near the river. The idea of attempting to grow them on the mesa lands was scouted at by the Californians and the Americans. The success that attended the Riverside experiment demonstrated that they could be grown on the mesas, and that the fruit produced was superior to that grown on the river bottoms. This gave such an impetus to the industry in the south that it has distanced all others. The yearly shipment to the eastern markets is twenty thousand car loads. The citrus belt is extending every year.

The Californians paid but little attention to the quality of the fruit they raised. The seed fell in the ground and sprouted. If the twig survived and grew to be a tree, they ate the fruit, asking no question whether the quality might be improved. The pears grown at the missions and at some of the ranch houses were hard and tasteless. It was said they never ripened. A small black fig was cultivated in a few places, but the quantity of fruit grown outside of the mission gardens was very small.

The high price of all kinds of fruit in the early '50s induced the importation of apple, peach, pear, plum and prune trees. These thrived and soon supplied the demand. Before the advent of the railroads and the shipment east the quan-

tity of deciduous fruit produced had outgrown the demand, and there was no profit in its production. All this has been changed by eastern shipment.

Sheep were brought to the country with the first missionary expeditions. The Indian in his primitive condition did not use clothing. A coat of mud was his only garment and he was not at all particular about the fit of that. After his conversion the missionaries put clothing on him, or, rather, on part of him. He was given a shirt, which was a shirt of Nessus, being made of the coarse woolen cloth manufactured at the mission. It was irritating to the skin and compelled the poor wretches to keep up a continual scratching; at least, that is what Hugo Reid tells us. During the Civil war and for several years after, the sheep industry was very profitable. The subdivision of the great ranchos and the absorption of the land for grain growing and fruit culture have contracted the sheep ranges until there is but little left for pasture except the foothills that are too rough for cultivation.

Up to 1863 the great Spanish grants that covered the southern part of the state had, with a few exceptions, been held intact and cattle raising had continued to be the principal industry. For several seasons previous to the famine years of 1863 and 1864 there had been heavy rainfalls and consequently feed was abundant. With the price of cattle declining, the rancheros overstocked their ranges to make up by quantity for decrease in value. When the dry year of 1863 set in, the feed on ranches was soon exhausted and the cattle starving. The second famine year following, the cattle industry was virtually wiped out of existence and the cattle-owners ruined. In Santa Barbara, where the cattle barons held almost imperial sway, and, with their army of retainers, controlled the political affairs of the county, of the two hundred thousand cattle listed on the assessment roll of 1862, only five thousand were alive when grass grew in 1865. On the Stearns' ranchos in Los Angeles county, one hundred thousand head of cattle and horses perished, and the owner of a quarter million acres and a large amount of city property could not raise money enough to pay his taxes.

Many of the rancheros were in debt when the hard times came, and others mortgaged their land at usurious rates of interest to carry them through the famine years. Their cattle dead, they had no income to meet the interest on the cancerous mortgage that was eating up their patrimony. The result was that they were compelled either to sell their land or the mortgage was foreclosed and they lost it. This led to the subdivision of the large grants into small holdings, the new proprietors finding that there was more profit in selling them off in small tracts than in large ones. This brought in an intelligent and progressive population, and in a few years entirely revolutionized the agricultural conditions of the south. Grain growing and fruit raising became the prevailing industries. The adobe ranch house with its matanzas and its Golgotha of cattle skulls and bones gave place to the tasty farm house with its flower garden, lawn and orange grove.

The Californians paid but little attention to improving the breed of their cattle. When the only value in an animal was the hide and tallow, it did not pay to improve the breed. The hide of a long-horned, mouse-colored Spanish steer would sell for as much as that of a high-bred Durham or Holstein, and, besides, the first could exist where the latter would starve to death. After the conquest there was for some time but little improvement. Cattle were brought across the plains, but for the most part these were the mongrel breeds of the western states and were but little improvement on the Spanish stock. It was not until the famine years virtually exterminated the Spanish cattle that better breeds were introduced.

As with cattle, so also it was with horses. Little attention was given to improving the breed. While there were a few fine race horses and saddle horses in the country before its American occupation, the prevailing equine was the mustang. He was a vicious beast, nor was it strange that his temper was bad. He had to endure starvation and abuse that would have killed a more aristocratic animal. He took care of himself, subsisted on what he could pick up and to the best of his ability resented ill treatment. Horses during the Mexican régime were

used only for riding. Oxen were the draft animals. The mustang had one inherent trait that did not endear him to an American, and that was his propensity to "buck." With his nose between his knees, his back arched and his legs stiffened, by a series of short, quick jumps, he could dismount an inexperienced rider with neatness and dispatch. The Californian took delight in urging the bronco to "buck" so that he (the rider) might exhibit his skillful horsemanship. The mustang had some commendable traits as well. He was sure-footed as a goat and could climb the steep hillsides almost equal to that animal. He had an easy gait under the saddle and could measure off mile after mile without a halt. His power of endurance was wonderful. He could live off the country when apparently there was nothing to subsist on except the bare ground. He owed mankind a debt of ingratitude which he always stood ready to pay when an opportunity offered. The passing of the mustang began with the advent of the American farmer.

The founding of agricultural colonies began in the '50s. One of the first, if not the first, was the German colony of Anaheim, located thirty miles south of Los Angeles. A company of Germans organized in San Francisco in 1857 for the purpose of buying land for the cultivation of the wine grape and the manufacture of wine. The organization was a stock company. Eleven hundred acres were purchased in a Spanish grant. This was subdivided into twenty and forty acre tracts; an irrigating ditch brought in from the Santa Ana river. A portion of each subdivision was planted in vines and these were cultivated by the company until they came into bearing, when the tracts were divided among the stockholders by lot, a certain valuation being fixed on each tract. The man obtaining a choice lot paid into the fund a certain amount and the one receiving an inferior tract received a certain amount, so that each received the same value in the distribution. The colony proved quite a success, and for thirty years Anaheim was one of the largest wine-producing districts in the United States. In 1887 a mysterious disease destroyed all the vines and the vineyardists turned their attention to the cultivation of oranges and English walnuts.

The Riverside colony, then in San Bernardino county, now in Riverside county, was founded in 1870. The projectors of the colony were eastern gentlemen. At the head of the organization was Judge J. W. North. They purchased four thousand acres of the Roubidoux or Jurupa rancho and fourteen hundred and sixty acres of government land from the California Silk Center Association. This association had been organized in 1869 for the purpose of founding a colony to cultivate mulberry trees and manufacture silk. It had met with reverses, first in the death of its president, Louis Prevost, a man skilled in the silk business, next in the revocation by the legislature of the bounty for mulberry plantations, and lastly in the subsidence of the sericulture craze. To encourage silk culture in California, the legislature, in 1866, passed an act authorizing the payment of a bounty of $250 for every plantation of five thousand mulberry trees two years old. This greatly stimulated the planting of mulberry trees, if it did not greatly increase the production of silk. In 1869 it was estimated that in the central and southern portions of the state there were ten millions of mulberry trees in various stages of growth. Demands for the bounty poured in upon the commissioners in such numbers that the state treasury was threatened with bankruptcy. The revocation of the bounty killed the silk worms and the mulberry trees; and those who had been attacked with the sericulture craze quickly recovered. The Silk Center Association, having fallen into hard lines, offered its lands for sale at advantageous terms, and in September, 1870, they were purchased by the Southern California Colony Association. The land was bought at $3.50 per acre. It was mesa or table land that had never been cultivated. It was considered by old-timers indifferent sheep pasture, and Roubidoux, it is said, had it struck from the tax roll because it was not worth taxing.

The company had the land subdivided and laid off a town which was first named Jurupa, but afterwards the name was changed to Riverside. The river, the Santa Ana, did not flow

past the town, but the colonists hoped to make a goodly portion of its waters do so. The lands were put on sale at reasonable prices, a ditch at a cost of $50,000 was constructed. Experiments were made with oranges, raisin grapes and deciduous fruits, but the colony finally settled down to orange producing. In 1873 the introduction of the Bahia or navel orange gave an additional impetus to orange growing in the colony, the fruit of that species being greatly superior to any other. This fruit was propagated by budding from two trees received from Washington, D. C., by J. A. Tibbetts, of Riverside.

The Indiana colony, which later became Pasadena, was founded in 1873 by some gentlemen from Indiana. Its purpose was the growing of citrus fruits and raisin grapes, but it has grown into a city, and the orange groves, once the pride of the colony, have given place to business blocks and stately residences.

During the early '70s a number of agricultural colonies were founded in Fresno county. These were all fruit-growing and raisin-producing enterprises. They proved successful and Fresno has become the largest raisin-producing district in the state.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE CIVIL WAR—LOYALTY AND DISLOYALTY.

THE admission of California into the Union as a free state did not, in the opinion of the ultra pro-slavery faction, preclude the possibility of securing a part of its territory for the "peculiar institution" of the south. The question of state division which had come up in the constitutional convention was again agitated. The advocates of division hoped to cut off from the southern part, territory enough for a new state. The ostensible purpose of division was kept concealed. The plea of unjust taxation was made prominent. The native Californians who under Mexican rule paid no taxes on their land were given to understand that they were bearing an undue proportion of the cost of government, while the mining counties, paying less tax, had the greater representation. The native Californians were opposed to slavery, an open advocacy of the real purpose would defeat the division scheme.

The leading men in the southern part of the state were from the slave states. If the state were divided, the influence of these men would carry the new state into the Union with a constitution authorizing slave-holding and thus the south would gain two senators. The division question came up in some form in nearly every session of the legislature for a decade after California became a state.

In the legislature of 1854-55, Jefferson Hunt, of San Bernardino county, introduced a bill in the assembly to create and establish, "out of the territory embraced within the limits of the state of California, a new state, to be called the state of Columbia." The territory embraced within the counties of Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Joaquin, Calaveras, Amador, Tuolumne, Stanislaus, Mariposa, Tulare, Monterey, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, Los Angeles, San Bernardino and San Diego, with the islands on the coast, were to constitute the new state. "The people residing within the above mentioned territory shall be and they are hereby authorized, so soon as the consent of the congress of the United States shall be obtained thereto, to proceed to organize a state government under such rules as are prescribed by the constitution of the United States." The bill was referred to a select committee of thirteen members representing different sections of the state. This committee reported as a substitute, "An Act to create three states out of the territory of California," and also drafted an address to the people of California advocating the passage of the act. The eastern boundary line of California was to be moved over the mountains to the one hundred and nineteenth degree of longitude west of Greenwich, which would have taken about

half of the present state of Nevada. The northern state was to be called Shasta, the central California and the southern Colorado.

The southern boundary of the state of Shasta began at the mouth of Maron's river; thence easterly along the boundary line between Yerba and Butte counties and between Sierra and Plumas to the summit of the Sierra Nevadas and thence easterly to the newly established state line.

The northern boundary of the state of Colorado began at the mouth of the Pajara river, running up that river to the summit of the Coast Range; thence in a straight line to the mouth of the Merced river, thence up that river to the summits of the Sierra Nevadas and then due east to the newly established state line.

The territory not embraced in the states of Colorado and Shasta was to constitute the state of California.

The taxable property of Shasta for the year 1854 was $7,000,000 and the revenue $100,000; that of Colorado $9,764,000 and the revenue $186,000. These amounts the committee considered sufficient to support the state governments. The bill died on the files.

The legislature of 1859 was intensely pro-slavery. The divisionists saw in it an opportunity to carry out their long-deferred scheme. The so-called Pico law, an act granting the consent of the legislature to the formation of a different government for the southern counties of this state, was introduced early in the session, passed in both houses and approved by the governor April 18, 1859. The boundaries of the proposed state were as follows: "All of that part or portion of the present territory of this state lying all south of a line drawn eastward from the west boundary of the state along the sixth standard parallel south of the Mount Diablo meridian, east to the summit of the coast range; thence southerly following said summit to the seventh standard parallel; thence due east on said standard, parallel to its intersection with the northwest boundary of Los Angeles county; thence northeast along said boundary to the eastern boundary of the state, including the counties of San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, San Diego, San Bernardino and a part of Buena Vista, shall be segregated from the remaining portion of the state for the purpose of the formation by congress, with the concurrent action of said portion (the consent for the segregation of which is hereby granted), of a territorial or other government under the name of the "Territory of Colorado," or such other name as may be deemed meet and proper."

Section second provided for the submitting the question of "For a Territory" or "Against a Territory" to the people of the portion sought to be segregated at the next general election; "and in case two-thirds of the whole number of voters voting thereon shall vote for a change of government, the consent hereby given shall be deemed consummated." In case the vote was favorable the secretary of state was to send a certified copy of the result of the election and a copy of the act annexed to the president of the United States and to the senators and representatives of California in congress. At the general election in September, 1859, the question was submitted to a vote of the people of the southern counties, with the following result:

	For.	Against.
Los Angeles county	1,407	441
San Bernardino	441	29
San Diego	207	24
San Luis Obispo	10	283
Santa Barbara	395	51
Tulare	17	...
Total	2,477	828

The bill to create the county of Buena Vista from the southern portion of Tulare failed to pass the legislature, hence the name of that county does not appear in the returns. The result of the vote showed that considerably more than two-thirds were in favor of a new state.

The results of this movement for division and the act were sent to the president and to congress, but nothing came of it. The pro-slavery faction which with the assistance of its coadjutors of the north had so long dominated congress had lost its power. The southern senators and congressmen were preparing for secession and had weightier matters to think of than the division of the state of California. Of late years, a few feeble attempts have been made to stir up

the old question of state division and even to resurrect the old "Pico law."

For more than a decade after its admission into the Union, California was a Democratic state and controlled by the pro-slavery wing of that party. John C. Fremont and William H. Gwin, its first senators, were southern born, Fremont in South Carolina and Gwin in Tennessee. Politics had not entered into their election, but the lines were soon drawn. Fremont drew the short term and his services in the senate were very brief. He confidently expected a re-election, but in this he was doomed to disappointment. The legislature of 1851, after balloting one hundred and forty-two times, adjourned without electing, leaving California with but one senator in the session of 1850-51. In the legislature of 1852 John B. Willer was elected. He was a northern man with southern principles. His chief opponent for the place was David Colbert Broderick, a man destined to fill an important place in the political history of California. He was an Irishman by birth, but had come to America in his boyhood. He had learned the stone cutters' trade with his father. His early associations were with the rougher element of New York City. Aspiring to a higher position than that of a stone cutter he entered the political field and soon arose to prominence. At the age of 26 he was nominated for Congress, but was defeated by a small majority through a split in the party. In 1849 he came to California, where he arrived sick and penniless. With F. D. Kohler, an assayer, he engaged in coining gold. The profit from buying gold dust at $14 an ounce and making it into $5 and $10 pieces put him in affluent circumstances.

His first entry into politics in California was his election to fill a vacancy in the senate of the first legislature. In 1851 he became president of the senate. He studied law, history and literature and was admitted to the bar. He was appointed clerk of the supreme court and had aspirations for still higher positions. Although Senator Gwin was a Democrat, he had managed to control all the federal appointments of Fillmore, the Whig president, and he had filled the offices with pro-slavery Democrats.

No other free state in the Union had such odious laws against negroes as had California. The legislature of 1852 enacted a law "respecting fugitives from labor and slaves brought to this state prior to her admission to the Union." "Under this law a colored man or woman could be brought before a magistrate, claimed as a slave, and the person so seized not being permitted to testify, the judge had no alternative but to issue a certificate to the claimant, which certificate was conclusive of the right of the person or persons in whose favor granted, and prevented all molestation of such person or persons, by any process issued by any court, judge, justice or magistrate or other person whomsoever."* Any one who rendered assistance to a fugitive was liable to a fine of $500 or imprisonment for two months. Slaves who had been brought into California by their masters before it became a state, but who were freed by the adoption of a constitution prohibiting slavery, were held to be fugitives and were liable to arrest, although they had been free for several years and some of them had accumulated considerable property. By limitation the law should have become inoperative in 1853, but the legislature of that year re-enacted it, and the succeeding legislatures of 1854 and 1855 continued it in force. The intention of the legislators who enacted the law was to legalize the kidnapping of free negroes, as well as the arrest of fugitives. Broderick vigorously opposed the prosecution of the colored people and by so doing called down upon his head the wrath of the pro-slavery chivalry. From that time on he was an object of their hatred. While successive legislatures were passing laws to punish black men for daring to assert their freedom and their right to the products of their honest toil, white villains were rewarded with political preferment, provided always that they belonged to the dominant wing of the Democratic party. The Whig party was but little better than the other, for the same element ruled in both. The finances of the state were in a deplorable condition and continually growing worse. The people's money was recklessly squandered. Incompetency was

*Bancroft's History of California, Vol. VI.

the rule in office and honesty the exception. Ballot box stuffing had been reduced to a mechanical science, jury bribing was one of the fine arts and suborning perjury was a recognized profession. During one election in San Francisco it was estimated that $1,500,000 was spent in one way or another to influence voters. Such was the state of affairs just preceding the uprising of the people that evolved in San Francisco the vigilance committee of 1856.

At the state election in the fall of 1855 the Know Nothings carried the state. The native American or Know Nothing party was a party of few principles. Opposition to Catholics and foreigners was about the only plank in its platform. There was a strong opposition to foreign miners in the mining districts and the pro-slavery faction saw in the increased foreign immigration danger to the extension of their beloved institution into new territory. The most potent cause of the success of the new party in California was the hope that it might bring reform to relieve the tax burdened people. But in this they were disappointed. It was made up from the same element that had so long misgoverned the state.

The leaders of the party were either pro-slavery men of the south or northern men with southern principles. Of the latter class was J. Neely Johnson, the governor-elect. In the legislature of 1855 the contest between Gwin and Broderick, which had been waged at the polls the previous year, culminated after thirty-eight ballots in no choice and Gwin's place in the senate became vacant at the expiration of his term. In the legislature of 1856 the Know Nothings had a majority in both houses. It was supposed that they would elect a senator to succeed Gwin. There were three aspirants: H. A. Crabb, formerly a Whig; E. C. Marshall and Henry S. Foote, formerly Democrats. All were southerners and were in the new party for office. The Gwin and Broderick influence was strong enough to prevent the Know Nothing legislature from electing a senator and California was left with but one representative in the upper house of Congress.

The Know Nothing party was short lived. At the general election in 1856 the Democrats swept the state. Broderick, by his ability in organizing and his superior leadership, had secured a majority in the legislature and was in a position to dictate terms to his opponents. Weller's senatorial term would soon expire and Gwin's already two years vacant left two places to be filled. Broderick, who had heretofore been contending for Gwin's place, changed his tactics and aspired to fill the long term. According to established custom, the filling of the vacancy would come up first, but Broderick, by superior finesse, succeeded in having the caucus nominate the successor to Weller first. Ex-Congressman Latham's friends were induced to favor the arrangement on the expectation that their candidate would be given the short term. Broderick was elected to the long term on the first ballot, January 9, 1857, and his commission was immediately made out and signed by the governor. For years he had bent his energies to securing the senatorship and at last he had obtained the coveted honor. But he was not satisfied yet. He aspired to control the federal patronage of the state; in this way he could reward his friends. He could dictate the election of his colleague for the short term. Both Gwin and Latham were willing to concede to him that privilege for the sake of an election. Latham tried to make a few reservations for some of his friends to whom he had promised places. Gwin offered to surrender it all without reservation. He had had enough of it. Gwin was elected and next day published an address, announcing his obligation to Broderick and renouncing any claim to the distribution of the federal patronage.

Then a wail long and loud went up from the chivalry, who for years had monopolized all the offices. That they, southern gentlemen of aristocratic antecedents, should be compelled to ask favors of a mudsill of the north was too humiliating to be borne. Latham, too, was indignant and Broderick found that his triumph was but a hollow mockery. But the worst was to come. He who had done so much to unite the warring Democracy and give the party a glorious victory in California at the presidential election of 1856 fully expected the approbation of President Buchanan, but when he called on

that old gentleman he was received coldly and during Buchanan's administration he was ignored and Gwin's advice taken and followed in making federal appointments. He returned to California in April, 1857, to secure the nomination of his friends on the state ticket, but in this he was disappointed. The Gwin element was in the ascendency and John B. Weller received the nomination for governor. He was regarded as a martyr, having been tricked out of a re-election to the senate by Broderick. There were other martyrs of the Democracy, who received balm for their wounds and sympathy for their sufferings at that convention. In discussing a resolution denouncing the vigilance committee, O'Meara in his "History of Early Politics in California," says: "Col. Joseph P. Hoge, the acknowledged leader of the convention, stated that the committee had hanged four men, banished twenty-eight and arrested two hundred and eighty; and that these were nearly all Democrats.

On Broderick's return to the senate in the session of 1857-58, he cast his lot with Senator Douglas and opposed the admission of Kansas under the infamous Lecompton constitution. This cut him loose from the administration wing of the party.

In the state campaign of 1859 Broderick rallied his followers under the Anti-Lecompton standard and Gwin his in support of the Buchanan administration. The party was hopelessly divided. Two Democratic tickets were placed in the field. The Broderick ticket, with John Currey as governor, and the Gwin, with Milton Latham, the campaign was bitter. Broderick took the stump and although not an orator his denunciations of Gwin were scathing and merciless and in his fearful earnestness he became almost eloquent. Gwin in turn loosed the vials of his wrath upon Broderick and criminations and recriminations flew thick and fast during the campaign. It was a campaign of vituperation, but the first aggressor was Gwin.

Judge Terry, in a speech before the Lecompton convention at Sacramento in June, 1859, after flinging out sneers at the Republican party, characterized Broderick's party as sailing "under the flag of Douglas, but it is the banner of the black Douglass, whose name is Frederick, not Stephen." This taunt was intended to arouse the wrath of Broderick. He read Terry's speech while seated at breakfast in the International hotel at San Francisco. Broderick denounced Terry's utterance in forcible language and closed by saying: "I have hitherto spoken of him as an honest man, as the only honest man on the bench of a miserable, corrupt supreme court, but now I find I was mistaken. I take it all back." A lawyer by the name of Perley, a friend of Terry's, to whom the remark was directed, to obtain a little reputation, challenged Broderick. Broderick refused to consider Perley's challenge on the ground that he was not his (Broderick's) equal in standing and beside that he had declared himself a few days before a British subject. Perley did not stand very high in the community. Terry had acted as a second for him in a duel a few years before.

Broderick, in his reply to Perley, said: "I have determined to take no notice of attacks from any source during the canvass. If I were to accept your challenge, there are probably many other gentlemen who would seek similar opportunities for hostile meetings for the purpose of accomplishing a political object or to obtain public notoriety. I cannot afford at the present time to descend to a violation of the Constitution and state laws to subserve either their or your purposes."

Terry a few days after the close of the campaign sent a letter to Broderick demanding a retraction of the offensive remarks. Broderick, well knowing that he would have to fight some representative of the chivalry if not several of them in succession, did not retract his remarks. He had for several years, in expectation of such a result in a contest with them, practiced himself in the use of fire arms until he had become quite expert.

A challenge followed, a meeting was arranged to take place in San Mateo county, ten miles from San Francisco, on the 12th of September. Chief of Police Burke appeared on the scene and arrested the principals. They were released by the court, no crime having been committed. They met next morning at the same place; ex-

Congressman McKibben and David D. Colton were Broderick's seconds. Calhoun Benham and Thomas Hayes were Terry's. The pistols selected belonged to a friend of Terry's. Broderick was ill, weak and nervous, and it was said that his pistol was quicker on the trigger than Terry's. When the word was given it was discharged before it reached a level and the ball struck the earth, nine feet from where he stood. Terry fired, striking Broderick in the breast. He sank to the earth mortally wounded and died three days afterwards. Broderick dead was a greater man than Broderick living. For years he had waged a contest against the representatives of the slave oligarchy in California and the great mass of the people had looked on with indifference, even urging on his pursuers to the tragic end. Now that he was killed, the cry went up for vengeance on his murderers. Terry was arrested and admitted to bail in the sum of $10,000. The trial was put off on some pretext and some ten months later he obtained a change of venue to Marin county on the plea that he could not obtain a fair and impartial trial in San Francisco. His case was afterwards dismissed without trial by a pro-slavery judge named Hardy. Although freed by the courts he was found guilty and condemned by public opinion. He went south and joined the Confederates at the breaking out of the Civil war. He some time after the close of the war returned to California. In 1880 he was a presidential elector on the Democratic ticket. His colleagues on the ticket were elected, but he was defeated. He was killed at Lathrop by a deputy United States marshal while attempting an assault on United States Supreme Judge Field.

In the hue and cry that was raised on the death of Broderick, the chivalry read the doom of their ascendency. Gwin, as he was about to take the steamer on his return to Washington, "had flaunted in his face a large canvas frame, on which was painted a portrait of Broderick and this: 'It is the will of the people that the murderers of Broderick do not return again to California;' and below were also these words attributed to Mr. Broderick: 'They have killed me because I was opposed to the extension of slavery, and a corrupt administration.'"

Throughout his political career Broderick was a consistent anti-slavery man and a friend of the common people. Of all the politicians of the ante-bellum period, that is, before the Civil war, he stands to-day the highest in the estimation of the people of California. Like Lincoln, he was a self-made man. From a humble origin, unaided, he had fought his way up to a lofty position. Had he been living during the war against the perpetuity of human slavery, he would have been a power in the senate or possibly a commander on the field of battle. As it was, during that struggle in his adopted state, his name became a synonyn of patriotism and love for the Union.

Milton S. Latham, who succeeded John B. Weller as governor in 1860, was, like his predecessor, a northern man with southern principles. Almost from the date of his arrival in California he had been an office-holder. He was a man of mediocre ability. He was a state divisionist and would have aided in that scheme by advocating in the senate of the United States (to which body he had been elected three days after his inauguration) the segregation of the southern counties and their formation into a new state with the hopes of restoring the equilibrium between the north and the south. But the time had passed for such projects. The lieutenant-governor, John G. Downey, succeeded Latham. Downey gained great popularity by his veto of the "bulkhead bill." This was a scheme of the San Francisco Dock and Wharf Company to build a stone bulkhead around the city water front in consideration of having the exclusive privilege of collecting wharfage and tolls for fifty years. Downey lost much of his popularity, particularly with the Union men, during the Civil war on account of his sympathy with the Confederates.

At the state election in September, 1861, Leland Stanford was chosen governor. He was the first Republican chosen to that office. He received fifty-six thousand votes. Two years before he had been a candidate for that office and received only ten thousand votes, so rapidly had public sentiment changed. The news of the firing upon Fort Sumter reached San Francisco April 24, twelve days after its oc-

currence. It came by pony express. The beginning of hostilities between the north and the south stirred up a strong Union sentiment. The great Union mass meeting held in San Francisco May 11, 1861, was the largest and most enthusiastic public demonstration ever held on the Pacific coast. The lines were sharply drawn between the friends of the government and its enemies. Former political alliances were forgotten. Most of the Anti-Lecompton or Douglas Democrats arrayed themselves on the side of the Union. The chivalry wing of the Democratic party were either open or secret sympathizers with the Confederates. Some of them were bold and outspoken in their disloyalty. The speech of Edmund Randolph at the Democratic convention July 24, 1861, is a sample of such utterances. * * * "To me it seems a waste of time to talk. For God's sake, tell me of battles fought and won. Tell me of usurpers overthrown; that Missouri is again a free state, no longer crushed under the armed heel of a reckless and odious despot. Tell me that the state of Maryland lives again; and, oh! gentlemen, let us read, let us hear, at the first moment, that not one hostile foot now treads the soil of Virginia! (Applause and cheers.) If this be rebellion, I am a rebel. Do you want a traitor, then I am a traitor. For God's sake, speed the ball; may the lead go quick to his heart, and may our country be free from the despot usurper that now claims the name of the president of the United States."* (Cheers.) Some of the chivalry Democrats, most of whom had been holding office in California for years, went south at the breaking out of the war to fight in the armies of the Confederacy, and among these was Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, who had been superseded in the command of the Pacific Department by Gen. Edwin V. Sumner. Johnston, with a number of fellow sympathizers, went south by the overland route and was killed a year later, at the battle of Shiloh, while in command of the Confederate army.

One form of disloyalty among the class known as "copperheads" (northern men with southern principles) was the advocacy of a Pacific republic. Most prominent among these was ex-Governor John B. Weller. The movement was a thinly disguised method of aiding the southern Confederacy. The flag of the inchoate Pacific republic was raised in Stockton January 16, 1861. It is thus described by the *Stockton Argus*: "The flag is of silk of the medium size of the national ensign and with the exception of the Union (evidently a misnomer in this case) which contains a lone star upon a blue ground, is covered by a painting representing a wild mountain scene, a huge grizzly bear standing in the foreground and the words 'Pacific Republic' near the upper border." The flag raising was not a success. At first it was intended to raise it in the city. But as it became evident this would not be allowed, it was raised to the mast head of a vessel in the slough. It was not allowed to float there long. The halyards were cut and a boy was sent up the mast to pull it down. The owner of the flag was convinced that it was not safe to trifle with the loyal sentiment of the people.

At the gubernatorial election in September, 1863, Frederick F. Low, Republican, was chosen over John G. Downey, Democrat, by a majority of over twenty thousand. In some parts of the state Confederate sympathizers were largely in the majority. This was the case in Los Angeles and in some places in the San Joaquin valley. Several of the most outspoken were arrested and sent to Fort Alcatraz, where they soon became convinced of the error of their ways and took the oath of allegiance. When the news of the assassination of Lincoln reached San Francisco, a mob destroyed the newspaper plants of the *Democratic Press*, edited by Beriah Brown; the *Occidental*, edited by Zach. Montgomery; the *News Letter*, edited by F. Marriott, and the *Monitor*, a Catholic paper, edited by Thomas A. Brady. These were virulent copperhead sheets that had heaped abuse upon the martyred president. Had the proprietors of these journals been found the mob would, in the excitement that prevailed, have treated them with violence. After this demonstration Confederate sympathizers kept silent.

*Tuthill's History of California.

CHAPTER XXXI.

TRADE, TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION.

THE beginning of the ocean commerce of California was the two mission transport ships that came every year to bring supplies for the missions and presidios and take back what few products there were to send. The government fixed a price upon each and every article of import and export. There was no cornering the market, no bulls or bears in the wheat pit, no rise or fall in prices except when ordered by royal authority. An Arancel de Precios (fixed rate of prices) was issued at certain intervals, and all buying and selling was governed accordingly. These arancels included everything in the range of human needs—physical, spiritual or mental. According to a tariff of prices promulgated by Governor Fages in 1788, which had been approved by the audencia and had received the royal sanction, the price of a Holy Christ in California was fixed at $1.75, a wooden spoon six cents, a horse $9, a deerskin twenty-five cents, red pepper eighteen cents a pound, a dozen of quail twenty-five cents, brandy seventy-five cents per pint, and so on throughout the list.

In 1785 an attempt was made to open up trade between California and China, the commodities for exchange being seal and otter skins for quicksilver. The trade in peltries was to be a government monopoly. The skins were to be collected from the natives by the mission friars, who were to sell them to a government agent at prices ranging from $2.50 to $10 each. The neophytes must give up to the friars all the skins in their possession. All trade by citizens or soldiers was prohibited and any one attempting to deal in peltries otherwise than the regularly ordained authorities was liable, if found out, to have his goods confiscated. Spain's attempt to engage in the fur trade was not a success. The blighting monopoly of church and state nipped it in the bud. It died out, and the government bought quicksilver, on which also it had a monopoly, with coin instead of otter skins.

After the government abandoned the fur trade the American smugglers began to gather up the peltries, and the California producer received better prices for his furs than the missionaries paid.

The Yankee smuggler had no arancel of prices fixed by royal edict. His price list varied according to circumstances. As his trade was illicit and his vessel and her cargo were in danger of confiscation if he was caught, his scale of prices ranged high. But he paid a higher price for the peltries than the government, and that was a consolation to the seller. The commerce with the Russian settlements of the northwest in the early years of the century furnished a limited market for the grain produced at some of the missions, but the Russians helped themselves to the otter and the seal of California without saying "By your leave" and they were not welcome visitors.

During the Mexican revolution, as has been previously mentioned, trade sprang up between Lima and California in tallow, but it was of short duration. During the Spanish era it can hardly be said that California had any commerce. Foreign vessels were not allowed to enter her ports except when in distress, and their stay was limited to the shortest time possible required to make repairs and take on supplies.

It was not until Mexico gained her independence and removed the proscriptive regulations with which Spain had hampered commerce that the hide droghers opened up trade between New England and California. This trade, which began in 1822, grew to considerable proportions. The hide droghers were emigrant ships as well as mercantile vessels. By

these came most of the Americans who settled in California previous to 1840. The hide and tallow trade, the most important item of commerce in the Mexican era, reached its maximum in 1834, when the great mission herds were, by order of the padres, slaughtered to prevent them from falling into the hands of the government commissioners. Thirty-two vessels came to the coast that year, nearly all of which were engaged in the hide and tallow trade.

During the year 1845, the last of Mexican rule, sixty vessels visited the coast. These were not all trading vessels; eight were men-of-war, twelve were whalers and thirteen came on miscellaneous business. The total amount received at the custom house for revenue during that year was $140,000. The majority of the vessels trading on the California coast during the Mexican era sailed under the stars and stripes. Mexico was kinder to California than Spain, and under her administration commercial relations were established to a limited extent with foreign nations. Her commerce at best was feeble and uncertain. The revenue laws and their administration were frequently changed, and the shipping merchant was never sure what kind of a reception his cargo would receive from the custom house officers. The duties on imports from foreign countries were exorbitant and there was always more or less smuggling carried on. The people and the padres, when they were a power, gladly welcomed the arrival of a trading vessel on the coast and were not averse to buying goods that had escaped the tariff if they could do so with safety. As there was no land tax, the revenue on goods supported the expenses of the government.

Never in the world's history did any country develop an ocean commerce so quickly as did California after the discovery of gold. When the news spread abroad, the first ships to arrive came from Peru, Chile and the South Sea islands. The earliest published notice of the gold discovery appeared in the *Baltimore Sun,* September 20, 1848, eight months after it was made. At first the story was ridiculed, but as confirmatory reports came thick and fast, preparations began for a grand rush for the gold mines. Vessels of all kinds, seaworthy and unseaworthy, were overhauled and fitted out for California. The American trade with California had gone by way of Cape Horn or the Straits of Magellan, and this was the route that was taken by the pioneers. Then there were short cuts by the way of the Isthmus of Panama, across Mexico and by Nicaragua. The first vessels left the Atlantic seaports in November, 1848. By the middle of the winter one hundred vessels had sailed from Atlantic and Gulf seaports, and by spring one hundred and fifty more had taken their departure, all of them loaded with human freight and with supplies of every description. Five hundred and forty-nine vessels arrived in San Francisco in nine months, forty-five reaching that port in one day.

April 12, 1848, before the treaty of peace with Mexico had been proclaimed by the President, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company was incorporated with a capital of $500,000. Astoria, Ore., was to have been the Pacific terminus of the company's line, but it never got there. The discovery of gold in California made San Francisco the end of its route. The contract with the government gave the company a subsidy of $200,000 for maintaining three steamers on the Pacific side between Panama and Astoria. The first of these vessels, the California, sailed from New York October 6, 1848, for San Francisco and Astoria via Cape Horn. She was followed in the two succeeding months by the Oregon and the Panama. On the Atlantic side the vessels of the line for several years were the Ohio, Illinois and Georgia. The vessels on the Atlantic side were fifteen hundred tons burden, while those on the Pacific were a thousand tons. Freight and passengers by the Panama route were transported across the isthmus by boats up the Chagres river to Gorgona, and then by mule-back to Panama. In 1855 the Panama railroad was completed. This greatly facilitated travel and transportation. The Atlantic terminus of the road was Aspinwall, now called Colon.

Another line of travel and commerce between the states and California in early days was the Nicaragua route. By that route passengers on the Atlantic side landed at San Juan del Norte

or Greytown. From there they took a river steamer and ascended the Rio San Juan to Lake Nicaragua, then in a larger vessel they crossed the lake to La Virgin. From there a distance of about twelve miles was made on foot or on mule-back to San Juan del Sur, where they re-embarked on board the ocean steamer for San Francisco.

The necessity for the speedy shipment of merchandise to California before the days of transcontinental railroads at a minimum cost evolved the clipper ship. These vessels entered quite early into the California trade and soon displaced the short, clumsy vessels of a few hundred tons burden that took from six to ten months to make a voyage around the Horn. The clipper ship Flying Cloud, which arrived at San Francisco in August, 1851, made the voyage from New York in eighty-nine days. These vessels were built long and narrow and carried heavy sail. Their capacity ranged from one to two thousand tons burden. The overland railroads took away a large amount of their business.

Capt. Jedediah S. Smith, as previously stated, was the real pathfinder of the western mountains and plains. He marked out the route from Salt Lake by way of the Rio Virgin, the Colorado and the Cajon Pass to Los Angeles in 1826. This route was extensively traveled by the belated immigrants of the early '50s. Those reaching Salt Lake City too late in the season to cross the Sierra Nevadas turned southward and entered California by Smith's trail.

The early immigration to California came by way of Fort Hall. From there it turned southerly. At Fort Hall the Oregon and California immigrants separated. The disasters that befell the Donner party were brought upon them by their taking the Hastings cut-off, which was represented to them as saving two hundred and fifty miles. It was shorter, but the time spent in making a wagon road through a rough country delayed them until they were caught by the snows in the mountains. Lassen's cut-off was another route that brought disaster and delays to many of the immigrants who were induced to take it. The route up the Platte through the South Pass of the Rocky mountains and down the Humboldt received by far the larger amount of travel.

The old Santa Fe trail from Independence to Santa Fe, and from there by the old Spanish trail around the north bank of the Colorado across the Rio Virgin down the Mojave river and through the Cajon Pass to Los Angeles, was next in importance. Another route by which much of the southern emigration came was what was known as the Gila route. It started at Fort Smith, Ark., thence via El Paso and Tucson and down the Gila to Yuma, thence across the desert through the San Gorgono Pass to Los Angeles. In 1852 it was estimated one thousand wagons came by this route. There was another route still further south than this which passed through the northern states of Mexico, but it was not popular on account of the hostility of the Mexicans and the Apaches.

The first overland stage line was established in 1857. The route extended from San Antonio de Bexar, Tex., to San Diego, via El Paso, Messillo, Tucson and Colorado City (now Yuma). The service was twice a month. The contract was let to James E. Burch, the Postal Department reserving "the right to curtail or discontinue the service should any route subsequently put under contract cover the whole or any portion of the route." The *San Diego Herald,* August 12, 1857, thus notes the departure of the first mail by that route: "The pioneer mail train from San Diego to San Antonio, Tex., under the contract entered into by the government with Mr. James Burch, left here on the 9th inst. (August 9, 1857) at an early hour in the morning, and is now pushing its way for the east at a rapid rate. The mail was of course carried on pack animals, as will be the case until wagons which are being pushed across will have been put on the line. * * * The first mail from the other side has not yet arrived, although somewhat overdue, and conjecture is rife as to the cause of the delay." The eastern mail arrived a few days later.

The service continued to improve, and the fifth trip from the eastern terminus to San Diego "was made in the extraordinary short

time of twenty-six days and twelve hours," and the *San Diego Herald* on this arrival, October 6, 1857, rushed out an extra "announcing the very gratifying fact of the complete triumph of the southern route notwithstanding the croakings of many of the opponents of the administration in this state." But the "triumph of the southern route" was of short duration. In September, 1858, the stages of the Butterfield line began making their semi-weekly trips. This route from its western terminus, San Francisco, came down the coast to Gilroy, thence through Pacheco Pass to the San Joaquin valley, up the valley and by way of Fort Tejon to Los Angeles; from there eastward by Temecula and Warner's to Yuma, thence following very nearly what is now the route of the Southern Pacific Railroad through Arizona and New Mexico to El Paso, thence turning northward to Fort Smith, Ark. There the route divided, one branch going to St. Louis and the other to Memphis. The mail route from San Antonio to San Diego was discontinued.

The Butterfield stage line was one of the longest continuous lines ever organized. Its length was two thousand eight hundred and eighty miles. It began operation in September, 1858. The first stage from the east reached Los Angeles October 7 and San Francisco October 10. A mass-meeting was held at San Francisco the evening of October 11 "for the purpose of expressing the sense entertained by the people of the city of the great benefits she is to receive from the establishment of the overland mail." Col. J. B. Crocket acted as president and Frank M. Pixley as secretary. The speaker of the evening in his enthusiasm said: "In my opinion one of the greatest blessings that could befall California would be to discontinue at once all communication by steamer between San Francisco and New York. On yesterday we received advices from New York, New Orleans and St. Louis in less than twenty-four days via El Paso. Next to the discovery of gold this is the most important fact yet developed in the history of California." W. L. Ormsby, special correspondent of the *New York Herald*, the first and only through passenger by the overland mail coming in three hours less than twenty-four days, was introduced to the audience and was greeted with terrific applause. He gave a description of the route and some incidents of the journey.

The government gave the Butterfield company a subsidy of $600,000 a year for a service of two mail coaches each way a week. In 1859 the postal revenue from this route was only $27,000, leaving Uncle Sam more than half a million dollars out of pocket. At the breaking out of the Civil war the southern overland mail route was discontinued and a contract was made with Butterfield for a six-times-a-week mail by the central route via Salt Lake City, with a branch line to Denver. The eastern terminus was at first St. Joseph, but on account of the war it was changed to Omaha. The western terminus was Placerville, Cal., time twenty days for eight months, and twenty-three days for the remaining four months. The contract was for three years at an annual subsidy of $1,000,000. The last overland stage contract for carrying the mails was awarded to Wells, Fargo & Co., October 1, 1868, for $1,750,000 per annum, with deductions for carriage by railway. The railway was rapidly reducing the distance of stage travel.

The only inland commerce during the Mexican era was a few bands of mules sold to New Mexican traders and driven overland to Santa Fe by the old Spanish trail and one band of cattle sold to the Oregon settlers in 1837 and driven by the coast route to Oregon City. The Californians had no desire to open up an inland trade with their neighbors and the traders and trappers who came overland were not welcome.

After the discovery of gold, freighting to the mines became an important business. Supplies had to be taken by pack trains and wagons. Freight charges were excessively high at first. In 1848, "it cost $5 to carry a hundred pounds of goods from Sutter's Fort to the lower mines, a distance of twenty miles, and $10 per hundred weight for freight to the upper mines, a distance of forty miles. Two horses can draw one thousand five hundred pounds." In December, 1849, the roads were almost impassable

and teamsters were charging from $40 to $50 a hundred pounds for hauling freight from Sacramento to Mormon Island.

In 1855 an inland trade was opened up between Los Angeles and Salt Lake City. The first shipment was made by Banning and Alexander. The wagon train consisted of fifteen ten-mule teams heavily freighted with merchandise. The venture was a success financially. The train left Los Angeles in May and returned in September, consuming four months in the journey. The trade increased and became quite an important factor in the business of the southern part of the state. In 1859 sixty wagons were loaded for Salt Lake in the month of January, and in March of the same year one hundred and fifty loaded with goods were sent to the Mormon capital. In 1865 and 1866 there was a considerable shipment of goods from Los Angeles to Idaho and Montana by wagon trains. These trains went by way of Salt Lake. This trade was carried on during the winter months when the roads over the Sierras and the Rocky mountains were blocked with snow.

Freighting by wagon train to Washoe formed a very important part of the inland commerce of California between 1859 and 1869. The immense freight wagons called "prairie schooners" carried almost as much as a freight car. The old-time teamster, like the old-time stage driver, was a unique character. Both have disappeared. Their occupation is gone. We shall never look on their like again.

The pony express rider came early in the history of California. Away back in 1775, when the continental congress made Benjamin Franklin postmaster-general of the United Colonies, on the Pacific coast soldier couriers, fleet mounted, were carrying their monthly budgets of mail between Monterey in Alta California, and Loreto, near the southern extremity of the peninsula of Lower California, a distance of one thousand five hundred miles.

In the winter of 1859-60 a Wall street lobby was in Washington trying to get an appropriation of $5,000,000 for carrying the mails one year between New York and San Francisco. William H. Russell, of the firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell, then engaged in running a daily stage line between the Missouri river and Salt Lake City, hearing of the lobby's efforts, offered to bet $200,000 that he could put on a mail line between San Francisco and St. Joseph that could make the distance, one thousand nine hundred and fifty miles, in ten days. The wager was accepted. Russell and his business manager, A. B. Miller, an old plains man, bought the fleetest horses they could find in the west and employed one hundred and twenty-five riders selected with reference to their light weight and courage. It was essential that the horses should be loaded as lightly as possible. The horses were stationed from ten to twenty miles apart and each rider was required to ride seventy-five miles. For change of horses and mail bag two minutes were allowed, at each station. One man took care of the two horses kept there. Everything being arranged a start was made from St. Joseph, April 3, 1860. The bet was to be decided on the race eastward. At meridian on April 3, 1860, a signal gun on a steamer at Sacramento proclaimed the hour of starting. At that signal Mr. Miller's private saddle horse, Border Ruffian, with his rider bounded away toward the foothills of the Sierra Nevadas. The first twenty miles were covered in forty-nine minutes. All went well till the Platte river was reached. The river was swollen by recent rain. Rider and horse plunged boldly into it, but the horse mired in the quicksands and was drowned. The rider carrying the mail bag footed it ten miles to the next relay station. When the courier arrived at the sixty-mile station out from St. Joseph he was one hour behind time. The last one had just three hours and thirty minutes in which to make the sixty miles and win the race. A heavy rain was falling and the roads were slippery, but with six horses to make the distance he won with five minutes and a fraction to spare. And thus was finished the longest race for the largest stake ever run in America.

The pony express required to do its work nearly five hundred horses, about one hundred and ninety stations, two hundred station keepers and over a hundred riders. Each rider usually rode the horses on about seventy-five miles,

but sometimes much greater distances were made. Robert H. Haslam, Pony Bob, made on one occasion a continuous ride of three hundred and eighty miles and William F. Cody, now famous as Buffalo Bill, in one continuous trip rode three hundred and eighty-four miles, stopping only for meals, and to change horses.

The pony express was a semi-weekly service. Fifteen pounds was the limit of the weight of the waterproof mail bag and its contents. The postage or charge was $5 on a letter of half an ounce. The limit was two hundred letters, but sometimes there were not more than twenty in a bag. The line never paid. The shortest time ever made by the pony express was seven days and seventeen hours. This was in March, 1861, when it carried President Lincoln's message. At first telegraphic messages were received at St. Joseph up to five o'clock p. m. of the day of starting and sent to San Francisco on the express, arriving at Placerville, which was then the eastern terminus of the line. The pony express was suspended October 27, 1861, on the completion of the telegraph.

The first stage line was established between Sacramento and Mormon Island in September, 1849, fare $16 to $32, according to times. Sacramento was the great distributing point for the mines and was also the center from which radiated numerous stage lines. In 1853 a dozen lines were owned there and the total capital invested in staging was estimated at $335,000. There were lines running to Coloma, Nevada, Placerville, Georgetown, Yankee Jim's, Jackson, Stockton, Shasta and Auburn. In 1851 Stockton had seven daily stages. The first stage line between San Francisco and San José was established in April, 1850, fare $32. A number of lines were consolidated. In 1860 the California stage company controlled eight lines northward, the longest extending seven hundred and ten miles to Portland with sixty stations, thirty-five drivers and five hundred horses, eleven drivers and one hundred and fifty horses pertaining to the rest. There were seven independent lines covering four hundred and sixty-four miles, chiefly east and south, the longest to Virginia City.* These lines disappeared with the advent of the railroad.

The pack train was a characteristic feature of early mining days. Many of the mountain camps were inaccessible to wagons and the only means of shipping in goods was by pack train. A pack train consisted of from ten to twenty mules each, laden with from two hundred to four hundred pounds. The load was fastened on the animal by means of a pack saddle which was held in its place by a cinch tightly laced around the animal's body. The sure-footed mules could climb steep grades and wind round narrow trails on the side of steep mountains without slipping or tumbling over the cliffs. Mexicans were the most expert packers.

The scheme to utilize camels and dromedaries as beasts of burden on the arid plains of the southwest was agitated in the early fifties. The chief promoter if not the originator of the project was Jefferson Davis, afterwards president of the Southern Confederacy. During the last days of the congress of 1851, Mr. Davis offered an amendment to the army appropriation bill appropriating $30,000 for the purchase of thirty camels and twenty dromedaries. The bill was defeated. When Davis was secretary of war in 1854, congress appropriated $30,000 for the purchase and importation of camels and in December of that year Major C. Wayne was sent to Egypt and Arabia to buy seventy-five. He secured the required number and shipped them on the naval store ship Supply. They were landed at Indianola, Tex., February 10, 1857. Three had died on the voyage. About half of the herd were taken to Albuquerque, where an expedition was fitted out under the command of Lieutenant Beale for Fort Tejon, Cal.; the other half was employed in packing on the plains of Texas and in the Gadsen Purchase, as Southern Arizona was then called.

It very soon became evident that the camel experiment would not be a success. The American teamster could not be converted into an Arabian camel driver. From the very first meeting there was a mutual antipathy between the

* Sacramento Union, January 1, 1861.

American mule whacker and the beast of the prophet. The teamsters when transformed into camel drivers deserted and the troopers refused to have anything to do with the misshapen beasts. So because there was no one to load and navigate these ships of the desert their voyages became less and less frequent, until finally they ceased altogether; and these desert ships were anchored at the different forts in the southwest. After the breaking out of the Civil war the camels at the forts in Texas and New Mexico were turned loose to shift for themselves. Those in Arizona and California were condemned and sold by the government to two Frenchmen who used them for packing, first in Nevada and later in Arizona, but tiring of the animals they turned them out on the desert. Some of these camels or possibly their descendants are still roaming over the arid plains of southern Arizona and Sonora.

The first telegraph was completed September 11, 1853. It extended from the business quarter of San Francisco to the Golden Gate and was used for signalling vessels. The first long line connected Marysville, Sacramento, Stockton and San José. This was completed October 24, 1853. Another line about the same time was built from San Francisco to Placerville by way of Sacramento. A line was built southward from San José along the Butterfield overland mail route to Los Angeles in 1860. The Overland Telegraph, begun in 1858, was completed November 7, 1861.

The first express for the States was sent under the auspices of the *California Star* (newspaper). The *Star* of March 1, 1848, contained the announcement that "We are about to send letters by express to the States at fifty cents each, papers twelve and a half cents; to start April 15; any mail arriving after that time will be returned to the writers. The *Star* refused to send copies of its rival, *The Californian*, in its express.

The first local express was started by Charles L. Cady in August, 1847. It left San Francisco every Monday and Fort Sacramento, its other terminus, every Thursday. Letters twenty-five cents. Its route was by way of Saucelito, Napa and Petaluma to Sacramento.

Weld & Co.'s express was established in October, 1849. This express ran from San Francisco to Marysville, having its principal offices in San Francisco, Benicia and Sacramento. It was the first express of any consequence established in California. Its name was changed to Hawley & Co.'s express. The first trip was made in the Mint, a sailing vessel, and took six days. Afterward it was transferred to the steamers Hartford and McKim. The company paid these boats $800 per month for the use of one state room; later for the same accommodation it paid $1,500 per month. The *Alta California* of January 7, 1850, says: "There are so many new express companies daily starting that we can scarcely keep the run of them."

The following named were the principal companies at that time: Hawley & Co., Angel, Young & Co., Todd, Bryan, Stockton Express, Henly, McKnight & Co., Brown, Knowlton & Co. The business of these express companies consisted largely in carrying letters to the mines. The letters came through the postoffice in San Francisco, but the parties to whom they were addressed were in the mines. While the miner would gladly give an ounce to hear from home he could not make the trip to the Bay at a loss of several hundred dollars in time and money. The express companies obviated this difficulty. The *Alta* of July 27, 1850, says: "We scarcely know what we should do if it were not for the various express lines established which enable us to hold communication with the mines. With the present defective mail communication we should scarcely ever be able to hear from the towns throughout California or from the remote portions of the Placers north or south. Hawley & Co., Todd & Bryan and Besford & Co. are three lines holding communication with different sections of the country. Adams & Co. occupy the whole of a large building on Montgomery street."

Adams & Co., established in 1850, soon became the leading express company of the coast. It absorbed a number of minor companies. It established relays of the fastest horses to carry the express to the mining towns. As early as 1852 the company's lines had penetrated the remote mining camps. Some of its riders per-

formed feats in riding that exceeded the famous pony express riders. Isaac W. Elwell made the trip between Placerville and Sacramento in two hours and fifty minutes, distance sixty-four miles; Frank Ryan made seventy-five miles in four hours and twenty minutes. On his favorite horse, Colonel, he made twenty miles in fifty-five minutes. Adams & Co. carried on a banking business and had branch banks in all the leading mining towns. They also became a political power. In the great financial crash of 1855 they failed and in their failure ruined thousands of their depositors. Wells, Fargo & Co. express was organized in 1851. It weathered the financial storm that carried down Adams & Co. It gained the confidence of the people of the Pacific coast and has never betrayed it. Its business has grown to immense proportions. It is one of the leading express companies of the world.

CHAPTER XXXII.

RAILROADS.

THE agitation of the Pacific railroad question began only two years after the first passenger railway was put in operation in the United States. The originator of the scheme to secure the commerce of Asia by a transcontinental railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific was Hartwell Carver, grandson of the famous explorer, Jonathan Carver. He published articles in the *New York Courier* and *Inquirer* in 1832 elaborating his idea, and memorialized congress on the subject. The western terminus was to be on the Columbia river. His road was to be made of stone. There were to be sleeping cars and dining cars attached to each train. In 1836, John Plumbe, then a resident of Dubuque, Iowa, advocated the building of a railroad from Lake Michigan to Oregon. At a public meeting held in Dubuque, March 26, 1838, which Plumbe addressed, a memorial to congress was drafted "praying for an appropriation to defray the expense of the survey and location of the first link in the great Atlantic and Pacific railroad, namely, from the lakes to the Mississippi." Their application was favorably received and an appropriation being made the same year, which was expended under the direction of the secretary of war, the report being of a very favorable character.*

Plumbe received the indorsement of the Wisconsin legislature of 1839-40 and a memorial was drafted to congress urging the continuance of the work. Plumbe went to Washington to urge his project. But the times were out of joint for great undertakings. The financial panic of 1837 had left the government revenues in a demoralized condition. Plumbe's plan was to issue stock to the amount of $100,000,000 divided in shares of $5 each. The government was to appropriate alternate sections of the public lands along the line of the road. Five million dollars were to be called in for the first installment. After this was expended in building, the receipts from the sale of the lands was to continue the building of the road. One hundred miles were to be built each year and twenty years was the time set for the completion of the road. A bill granting the subsidy and authorizing the building of the road was introduced in congress, but was defeated by the southern members who feared that it would foster the growth of free states.

The man best known in connection with the early agitation of the Pacific railroad scheme was Asa Whitney, of New York. For a time he acted with Carver in promulgating the project, but took up a plan of his own. Whitney wanted a strip of land sixty miles wide along the whole length of the road, which would have given about one hundred million acres of the public domain. Whitney's scheme called forth a great deal of discussion. It was feared by some

*Bancroft's History of California, Vol. VII., p. 499.

timorous souls that such a monopoly would endanger the government and by others that it would bankrupt the public treasury. The agitation was kept up for several years. The acquisition of California and New Mexico threw the project into politics. The question of depleting the treasury or giving away the public domain no longer worried the pro-slavery politicians in congress. The question that agitated them now was how far south could the road be deflected so that it would enhance the value of the lands over which they hoped to spread their pet institution—human slavery.

Another question that agitated the members of congress was whether the road should be built by the government—should be a national road. The route which the road should take was fought over year after year in congress. The south would not permit the north to have the road for fear that freemen would absorb the public lands and build up free states. It was the old dog-in-the-manger policy so characteristic of the southern proslavery politicians.

The California newspapers early took up the discussion and routes were thick as leaves in Valambrosa. In the *Star* of May 13, 1848, Dr. John Marsh outlines a route which was among the best proposed: "From the highest point on the Bay of San Francisco to which seagoing vessels can ascend; thence up the valley of the San Joaquin two hundred and fifty miles; thence through a low pass (Walker's) to the valley of the Colorado and thence through Arizona and New Mexico by the Santa Fe trail to Independence, Mo."

Routes were surveyed and the reports of the engineers laid before congress; memorials were received from the people of California praying for a road; bills were introduced and discussed, but the years passed and the Pacific railroad was not begun. Slavery, that "sum of all villainies," was an obstruction more impassable than the mountains and deserts that intervened between the Missouri and the Pacific. Southern politicians, aided and abetted by Gwin of California neutralized every attempt.

One of the first of several local railroad projects that resulted in something more than resolutions, public meetings and the election of a board of directors that never directed anything was the building of a railroad from San Francisco to San José. The agitation was begun early in 1850 and by February, 1851, $100,000 had been subscribed. September 6 of that year a company was organized and the projected road given the high sounding title of the Pacific & Atlantic railroad. Attempts were made to secure subscriptions for its stock in New York and in Europe, but without success. Congress was appealed to, but gave no assistance and all that there was to the road for ten years was its name. In 1859 a new organization was effected under the name of the San Francisco & San José railroad company. An attempt was made to secure a subsidy of $900,000 from the three counties through which the road was to pass, but this failed and the corporation dissolved. Another organization, the fourth, was effected with a capital stock of $2,000,000. The construction of the road was begun in October, 1860, and completed to San José January 16, 1864.

The first railroad completed and put into successful operation in California was the Sacramento Valley road. It was originally intended to extend the road from Sacramento through Placer and Sutter counties to Mountain City, in Yuba county, a distance of about forty miles. It came to a final stop at a little over half that distance. Like the San José road the question of building was agitated several years before anything was really done. In 1853 the company was reorganized under the railroad act of that year. Under the previous organization subscriptions had been obtained. The *Sacramento Union* of September 19, 1852, says: "The books of the Sacramento Valley railroad company were to have been opened in San Francisco Wednesday. Upwards of $200,000 of the necessary stock has been subscribed from here." The *Union* of September 24 announces, "That over $600,000 had already been subscribed at San Francisco and Sacramento." Under the reorganization a new board was elected November 12, 1853. C. L. Wilson was made president; F. W. Page, treasurer, and W. H. Watson, secretary. Theodore D. Judah, afterwards famous in California railroad building, was employed as

engineer and the construction of the road began in February, 1855. It was completed to Folsom a distance of twenty-two miles from Sacramento and the formal opening of the road for business took place February 22, 1856. According to the secretary's report for 1857 the earnings of that year averaged $18,000 per month. The total earnings for the year amounted to $216,000; the expenses $84,000, leaving a profit of $132,000. The cost of the road and its equipment was estimated at $700,000. From this showing it would seem that California's first railroad ought to have been a paying investment, but it was not. Money then was worth 5 per cent a month and the dividends from the road about 18 per cent a year. The difference between one and a half per cent and 5 per cent a month brought the road to a standstill.

Ten years had passed since California had become a state and had its representatives in congress. In all these years the question of a railroad had come up in some form in that body, yet the railroad seemingly was as far from a consummation as it had been a decade before. In 1859 the silver mines of the Washoe were discovered and in the winter of 1859-60 the great silver rush began. An almost continuous stream of wagons, pack trains, horsemen and footmen poured over the Sierra Nevadas into Carson Valley and up the slopes of Mount Davidson to Virginia City. The main line of travel was by way of Placerville, through Johnson's Pass to Carson City. An expensive toll road was built over the mountains and monster freight wagons hauled great loads of merchandise and mill machinery to the mines. "In 1863 the tolls on the new road amounted to $300,000 and the freight bills on mills and merchandise summed up $13,000,000."*

The rush to Washoe gave a new impetus to railroad projecting. A convention of the whole coast had been held at San Francisco in September, 1859, but nothing came of it beyond propositions and resolutions. Early in 1861, Theodore P. Judah called a railroad meeting at the St. Charles hotel in Sacramento. The feasibility of a road over the mountains, the large amount of business that would come to that road from the Washoe mines and the necessity of Sacramento moving at once to secure that trade were pointed out. This road would be the beginning of a transcontinental line and Sacramento had the opportunity of becoming its terminus. Judah urged upon some of the leading business men the project of organizing a company to begin the building of a transcontinental road. The Washoe trade and travel would be a very important item in the business of the road.

On the 28th of June, 1861, the Central Pacific Railroad company was organized under the general incorporation law of the state. Leland Stanford was chosen president, C. P. Huntington, vice-president, Mark Hopkins, treasurer, James Bailey, secretary, and T. D. Judah, chief engineer. The directors were those just named and E. B. Crocker, John F. Morse, D. W. Strong and Charles Marsh. The capital stock of the company was $8,500,000 divided into eighty-five thousand shares of $100 each. The shares taken by individuals were few, Stanford, Huntington, Hopkins, Judah and Charles Crocker subscribing for one hundred and fifty each; Glidden & Williams, one hundred and twenty-five shares; Charles A. Lombard and Orville D. Lombard, three hundred and twenty shares; Samuel Hooper, Benjamin J. Reed, Samuel P. Shaw, fifty shares each; R. O. Ives, twenty-five shares; Edwin B. Crocker, ten shares; Samuel Brannan, two hundred shares; cash subscriptions of which 10 per cent was required by law to be paid down realizing but a few thousand dollars with which to begin so important a work as a railroad across the Sierra Nevada.*

The total amount subscribed was $158,000, scarcely enough to build five miles of road on the level plains if it had all been paid up. None of the men in the enterprise was rich. Indeed, as fortunes go now, none of them had more than a competence. Charles Crocker, who was one of the best off, in his sworn statement, placed the value of his property at $25,000; C. P. Huntington placed the value of his individual possessions at $7,222, while Leland Stanford and

*Bancroft's History of California, Vol. VII., p. 541.

* Bancroft's History of California, Vol. VII.

his brother together owned property worth $32,950. The incubus that so long had prevented building a Pacific railroad was removed. The war of secession had begun. The southern senators and representatives were no longer in congress to obstruct legislation. The thirty-second and the thirty-fifth parallel roads southern schemes, were out of the way or rather the termini of these roads were inside the confederate lines.

A bill "to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean and to secure to the government the use of the same for postal, military and other purposes passed both houses and became a law July 1, 1862. The bill provided for the building of the road by two companies. The Union Pacific (which was to be a union of several roads already projected) was given the construction of the road to the eastern boundary of California, where it would connect with the Central Pacific. Government bonds were to be given to the companies to the amount of $16,000 per mile to the foot of the mountains and $48,000 per mile through the mountains when forty miles of road had been built and approved by the government commissioners. In addition to the bonds the companies were to receive "every alternate section of public land designated by odd numbers to the amount of five alternate sections per mile on each side of the railroad on the line thereof and within the limits of ten miles on each side of the road not sold, reserved or otherwise disposed of by the United States." Mineral lands were exempted and any lands unsold three years after the completion of the entire road were subject to a preëmption like other public lands at a price not exceeding $1.25 per acre, payable to the company.

The government bonds were a first mortgage on the road. The ceremony of breaking ground for the beginning of the enterprise took place at Sacramento, February 22, 1863, Governor Stanford throwing the first shovelful of earth, and work was begun on the first eighteen miles of the road which was let by contract to be finished by August, 1863. The Central Pacific company was in hard lines. Its means were not sufficient to build forty miles which must be completed before the subsidy could be received. In October, 1863, Judah who had been instrumental in securing the first favorable legislation set out a second time for Washington to ask further assistance from congress. At New York he was stricken with a fever and died there. To him more than any other man is due the credit of securing for the Pacific coast its first transcontinental railroad. In July, 1864, an amended act was passed increasing the land grant from six thousand four hundred acres to twelve thousand eight hundred per mile and reducing the number of miles to be built annually from fifty to twenty-five. The company was allowed to bond its road to the same amount per mile as the government subsidy.

The Western Pacific, which was virtually a continuation of the Central Pacific, was organized in December, 1862, for the purpose of building a railroad from Sacramento via Stockton to San José. A branch of this line was constructed from Niles to Oakland, which was made the terminus of the Central Pacific. The Union Pacific did not begin construction until 1865, while the Central Pacific had forty-four miles constructed. In 1867 the Central Pacific had reached the state line. It had met with many obstacles in the shape of lawsuits and unfavorable comments by the press. From the state line it pushed out through Nevada and on the 28th of April, 1869, the two companies met with their completed roads at Promontory Point in Utah, fifty-three miles west of Ogden. The ceremony of joining the two roads took place May 10. The last tie, a handsomely finished piece of California laurel, was laid and Governor Stanford with a silver hammer drove a golden spike. The two locomotives, one from the east and one from the west, bumped noses and the first transcontinental railroad was completed.

The Southern Pacific Railroad company of California was incorporated in December, 1865. It was incorporated to build a railroad from some point on the bay of San Francisco through the counties of Santa Clara, Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Tulare, Los Angeles to San Diego and thence easterly through San Diego to the eastern boundary of the state there to

connect with a railroad from the Mississippi river.

"In July, 1866, congress granted to the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad company to aid in the construction of its road and telegraph line from Springfield, Mo., by the most eligible route to Albuquerque in New Mexico and thence by the thirty-fifth parallel route to the Pacific, an amount of land equal to that granted to the Central Pacific. By this act the Southern Pacific Railroad was authorized to connect with the Atlantic and Pacific near the boundary line of California, at such point as should be deemed most suitable by the companies and should have therefore the same amount of land per mile as the Atlantic and Pacific."*

In 1867 the Southern Pacific company decided to change its route and instead of building down through the coast counties to go eastward from Gilroy through Pacheco's pass into the upper San Joaquin valley through Fresno, Kern and San Bernardino to the Colorado river near Fort Mojave. This contemplated change left the lower coast counties out in the cold and caused considerable dissatisfaction, and an attempt was made to prevent it from getting a land subsidy. Congress, however, authorized the change, as did the California legislature of 1870, and the road secured the land.

The San Francisco and San José Railroad came into possession of the Southern Pacific company, San Francisco donating three thousand shares of stock in that road on condition that the Southern Pacific company, after it secured the San José road, should extend it to the southeastern boundary of the state. In 1869 a proposition was made to the supervisors of San Francisco to donate $1,000,000 in bonds of the city to the Southern Pacific company, on condition that it build two hundred miles south from Gilroy, the bonds to be delivered on the completion and stocking of each section of fifty miles of road. The bonds were voted by the people of the city. The road was built to Soledad, seventy miles from Gilroy, and then stopped. The different branch roads in the San José and Salinas valley were all consolidated under the name of the Southern Pacific. The Central Pacific and the Southern Pacific, although apparently different organizations, were really one company.

The Southern Pacific built southward from Lathrop, a station on the Central Pacific's line, a railroad up the valley by way of Tehachapi Pass to Los Angeles. While this road was in course of construction in 1872 a proposition was made to the people of Los Angeles through the county board of supervisors to vote a subsidy equal to 5 per cent of the entire amount of the taxable property of the county on condition that the Southern Pacific build fifty miles of its main line to Yuma in the county. Part of the subsidy was to be paid in bonds of the Los Angeles & San Pedro Railroad, amounting to $377,000 and sixty acres of land for depot purposes. The total amount of subsidy to be given was $610,000. The proposition was accepted by the people, the railroad company in addition to its original offer agreeing to build a branch road twenty-seven miles long to Anaheim. This was done to head off the Tom Scott road which had made a proposition to build a branch road from San Diego to Los Angeles to connect with the Texas Pacific road which the year before had been granted a right of way from Marshall, Tex., to San Diego, and was preparing to build its road. The Southern Pacific completed its road to Los Angeles in September, 1876, and reached the Colorado river on its way east in April, 1877. It obtained the old franchise of the Texas Pacific and continued its road eastward to El Paso, Tex., where it made connections with roads to New Orleans and other points south and east, thus giving California its second transcontinental railroad. This road was completed to El Paso in 1881.

The Atlantic & Pacific road with which the Southern Pacific was to connect originally, suffered from the financial crash of 1873 and suspended operations for a time. Later it entered into a combination with the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe and St. Louis & San Francisco railroad companies. This gave the Atchison road a half interest in the charter of the Atlantic & Pacific. The two companies built a main line jointly from Albuquerque (where the Atchison

* Bancroft, VII., p. 594.

road ended) west to the Colorado river at the Needles. Their intention was to continue the road to Los Angeles and San Francisco.

The California Southern and the California Southern Extension companies were organized to extend the Atlantic & Pacific from Barstow to San Diego. These companies consolidated and completed a road from San Diego to San Bernardino September 13, 1883. The Southern Pacific interfered. It attempted to prevent the California Southern from crossing its tracks at Colton by placing a heavy engine at the point of crossing, but was compelled to move the engine to save it from demolition. It built a branch from Mojave station to connect with the Atlantic & Pacific in which it had an interest. This gave connection for the Atlantic & Pacific over the Southern Pacific lines with both Los Angeles and San Francisco. This was a serious blow to the California Southern, but disasters never come singly. The great flood of January, 1884, swept down through the Temecula Cañon and carried about thirty miles of its track out to sea. It was doubtful under the circumstances whether it would pay to rebuild it. Finally the Southern Pacific agreed to sell its extension from Barstow to the Needles to the California Southern, reserving its road from Barstow to Mojave. Construction was begun at once on the California Southern line from Barstow to San Bernardino and in November, 1885, the road was completed from Barstow to San Diego. In October, 1886, the road passed under control of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe. In the spring of 1887 the road was extended westerly from San Bernardino to meet the San Gabriel valley road which had been built eastward from Los Angeles through Pasadena. The completed line reached Los Angeles in May, 1887, thus giving California a third transcontinental line.

After many delays the gap in the Southern Pacific coast line was closed and the first trains from the north and the south passed over its entire length between Los Angeles and San Francisco on the 31st of March, 1901, nearly thirty years after the first section of the road was built.

The Oregon & California and the Central Pacific were consolidated in 1870. The two ends of the road were united at Ashland, Ore. in 1887. The entire line is now controlled by the Southern Pacific, and, in connection with the Northern Pacific and the Oregon Railway & Navigation Road at Portland, forms a fourth transcontinental line for California.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE INDIAN QUESTION.

IT IS quite the fashion now with a certain school of writers, who take their history of California from "Ramona" and their information on the "Indian question" under the rule of the mission padres from sources equally fictitious, to draw invidious comparisons between the treatment of the Indian by Spain and Mexico when mission rule was dominant in California and his treatment by the United States after the conquest.

That the Indian was brutally treated and unmercifully slaughtered by the American miners and rancheros in the early '50s none will deny; that he had fared but little better under the rule of Spain and Mexico is equally true. The tame and submissive Indians of the sea coast with whom the mission had to deal were a very different people from the mountain tribes with whom the Americans came in conflict.

We know but little of the conquistas or gentile hunts that were occasionally sent out from the mission to capture subjects for conversion. The history of these was not recorded. From "The narrative of a voyage to the Pacific and Berings strait with the Polar expedition; performed in his majesty's ship Blossom, under command of Capt. F. W. Beechey, R. N., in the years 1825-26-27-28, we have the story of one of these

conquistas or convert raids. Captain Beechey visited California in 1828. While in California he studied the missions, or at least those he visited, and after his return to England published his observations. His observations have great value. He was a disinterested observer and gave a plain, straightforward, truthful account of what he saw, without prejudice or partiality. His narrative dispels much of the romance that some modern writers throw around mission life. This conquista set out from the Mission San José.

"At a particular period of the year also, when the Indians can be spared from agricultural concerns of the establishment, many are permitted to take the launch of the mission and make excursions to the Indian territory. All are anxious to go on such occasions. Some to visit friends, some to procure the manufactures of their barbarian countrymen (which, by the by, are often better than their own) and some with a secret determination never to return. On these occasions the padres desire them to induce as many of their unconverted brethren as possible to accompany them back to the mission; of course, implying that this is to be done only by persuasion; but the boat being furnished with a cannon and musketry and in every respect equipped for war, it too often happens that the neophytes and the *gente de razon,* who superintend the direction of the boat, avail themselves of their superiority with the desire of ingratiating themselves with their master and receiving a reward. There are besides repeated acts of aggression, which it is necessary to punish, all of which furnish proselytes. Women and children are generally the first objects of capture, as their husbands and parents sometimes voluntarily follow them into captivity. These misunderstandings and captivities keep up a perpetual enmity amongst the tribes whose thirst for revenge is insatiable."

We had an opportunity of witnessing the tragical issue of one of these holyday excursions of the neophytes of the Mission San José. The launch was armed, as usual, and placed under the superintendence of an alcalde of the mission, who appears from one statement (for there are several), converted the party of pleasure either into an attack for procuring proselytes or of revenge upon a particular tribe for some aggression in which they were concerned. They proceeded up the Rio San Joachin until they came to the territory of a particular tribe named Consemenes, when they disembarked with the gun and encamped for the night near the village of Los Gentiles, intending to make an attack upon them next morning, but before they were prepared the gentiles, who had been apprised of their intention and had collected a large body of their friends, became the assailants and pressed so hard upon the party that, notwithstanding they dealt death in every direction with their cannon and musketry and were inspired with confidence by the contempt in which they held the valor and tactics of their unconverted countrymen, they were overpowered by numbers and obliged to seek their safety in flight and to leave the gun in the woods. Some regained the launch and were saved and others found their way overland to the mission, but thirty-four of the party never returned to tell their tale.

"There were other accounts of the unfortunate affair, one of which accused the padre of authorizing the attack. The padre was greatly displeased at the result of the excursion, as the loss of so many Indians to the mission was of great consequence and the confidence with which the victory would inspire the Indians was equally alarming.

"He therefore joined with the converted Indians in a determination to chastise and strike terror into the victorious tribe and in concert with the governor planned an expedition against them. The mission furnished money, arms, Indians and horses and the presidio troops, headed by Alferez Sanches; a veteran, who had been frequently engaged with the Indians and was acquainted with that part of the country. The expedition set out November 19, and we heard nothing of it until the 27th, but two days after the troops had taken to the field some immense columns of smoke rising above the mountains in the direction of the Cosemmes bespoke the conflagration of the village of the persecuted gentiles; and on the day above mentioned the veteran Sanches made a triumphant entry into

the Mission of San José, escorting forty miserable women and children. The gun which had been lost in the first battle was retaken and other trophies captured.

"This victory, so glorious according to the ideas of the conquerors, was achieved with the loss of only one man on the part of the Christians, who was mortally wounded by the bursting of his own gun; but on the part of the enemy it was considerable, as Sanches the morning after the battle counted forty-one men, women and children dead. It is remarkable that none of the prisoners was wounded and it is greatly to be feared that the Christians, who could scarcely be prevented from revenging the death of their relatives upon those who were brought to the mission, glutted their brutal passions on all who fell into their hands.

"The prisoners they had captured were immediately enrolled in the list of the mission, except a nice little boy whose mother was shot while running away with him in her arms, and he was sent to the presidio and, as I heard, given to the Alferez as a reward for his services. The poor little orphan had received a slight wound in his forehead; he wept bitterly at first and refused to eat, but in time became reconciled to his fate.

"Those who were taken to the mission were immediately converted and were daily taught by the neophytes to repeat the Lord's prayer and certain hymns in the Spanish language. I happened to visit the mission about this time and saw these unfortunate beings under tuition. They were clothed in blankets and arranged in a row before a blind Indian, who understood their dialect and was assisted by an alcalde to keep order. Their tutor began by desiring them to kneel, informing them that he was going to teach them the names of the persons composing the trinity and they were to repeat in Spanish what he dictated. The neophytes being arranged, the speaker began: 'Santisima Trinidad, Dios, Jesu Christo, Espiritu Santo,' pausing between each name to listen if the simple Indians, who had never before spoken a word of Spanish, pronounced it correctly or anything near the mark. After they had repeated these names satisfactorily, their blind tutor, after a pause, added 'Santos' and recapitulated the names of a great many saints, which finished the morning's lesson.

"They did not appear to me to pay much attention to what was going forward and I observed to the padre that I thought their teachers had an arduous task, but he said they had never found any difficulty; that the Indians were accustomed to change their own gods and that their conversion was in a measure habitual to them.

"The expenses of the late expedition fell heavily upon the mission and I was glad to find the padre thought it was paying very dear for so few converts, as in all probability it will lessen his desire to undertake another expedition and the poor Indians will be spared the horrors of being butchered by their own countrymen or dragged from their homes into captivity."

This conquista and the results that followed were very similar to some of the so-called Indian wars that took place after the American occupation. The Indians were provoked to hostilities by outrage and injustice. Then the military came down on them and wiped them out of existence.

The unsanitary condition of the Indian villages at some of the missions was as fatal as an Indian war. The Indian was naturally filthy, but in his native state he had the whole country to roam over. If his village became too filthy and the vermin in it too aggressive, he purified it by fire—burned up his wigwam. The adobe houses that took the place of the brush hovel, which made up the early mission villages, could not be burned to purify them. No doubt the heavy death rate at the missions was due largely to the uncleanly habits of the neophytes. The statistics given in the chapter on the Franciscan missions show that in all the missionary establishments a steady decline, a gradual extinction of the neophyte population, had been in progress for two to three decades before the missions were secularized. Had secularization been delayed or had it not taken place in the course of a few decades, at the rate the neophytes were dying off the missions would have become depopulated. The death rate was greater than the birth rate in all of them and the mortality among

the children was greater even than among the adults. After secularization the neophytes drifted to the cities and towns where they could more readily gratify their passion for strong drink. Their mission training and their Christianity had no restraining influence upon them. Their vicious habits, which were about the only thing they had acquired by their contact with the whites, soon put an end to them.

During the Spanish and Mexican eras Northern California remained practically a terra incognita. Two missions, San Rafael and San Francisco Solano, and the castillo at Sonora, had been established as a sort of protection to the northern frontier. A few armed incursions had been made into the country beyond these to punish Indian horse and cattle thieves. General Vallejo, who was in command of the troops on the frontera del norte, had always endeavored to cultivate friendly relations with the gentiles, but the padres disliked to have these near the missions on account of their influence on the neophytes. Near the Mission San Rafael, in 1833, occurred one of those Indian massacres not uncommon under Spanish and Mexican rule. A body of gentiles from the rancherias of Pulia, encouraged by Figueroa and Vallejo, came to the Mission San Rafael with a view to establishing friendly relations. The padre put off the interview until next day. During the night a theft was committed, which was charged to the gentiles. Fifteen of them were seized and sent as prisoners to San Francisco. Padre Mercado, fearing that their countrymen might retaliate, sent out his major doma Molina with thirty-seven armed neophytes, who surprised the gentiles in their rancheria, killed twenty-one, wounded many more and captured twenty men, women and children. Vallejo was indignant at the shameful violation of his promises of protection to the Indians. He released the prisoners at San Francisco and the captives at the mission and tried to pacify the wrathful gentiles. Padre Mercado was suspended from his ministry for a short time, but was afterward freed and returned to San Rafael.*

There was a system of Indian slavery in existence in California under the rule of Spain and Mexico. Most of the wealthier Spanish and Mexican families had Indian servants. In the raids upon the gentiles the children taken by the soldiers were sometimes sold or disposed of to families for servants. Expeditions were gotten up upon false pretexts, while the main purpose was to steal Indian children and sell them to families for servants. This practice was carried on by the Americans, too, after the conquest.

For a time after the discovery of gold the Indians and the miners got along amicably. The first miners were mainly old Californians, used to the Indians, but with the rush of '49 came many rough characters who, by their injustice, soon stirred up trouble. Sutter had employed a large number of Indians on his ranches and in various capacities. These were faithful and honest. Some of them were employed at his mill in Coloma and in the diggings. In the spring of '49 a band of desperadoes known as the Mountain Hounds murdered eight of these at the mill. Marshall, in trying to defend them, came near being lynched by the drunken brutes.

The injustice done the Indians soon brought on a number of so-called Indian wars. These were costly affairs to the state and in less than two years had plunged the young commonwealth into a debt of nearly $1,000,000. In a copy of the *Los Angeles Star* for February 28, 1852, I find this enumeration of the wars and the estimated cost of each: The Morehead expedition, $120,000; General Bean's first expedition, $66,000; General Bean's second expedition, $50,000; the Mariposa war, $230,000; the El Dorado war, $300,000. The Morehead war originated out of an injustice done the Yuma Indians. These Indians, in the summer of 1849, had obtained an old scow and established a ferry across the Colorado river below the mouth of the Gila, and were making quite a paying business out of it by ferrying emigrants across the river. A Dr. A. L. Lincoln, from Illinois, had established a ferry at the mouth of the Gila early in 1850. Being short handed he employed eight men of a party of immigrants, and their leader, Jack Glanton, who seems to have been a desperado. Glanton insulted a Yuma chief and the Indians charged him with destroying their boat

* Bancroft's History of California, Vol. III.

and killing an Irishman they had employed.

Watching their chance the Yumas killed eleven of the ferrymen, including Lincoln and Glanton. Governor Burnett ordered Major-General Bean to march against the Yumas. Bean sent his quartermaster-general, Joseph C. Morehead. Morehead, on Bean's orders, provided necessaries for a three months' campaign at most extravagant prices, paying for them in drafts on the state treasury. Morehead started out from Los Angeles with forty men, but by the time he reached the Colorado river he had recruited his force to one hundred and twenty-five men. The liquid supplies taken along doubtless stimulated recruiting. They reached the Colorado in the summer of 1850, and camped at the ferry. The Indians at their approach fled up the river. After two months' services they were disbanded. William Carr, one of the three ferrymen who escaped, was wounded and came to Los Angeles for treatment. The doctor who treated him charged the state $500. The man who boarded him put in a bill of $120; and the patriot who housed him wanted $45 for house rent. Bean's first and second expeditions were very similar in results to the Morehead campaign. The El Dorado expedition or Rogers' war, as it was sometimes called, was another of Governor Burnett's fiascos. He ordered William Rogers, sheriff of El Dorado county, to call out two hundred men at the state's expense to punish the Indians for killing some whites who had, in all probability, been the aggressors and the Indians had retaliated. It was well known that there were men in that part of the country who had wantonly killed Indians for the pleasure of boasting of their exploits.

Nor were the whites always the aggressors. There were bad Indians, savages, who killed without provocation and stole whenever an opportunity offered. In their attempts at retaliation the Indians slaughtered indiscriminately and the innocent more often were their victims than the guilty. On the side of the whites it was a war of extermination waged in many instances without regard to age or sex; on the part of the Indian it was a war of retaliation waged with as little distinction.

The extermination of the aborigines was fearfully rapid. Of over ten thousand Indians in Yuba, Placer, Nevada and Sierra counties in 1849 not more than thirty-eight hundred remained in 1854. Much of this decrease had been brought about by dissipation and disease engendered by contact with the whites. Reservations were established in various parts of the state, where Indians abounded, but the large salaries paid to agents and the numerous opportunities for peculation made these positions attractive to politicians, who were both incompetent and dishonest. The Indians, badly treated at the reservations, deserted them whenever an opportunity offered.

A recital of the atrocities committed upon each other in the northwestern part of the state during a period of nearly twenty years would fill a volume. The Indian with all his fiendishness was often outmatched in cruelty by his pale faced brother. The Indian Island massacre was scarcely ever equaled in the annals of Indian cruelties. Indian Island lies nearly opposite the city of Eureka in Humboldt Bay. On this island, fifty years ago, was a large rancheria of inoffensive Indians, who lived chiefly by fishing. They had not been implicated in any of the wars or raids that had disturbed that part of the country. They maintained many of their old customs and had an annual gathering, at which they performed various rites and ceremonies, accompanied by dancing. A number of the Indians from the mainland joined them at these times. Near midnight of February 25, 1860, a number of boats filled with white men sped silently out to the island. The whites landed and quietly surrounded the Indians, who were resting after their orgies, and began the slaughter with axes, knives and clubs, splitting skulls, knocking out brains and cutting the throats of men, women and children. Of the two hundred Indians on the island only four or five men escaped by swimming to the mainland. The same night a rancheria at the entrance of Humboldt Bay and another at the mouth of Eel river were attacked and about one hundred Indians slaughtered. The fiends who committed these atrocities belonged to a secret organization. No rigid investigation was ever made to find out who they were. The grand

jury mildly condemned the outrage and there the matter ended.

The Indians kept up hostilities, rendering travel and traffic unsafe on the borders of Humboldt, Klamath and Trinity counties. Governor Stanford in 1863 issued a proclamation for the enlistment of six companies of volunteers from the six northwestern counties of the state. These recruits were organized into what was known as the Mountaineer battalion with Lieut.-Col. Stephen G. Whipple in command. A number of Indian tribes united and a desultory warfare began. The Indians were worsted in nearly every engagement. Their power was broken and in February, 1865, fragments of the different tribes were gathered into the Hoopa Valley reservation. The Mountaineer battalion in what was known as the "Two Years' War" settled the Indian question from Shasta to the sea for all time.

The Modoc war was the last of the Indian disturbances in the state. The Modocs inhabited the country about Rhett Lake and Lost river in the northeast part of the state, bordering on Oregon. Their history begins with the massacre of an immigrant train of sixty-five persons, men, women and children, on their way from Oregon to California. This brought upon them a reprisal by the whites in which forty-one out of forty-six Indians who had been invited by Benjamin Wright to a pow wow after they had laid aside their arms were set upon by Wright and his companions with revolvers and all killed but five. In 1864 a treaty had been made with the Modocs by which they were to reside on the Klamath reservation. But tiring of reservation life, under their leader, Captain Jack, they returned to their old homes on Lost river. A company of United States troops and several volunteers who went along to see the fun were sent to bring them back to the reservation. They refused to go and a fight ensued in which four of the volunteers and one of the regulars were killed, and the troops retreated. The Modocs after killing several settlers gathered at the lava beds near Rhett Lake and prepared for war.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wheaton with about four hundred men attacked the Indians in the lava beds January 17, 1873. Captain Jack had but fifty-one men. When Wheaton retreated he had lost thirty-five men killed and a number wounded, but not an Indian had been hurt. A few days after the battle a peace commission was proposed at Washington. A. B. Meacham, Jesse Applegate and Samuel Case were appointed. Elijah Steele of Yreka, who was on friendly terms with the Indians, was sent for. He visited the lava beds with the interpreter, Fairchild, and had a big talk. He proposed to them to surrender and they would be sent to Angel Island near San Francisco, fed and cared for and allowed to select any reservation they wished. Steele, on his return to camp, reported that the Indians accepted the terms, but Fairchild said they had not and next day on his return Steele found out his mistake and barely escaped with his life. Interviews continued without obtaining any definite results, some of the commission became disgusted and returned home. General Canby, commanding the department, had arrived and taken charge of affairs. Commissioner Case resigned and Judge Rosborough was appointed in his place and the Rev. E. Thomas, a doctor of divinity in the Methodist church, was added to the commission. A man by the name of Riddle and his wife Toby, a Modoc, acted as go-betweens and negotiations continued.

A pow wow was arranged at the council tent at which all parties were to meet unarmed, but Toby was secretly informed that it was the intention of the Modocs to massacre the commissioners as had been done to the Indian commissioners twenty years before by Benjamin Wright and his gang. On April 10, while Meacham and Dyer, the superintendent of the Klamath reservation, who had joined the commissioners, were away from camp, the Rev. Dr. Thomas made an agreement with a delegation from Captain Jack for the commission and General Canby to meet the Indians at the council tent. Meacham on his return opposed the arrangement, fearing treachery. The doctor insisted that God had done a wonderful work in the Modoc camp, but Meacham shocked the pious doctor by saying "God had not been in the Modoc camp this winter."

Two of the Indian leaders, Boston Charley and Bogus Charley, came to headquarters to accompany the commission. Riddle and his wife, Toby, bitterly opposed the commissioners' going, telling them they would be killed, and Toby going so far as to seize Meacham's horse to prevent him from going, telling him, "You get kill." Canby and the doctor insisted upon going, despite all protests, the doctor saying, "Let us go as we agreed and trust in God." Meacham and Dyer secured derringers in their side pockets before going. When the commissioners, the interpreters, Riddle and his wife, reached the council tent they found Captain Jack, Schonchin John, Black Jim, Shacknasty Jim, Ellen's Man and Hooker Jim sitting around a fire at the council tent. Concealed behind some rocks a short distance away were two young Indians with a number of rifles. The two Charleys, Bogus and Boston, who had come with the commissioners from headquarters, informed the Indians that the commissioners were not armed. The interview began. The Indians were very insolent. Suddenly, at a given signal, the Indians uttered a war whoop, and Captain Jack drew a revolver from under his coat and shot General Canby. Boston Charley shot Dr. Thomas, who fell, rose again, but was shot down while begging for his life. The young Indians had brought up the rifles and a fusillade was begun upon the others. All escaped without injury except Meacham, who, after running some distance, was felled by a bullet fired by Hooker Jim, and left for dead. He was saved from being scalped by the bravery of Toby. He recovered, however, although badly disfigured. While this was going on, Curly Haired Doctor and several other Modocs, with a white flag, inveigled Lieutenants Boyle and Sherwood beyond the lines. Seeing the Indians were armed, the officers turned to flee, when Curly Haired Jack fired and broke Lieutenant Sherwood's thigh. He died a few days later. The troops were called to arms when the firing began, but the Indians escaped to the lava beds. After a few days' preparation, Colonel Gillem, who was in command, began an attack on the Indian stronghold. Their position was shelled by mountain howitzers. In the fighting, which lasted four days, sixteen soldiers were killed and thirteen wounded. In a reconnoissance under Captain Thomas a few days later, a body of seventy troops and fourteen Warm Spring Indians ran into an ambush of the Indians and thirteen soldiers, including Thomas, were killed. Gen. Jefferson C. Davis was placed in command. The Indians were forced out of the lava beds, their water supply having been cut off. They quarreled among themselves, broke up into parties, were chased down and all captured. Captain Jack and Schonchin John, the two leaders, were shackled together. General Davis made preparations to hang these and six or eight others, but orders from Washington stopped him. The leading Indians were tried by court-martial. Captain Jack, Schonchin John, Black Jim and Boston Charley were hung, two others were sentenced to imprisonment for life. The other Modocs, men, women and children, were sent to a fort in Nebraska and afterwards transferred to the Quaw Paw Agency in Indian Territory. This ended the Modoc war and virtually put an end to the Modoc Indians.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

SOME POLITICAL HISTORY.

THE first Chinese emigrants to California arrived in the brig Eagle, from Hong Kong, in the month of February, 1848. They were two men and one woman. This was before the discovery of gold was known abroad. What brought these waifs from the Flowery Kingdom to California does not appear in the record. February 1, 1849, there were fifty-four Chinamen and one Chinawoman in the territory. January 1, 1850, seven hundred and eighty-nine men and two women had arrived. January 1, 1851, four thousand and eighteen men and seven

women; a year later their numbers had increased to eight thousand one hundred and twenty-one men and eight women; May 7, 1852, eleven thousand seven hundred and eighty men and seven women had found their way to the land of gold. The *Alta California,* from which I take these figures, estimated that between seven and ten thousand more would arrive in the state before January 1, 1853. The editor sagely remarks: "No one fears danger or misfortune from their excessive numbers." There was no opposition to their coming; on the contrary, they were welcomed and almost lionized. The *Alta* of April 27, 1851, remarks: "An American barque yesterday brought eighty worshippers of the sun, moon and many stars. These Celestials make excellent citizens and we are pleased to notice their daily arrival in large numbers." The *Alta* describes a Great Chinese meeting on Portsmouth Square, which took place in 1851. It seems to have been held for the purpose of welcoming the Chinese to California and at the same time doing missionary work and distributing religious tracts among them. The report says: "A large assemblage of citizens and several ladies collected on the plaza to witness the ceremonies. Ah Hee assembled his division and Ah Sing marched his into Kearny street, where the two divisions united and then marched to the square. Many carried fans. There were several peculiar looking Chinamen among them. One, a very tall, old Celestial with an extensive tail, excited universal attention. He had a huge pair of spectacles upon his nose, the glasses of which were about the size of a telescope lens. He also had a singularly colored fur mantle or cape upon his shoulders and a long sort of robe. We presume he must be a mandarin at least.

"Vice Consul F. A. Woodworth, His Honor, Major J. W. Geary, Rev. Albert Williams, Rev. A. Fitch and Rev. F. D. Hunt were present. Ah Hee acted as interpreter. The Rev. Hunt gave them some orthodox instruction in which they were informed of the existence of a country where the China boys would never die; this made them laugh quite heartily. Tracts, scriptural documents, astronomical works, almanacs and other useful religious and instructive documents printed in Chinese characters were distributed among them."

I give the report of another meeting of "The Chinese residents of San Francisco," taken from the *Alta* of December 10, 1849. I quote it to show how the Chinese were regarded when they first came to California and how they were flattered and complimented by the presence of distinguished citizens at their meetings. Their treatment a few years later, when they were mobbed and beaten in the streets for no fault of theirs except for coming to a Christian country, must have given them a very poor opinion of the white man's consistency. "A public meeting of the Chinese residents of the town was held on the evening of Monday, November 19, at the Canton Restaurant on Jackson street. The following preamble and resolutions were presented and adopted:

"'Whereas, It becomes necessary for us, strangers as we are in a strange land, unacquainted with the language and customs of our adopted country, to have some recognized counselor and advisor to whom we may all appeal with confidence for wholesome instruction, and,

"'Whereas, We should be at a loss as to what course of action might be necessary for us to pursue therefore,

"'Resolved, That a committee of four be appointed to wait upon Selim E. Woodworth, Esq., and request him in behalf of the Chinese residents of San Francisco to act in the capacity of arbiter and advisor for them.'

"Mr. Woodworth was waited upon by Ah Hee, Jon Ling, Ah Ting and Ah Toon and kindly consented to act. The whole affair passed off in the happiest manner. Many distinguished guests were present, Hon. J. W. Geary, alcalde; E. H. Harrison, ex-collector of the port, and others."

At the celebration of the admission of California into the Union the "China Boys" were a prominent feature. One report says: "The Celestials had a banner of crimson satin on which were some Chinese characters and the inscription 'China Boys.' They numbered about fifty and were arrayed in the richest stuff and commanded by their chief, Ah Sing."

While the "China Boys" were feted and flat-

tered in San Francisco they were not so enthusiastically welcomed by the miners. The legislature in 1850 passed a law fixing the rate of license for a foreign miner at $20 per month. This was intended to drive out and keep out of the mines all foreigners, but the rate was so excessively high that it practically nullified the enforcement of the law and it was repealed in 1851. As the Chinese were only allowed peaceable possession of mines that would not pay white man's wages they did not make fortunes in the diggings. If by chance the Asiatics should happen to strike it rich in ground abandoned by white men there was a class among the white miners who did not hesitate to rob the Chinamen of their ground.

As a result of their persecution in the mines the Chinese flocked to San Francisco and it was not long until that city had more "China Boys" than it needed in its business. The legislature of 1855 enacted a law that masters, owners or consignors of vessels bringing to California persons incompetent to become citizens under the laws of the state should pay a fine of $50 for every such person landed. A suit was brought to test the validity of the act; it was declared unconstitutional. In 1858 the foreign miner's tax was $10 per month and as most of the other foreigners who had arrived in California in the early '50s had by this time become citizens by naturalization the foreigners upon whom the tax bore most heavily were the Chinese who could not become citizens. As a consequence many of them were driven out of the mines and this again decreased the revenue of the mining counties, a large part of which was made up of poll tax and license.

The classes most bitterly opposed to the Chinese in the mines were the saloon-keepers, the gamblers and their constituents. While the Chinaman himself is a most inveterate gambler and not averse to strong drink he did not divest himself of his frugal earnings in the white man's saloon or gambling den, and the gentry who kept these institutions were the first, like Bill Nye in Bret Harte's poem, to raise the cry, "We are ruined by Chinese cheap labor." While the southern politicians who were the rulers of the state before the Civil war were opposed to the Chinese and legislated against them, it was not done in the interest of the white laborer. An act to establish a coolie system of servile labor was introduced in the pro-slavery legislature of 1854. It was intended as a substitute for negro slavery. Senator Roach, a free state man, exposed its iniquity. It was defeated. The most intolerant and the most bitter opponents of the Chinese then and later when opposition had intensified were certain servile classes of Europeans who in their native countries had always been kept in a state of servility to the aristocracy, but when raised to the dignity of American citizens by naturalization proceeded to celebrate their release from their former serfdom by persecuting the Chinese, whom they regarded as their inferiors. The outcry these people made influenced politicians, who pandered to them for the sake of their votes to make laws and ordinances that were often burlesques on legislation.

In 1870 the legislature enacted a law imposing a penalty of not less than $1,000 nor more than $5,000 or imprisonment upon any one bringing to California any subject of China or Japan without first presenting evidence of his or her good character to the commissioner of immigration. The supreme court decided the law unconstitutional. Laws were passed prohibiting the employment of Chinese on the public works; prohibiting them from owning real estate and from obtaining licenses for certain kinds of business. The supervisors of San Francisco passed an ordinance requiring that the hair of any male prisoner convicted of an offense should be cut within one inch of his head. This, of course, was aimed at Chinese convicts and intended to deprive them of their queues and degrade them in the estimation of their people. It was known as the Pig Tail Ordinance; the mayor vetoed it. Another piece of class legislation by the San Francisco supervisors imposed a license of $15 a quarter on laundries using no horses, while a laundry using a one-horse wagon paid but $2 per quarter. The Chinese at this time (1876) did not use horses in their laundry business. The courts decided against this ordinance.

Notwithstanding the laws and ordinances

against them the Chinese continued to come and they found employment of some kind to keep them from starving. They were industrious and economical; there were no Chinese tramps. Although they filled a want in the state, cheap and reliable labor, at the beginning of its railroad and agricultural development, they were not desirable citizens. Their habits and morals were bad. Their quarters in the cities reeked with filth and immorality. They maintained their Asiatic customs and despised the "white devils" among whom they lived, which, by the way, was not strange considering the mobbing and maltreatment they received from the other aliens. They made merchandise of their women and carried on a revolting system of female slavery.

The Burlingame treaty guaranteed mutual protection to the citizens of China and the United States on each other's soil; to freedom in religious opinions; to the right to reside in either country at will and other privileges accorded to civilized nations. Under this treaty the Chinese could not be kept out of California and agitation was begun for the modification or entire abrogation of the treaty.

For a number of years there had been a steady decline in the price of labor. Various causes had contributed to this. The productiveness of the mines had decreased; railroad communication with the east had brought in a number of workmen and increased competition; the efforts of the labor unions to decrease the hours of labor and still keep up the wages at the old standard had resulted in closing up some of the manufacturing establishments, the proprietors finding it impossible to compete with eastern factories. All these and other causes brought about a depression in business and brought on in 1877-78 a labor agitation that shook the foundations of our social fabric. The hard times and decline in wages was charged against the Chinese. No doubt the presence of the Mongolians in California had considerable to do with it and particularly in the lower grades of employment but the depression was mainly caused from over-production and the financial crisis of 1873, which had affected the whole United States. Another cause local to California was the wild mania for stock gambling that had prevailed in California for a number of years. The bonanza kings of the Washoe by getting up corners in stocks running up fraudulent values and then unloading on outside buyers had impoverished thousands of people of small means and enriched themselves without any return to their dupes.

Hard times always brings to the front a class of noisy demagogues who with no remedy to prescribe increase the discontent by vituperative abuse of everybody outside of their sympathizers. The first of the famous sand lot mass meetings of San Francisco was held July 23, 1877, on a vacant lot on the Market street side of the city hall. Harangues were made and resolutions passed denouncing capitalists, declaring against subsidies to steamship and railroad lines, declaring that the reduction of wages was part of a conspiracy for the destruction of the republic and that the military should not be employed against strikers. An anti-coolie club was formed and on that and the two succeeding evenings a number of Chinese laundries were destroyed. In a fight between the police (aided by the committee of safety) and the rioters several of the latter were killed. Threats were made to destroy the railroad property and burn the vessels of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company unless the Chinese in their employ were immediately discharged.

Among the agitators that this ebullition of discontent threw to the front was an Irish drayman named Dennis Kearney. He was shrewd enough to see that some notoriety and political capital could be made by the organization of a Workingmen's party.

On the 5th of October a permanent organization of the Workingmen's party of California was effected. Dennis Kearney was chosen president, J. G. Day, vice-president, and H. L. Knight, secretary. The principles of the party were the condensed essence of selfishness. The working classes were to be elevated at the expense of every other. "We propose to elect none but competent workingmen and their friends to any office whatever." "The rich have ruled us till they have ruined us." "The republic must and shall be preserved, and only workingmen will do it." "This party will exhaust all peaceable means of

attaining its ends, but it will not be denied justice when it has the power to enforce it." "It will encourage no riot or outrage, but it will not volunteer to repress or put down or arrest, or prosecute the hungry and impatient who manifest their hatred of the Chinamen by a crusade against John or those who employ him." These and others as irrelevant and immaterial were the principles of the Workingmen's party that was to bring the millennium. The movement spread rapidly, clubs were formed in every ward in San Francisco and there were organizations in all the cities of the state. The original leaders were all of foreign birth, but when the movement became popular native born demagogues, perceiving in it an opportunity to obtain office, abandoned the old parties and joined the new.

Kearney now devoted his whole time to agitation, and the applause he received from his followers pampered his inordinate conceit. His language was highly incendiary. He advised every workingman to own a musket and one hundred rounds of ammunition and urged the formation of military companies. He posed as a reformer and even hoped for martyrdom. In one of his harangues he said: "If I don't get killed I will do more than any reformer in the history of the world. I hope I will be assassinated, for the success of the movement depends on that." The incendiary rant of Kearney and his fellows became alarming. It was a tame meeting, at which no "thieving millionaire, scoundrelly official or extortionate railroad magnate" escaped lynching by the tongues of laborite reformers. The charitable people of the city had raised by subscription $20,000 to alleviate the prevailing distress among the poor. It was not comforting to a rich man to hear himself doomed to "hemp! hemp! hemp!" simply because by industry, economy and enterprise he had made a fortune. It became evident that if Kearney and his associates were allowed to talk of hanging men and burning the city some of their dupes would put in practice the teachings of their leaders. The supervisors, urged on by the better class of citizens, passed an ordinance called by the sand-lotters "Gibbs' gag law." On the 29th of October, Kearney and his fellow agitators, with a mob of two or three thousand followers, held a meeting on Nob Hill, where Stanford, Crocker, Hopkins and other railroad magnates had built palatial residences. He roundly denounced as thieves the nabobs of Nob Hill and declared that they would soon feel the power of the workingmen. When his party was thoroughly organized they would march through the city and compel the thieves to give up their plunder; that he would lead them to the city hall, clear out the police, hang the prosecuting attorney, burn every book that had a particle of law in it, and then enact new laws for the workingmen. These and other utterances equally inflammatory caused his arrest while addressing a meeting on the borders of the Barbary coast. Trouble was expected, but he quietly submitted and was taken to jail and a few days later Day, Knight, C. C. O'Donnell and Charles E. Pickett were arrested on charges of inciting riot and taken to jail. A few days in jail cooled them off and they began to "squeal." They addressed a letter to the mayor, saying their utterances had been incorrectly reported by the press and that if released they were willing to submit to any wise measure to allay the excitement. They were turned loose after two weeks' imprisonment and their release was celebrated on Thanksgiving Day, November 29, by a grand demonstration of sand lotters—seven thousand of whom paraded the streets.

It was not long before Kearney and his fellows were back on the sand lots hurling out threats of lynching, burning and blowing up. On January 5 the grand jury presented indictments against Kearney, Wellock, Knight, O'Donnell and Pickett. They were all released on the rulings of the judge of the criminal court on the grounds that no actual riot had taken place.

The first victory of the so-called Workingmen's party was the election of a state senator in Alameda county to fill a vacancy caused by the death of Senator Porter. An individual by the name of John W. Bones was elected. On account of his being long and lean he was known as Barebones and sometimes Praise God Barebones. His only services in the senate were the perpetration of some doggerel verses and a

speech or two on Kearney's theme, "The Chinese Must Go." At the election held June 19, 1878, to choose delegates to a constitutional convention of the one hundred and fifty-two delegates the Workingmen elected fifty-seven, thirty-one of whom were from San Francisco. The convention met at Sacramento, September 28, 1878, and continued to sit in all one hundred and fifty-seven days. It was a mixed assemblage. There were some of the ablest men in the state in it, and there were some of the most narrow minded and intolerant bigots there. The Workingmen flocked by themselves, while the non-partisans, the Republicans and Democrats, for the most part, acted in unison. Opposition to the Chinese, which was a fundamental principle of the Workingmen's creed, was not confined to them alone; some of the non-partisans were as bitter in their hatred of the Mongolians as the Kearneyites. Some of the crudities proposed for insertion in the new constitution were laughable for their absurdity. One sand lotter proposed to amend the bill of rights, that all men are by nature free and independent, to read, "All men who are capable of becoming citizens of the United States are by nature free and independent." One non-partisan wanted to incorporate into the fundamental law of the state Kearney's slogan, "The Chinese Must Go."

After months of discussion the convention evolved a constitution that the ablest men in that body repudiated, some of them going so far as to take the stump against it. But at the election it carried by a large majority. Kearney continued his sand lot harangues. In the summer of 1879 he made a trip through the southern counties of the state, delivering his diatribes against the railroad magnates, the land monopolists and the Chinese. At the town of Santa Ana, now the county seat of Orange county, in his harangue he made a vituperative attack upon the McFadden Brothers, who a year or two before had built a steamer and run it in opposition to the regular coast line steamers until forced to sell it on account of losses incurred by the competition. Kearney made a number of false and libelous statements in regard to the transaction. While he was waiting for the stage to San Diego in front of the hotel he was confronted by Rule, an employee of the McFadden's, with an imperious demand for the name of Kearney's informant. Kearney turned white with fear and blubbered out something about not giving away his friends. Rule struck him a blow that sent him reeling against the building. Gathering himself together he made a rush into the hotel, drawing a pistol as he ran. Rule pursued him through the dining room and out across a vacant lot and into a drug store, where he downed him and, holding him down with his knee on his breast, demanded the name of his informer. One of the slandered men pulled Rule off the "martyr" and Kearney, with a face resembling a beefsteak, took his departure to San Diego. From that day on he ceased his vituperative attacks on individuals. He had met the only argument that could convince him of the error of his ways. He lost caste with his fellows. This braggadocio, who had boasted of leading armies to conquer the enemies of the Workingmen, with a pistol in his hand had ignominiously fled from an unarmed man and had taken a humiliating punishment without a show of resistance. His following began to desert him and Kearney went if the Chinese did not. The Workingmen's party put up a state ticket in 1879, but it was beaten at the polls and went to pieces. In 1880 James Angell of Michigan, John F. Swift of California, and William H. Trescott of South Carolina were appointed commissioners to proceed to China for the purpose of forming new treaties. An agreement was reached with the Chinese authorities by which laborers could be debarred for a certain period from entering the United States. Those in the country were all allowed the rights that aliens of other countries had. The senate ratified the treaty May 5th, 1881.

The following is a list of the governors of California, Spanish, Mexican and American, with date of appointment or election: Spanish: Gaspar de Portolá, 1767; Felipe Barri, 1771; Felipe de Neve, 1774; Pedro Fages, 1790; José Antonio Romeu, 1790; José Joaquin de Arrillaga, 1792; Diego de Borica, 1794; José Joaquin de Arrillaga, 1800; José Arguello, 1814: Pablo Vicente de Sola, 1815. Mexican governors: Pablo Vicente de Sola, 1822; Luis

Arguello, 1823; José Maria Echeandia, 1825; Manuel Victoria, 1831; Pio Pico, 1832; José Maria Echeandia, Agustin Zamorano, 1832; José Figueroa, 1833; José Castro, 1835; Nicolas Gutierrez, 1836; Mariano Chico, 1836; Nicolas Gutierrez, 1836; Juan B. Alvarado, 1836; Manuel Micheltorena, 1842; Pio Pico, 1845. American military governors: Commodore Robert F. Stockton, 1846; Col. John C. Fremont, January, 1847; Gen. Stephen W. Kearny, March 1, 1847; Col. Richard B. Mason, May 31, 1847; Gen. Bennet Riley, April 13, 1849. American governors elected: Peter H. Burnett, 1849. John McDougal, Lieutenant-governor, became governor on resignation of P. H. Burnett in January, 1851; John Bigler, 1851; John Bigler, 1853; J. Neely Johnson, 1855; John B. Weller, 1857; M. S. Latham, 1859; John G. Downey, lieutenant-governor, became governor in 1859 by election of Latham to United States senate; Leland Stanford, 1861; Frederick F. Low, 1863; Henry H. Haight, 1867; Newton Booth, 1871; Romualdo Pacheco, lieutenant governor, became governor February, 1875, on election of Booth to the United States senate; William Irwin, 1875; George C. Perkins, 1879; George Stoneman, 1882; Washington Bartlett, 1886; Robert W. Waterman, lieutenant-governor, became governor September 12, 1887, upon the death of Governor Bartlett; H. H. Markham, 1890; James H. Budd, 1894; Henry T. Gage, 1898; George C. Pardee, 1902; James H. Gillett, 1906.

CHAPTER XXXV.

EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

THE Franciscans, unlike the Jesuits, were not the patrons of education. They bent all their energies towards proselyting. Their object was to fit their converts for the next world. An ignorant soul might be as happy in paradise as the most learned. Why educate the neophyte? He was converted, and then instructed in the work assigned him at the mission. There were no public schools at the missions. A few of the brightest of the neophytes, who were trained to sing in the church choirs, were taught to read, but the great mass of them, even those of the third generation, born and reared at the missions, were as ignorant of book learning as were their great-grandfathers, who ran naked among the oak trees of the mesas and fed on acorns.

Nor was there much attention paid to education among the *gente de razon* of the presidios and pueblos. But few of the common people could read and write. Their ancestors had made their way in the world without book learning. Why should the child know more than the parent? And trained to have great filial regard for his parent, it was not often that the progeny aspired to rise higher in the scale of intelligence than his progenitor. Of the eleven heads of families who founded Los Angeles, not one could sign his name to the title deed of his house lot. Nor were these an exceptionally ignorant collection of hombres. Out of fifty men comprising the Monterey company in 1785, but fourteen could write. In the company stationed at San Francisco in 1794 not a soldier among them could read or write; and forty years later of one hundred men at Sonoma not one could write his name.

The first community want the American pioneers supplied was the school house. Wherever the immigrants from the New England and the middle states planted a settlement, there, at the same time, they planted a school house. The first community want that the Spanish pabladores (colonists) supplied was a church. The school house was not wanted or if wanted it was a long felt want that was rarely or never satisfied. At the time of the acquisition of California by the Americans, seventy-seven years from the date of its first settlement, there was not a public school house owned by any presidio, pueblo or city in all its territory.

The first public school in California was

opened in San José in December, 1794, seventeen years after the founding of that pueblo. The pioneer teacher of California was Manuel de Vargas, a retired sergeant of infantry. The school was opened in the public granary. Vargas, in 1795, was offered $250 to open a school in San Diego. As this was higher wages than he was receiving he accepted the offer. José Manuel Toca, a *gamute* or ship boy, arrived on a Spanish transport in 1795 and the same year was employed at Santa Barbara as schoolmaster at a yearly salary of $125. Thus the army and the navy pioneered education in California.

Governor Borica, the founder of public schools in California, resigned in 1800 and was succeeded by Arrillaga. Governor Arrillaga, if not opposed to, was at least indifferent to the education of the common people. He took life easy and the schools took long vacations; indeed, it was nearly all vacation during his term. Governor Sola, the successor of Arrillaga, made an effort to establish public schools, but the indifference of the people discouraged him. In the lower pueblo, Los Angeles, the first school was opened in 1817, thirty-six years after the founding of the town. The first teacher there was Maximo Piña, an invalid soldier. He received $140 a year for his services as schoolmaster. If the records are correct, his was the only school taught in Los Angeles during the Spanish régime. One year of schooling to forty years of vacation, there was no educational cramming in those days. The schoolmasters of the Spanish era were invalid soldiers, possessed of that dangerous thing, a "little learning;" and it was very little indeed. About all they could teach was reading, writing and the doctrina Christiana. They were brutal tyrants and their school government a military despotism. They did not spare the rod or the child, either. The rod was too mild an instrument of punishment. Their implement of torture was a cat-o'-nine-tails, made of hempen cords with iron points. To fail in learning the doctrina Christiana was an unpardonable sin. For this, for laughing aloud, playing truant or other offenses no more heinous, the guilty boy "was stretched face downward upon a bench with a handkerchief thrust into his mouth as a gag and lashed with a dozen or more blows until the blood ran down his little lacerated back." If he could not imbibe the Christian doctrine in any other way, it was injected into him with the points of the lash.

Mexico did better for education in California than Spain. The school terms were lengthened and the vacation shortened proportionally. Governor Echeandia, a man hated by the friars, was an enthusiastic friend of education. "He believed in the gratuitous and compulsory education of rich and poor, Indians and *gente de razon* alike." He held that learning was the corner-stone of a people's wealth and it was the duty of the government to foster education. When the friars heard of his views "they called upon God to pardon the unfortunate ruler unable to comprehend how vastly superior a religious education was to one merely secular.* Echeandia made a brave attempt to establish a public school system in the territory. He demanded of the friars that they establish a school at each mission for the neophytes; they promised, but, with the intention of evading, a show was made of opening schools. Soon it was reported that the funds were exhausted and the schools had to close for want of means to support them. Nor was Echeandia more successful with the people. He issued an order to the commanding officers at the presidios to compel parents to send their children to school. The school at Monterey was opened, the alcalde acting as schoolmaster. The school furniture consisted of one table and the school books were one arithmetic and four primers. The school funds were as meager as the school furniture. Echeandia, unable to contend against the enmity of the friars, the indifference of the parents and the lack of funds, reluctantly abandoned his futile fight against ignorance.

One of the most active and earnest friends of the public schools during the Mexican era was the much abused Governor Micheltorena. He made an earnest effort to establish a public school system in California. Through his efforts schools were established in all the principal

*Bancroft's California Pastoral.

towns and a guarantee of $500 from the territorial funds promised to each school. Micheltorena promulgated what might be called the first school law of California. It was a decree issued May 1, 1844, and consisted of ten articles, which prescribed what should be taught in the schools, school hours, school age of the pupils and other regulations. Article 10 named the most holy virgin of Guadalupe as patroness of the schools. Her image was to be placed in each school. But, like all his predecessors, Micheltorena failed; the funds were soon exhausted and the schools closed.

Even had the people been able to read there would have been nothing for them to read but religious books. The friars kept vigilant watch that no interdicted books were brought into the country. If any were found they were seized and publicly burned. Castro, Alvarado and Vallejo were at one time excommunicated for reading Rousseau's works, Telemachus and other books on the prohibited list. Alvarado having declined to pay Father Duran some money he owed him because it was a sin to have anything to do with an excommunicated person, and therefore it would be a sin for the father to take money from him, the padre annulled the sentence, received the money and gave Alvarado permission to read anything he wished.

During the war for the conquest of California and for some time afterwards the schools were all closed. The wild rush to the gold mines in 1848 carried away the male population. No one would stay at home and teach school for the paltry pay given a schoolmaster. The ayuntamiento of Los Angeles in the winter of 1849-50 appointed a committee to establish a school. After a three months' hunt the committee reported "that an individual had just presented himself who, although he did not speak English, yet could he teach the children many useful things; and besides the same person had managed to get the refusal of Mrs. Pollerena's house for school purpose." At the next meeting of the ayuntamiento the committee reported that the individual who had offered to teach had left for the mines and neither a school house nor a schoolmaster could be found.

In June, 1850, the ayuntamiento entered into a contract with Francisco Bustamente, an ex-soldier, "to teach to the children first, second and third lessons and likewise to read script, to write and count and so much as I may be competent to teach them orthography and good morals." Bustamente was to receive $60 per month and $20 for house rent. This was the first school opened in Los Angeles after the conquest.

"The first American school in San Francisco and, we believe, in California, was a merely private enterprise. It was opened by a Mr. Marston from one of the Atlantic states in April, 1847, in a small shanty which stood on the block between Broadway and Pacific streets, west of Dupont street. There he collected some twenty or thirty pupils, whom he continued to teach for almost a whole year, his patrons paying for tuition."*

In the fall of 1847 a school house was built on the southwest corner of Portsmouth square, fronting on Clay street. The money to build it was raised by subscription. It was a very modest structure—box shaped with a door and two windows in the front and two windows in each end. It served a variety of purposes besides that of a school house. It was a public hall for all kinds of meetings. Churches held service in it. The first public amusements were given in it. At one time it was used for a court room. The first meeting to form a state government was held in it. It was finally degraded to a police office and a station house. For some time after it was built no school was kept in it for want of funds.

On the 21st of February, 1848, a town meeting was called for the election of a board of school trustees and Dr. F. Fourguard, Dr. J. Townsend, C. L. Ross, J. Serrini and William H. Davis were chosen. On the 3d of April following these trustees opened a school in the school house under the charge of Thomas Douglas, A. M., a graduate of Yale College and an experienced teacher of high reputation. The board pledged him a salary of $1,000 per annum and fixed a tariff of tuition to aid towards its payment; and the town council, afterwards,

*Annals of San Francisco.

to make up any deficiency, appropriated to the payment of the teacher of the public school in this place $200 at the expiration of twelve months from the commencement of the school. "Soon after this Mr. Marston discontinued his private school and Mr. Douglas collected some forty pupils."*

The school flourished for eight or ten weeks. Gold had been discovered and rumors were coming thick and fast of fortunes made in a day. A thousand dollars a year looked large to Mr. Douglas when the contract was made, but in the light of recent events it looked rather small. A man in the diggings might dig out $1,000 in a week. So the schoolmaster laid down the pedagogical birch, shouldered his pick and hied himself away to the diggings. In the rush for gold, education was forgotten. December 12, 1848, Charles W. H. Christian reopened the school, charging tuition at the rate of $10. Evidently he did not teach longer than it took him to earn money to reach the mines. April 23, 1849, the Rev. Albert Williams, pastor of the First Presbyterian church, obtained the use of the school house and opened a private school, charging tuition. He gave up school teaching to attend to his ministerial duties. In the fall of '49 John C. Pelton, a Massachusetts schoolmaster, arrived in San Francisco and December 26 opened a school with three pupils in the Baptist church on Washington street. He fitted up the church with writing tables and benches at his own expense, depending on voluntary contributions for his support. In the spring of 1850 he applied to the city council for relief and for his services and that of his wife he received $500 a month till the summer of 1851, when he closed his school.

Col. T. J. Nevins, in June, 1850, obtained rent free the use of a building near the present intersection of Mission and Second streets for school purposes. He employed a Mr. Samuel Newton as teacher. The school was opened July 13. The school passed under the supervision of several teachers. The attendance was small at first and the school was supported by contributions, but later the council voted an appropriation. The school was closed in 1851. Colonel Nevins, in January, 1851, secured a fifty-vara lot at Spring Valley on the Presidio road and built principally by subscription a large school building, employed a teacher and opened a free school, supported by contributions. The building was afterwards leased to the city to be used for a free school, the term of the lease running ninety-nine years. This was the first school building in which the city had an ownership. Colonel Nevins prepared an ordinance for the establishment, regulation and support of free common schools in the city. The ordinance was adopted by the city council September 25, 1851, and was the first ordinance establishing free schools and providing for their maintenance in San Francisco.

A bill to provide for a public school system was introduced in the legislature of 1850, but the committee on education reported that it would be two or three years before any means would become available from the liberal provisions of the constitution; in the meantime the persons who had children to educate could do it out of their own pockets. So all action was postponed and the people who had children paid for their tuition or let them run without schooling.

The first school law was passed in 1851. It was drafted mainly by G. B. Lingley, John C. Pelton and the superintendent of public instruction, J. G. Marvin. It was revised and amended by the legislatures of 1852 and 1853. The state school fund then was derived from the sale and rental of five hundred thousand acres of state land; the estates of deceased persons escheated to the state; state poll tax and a state tax of five cents on each $100 of assessed property. Congress in 1853 granted to California the 16th and 36th sections of the public lands for school purposes. The total amount of this grant was six million seven hundred and sixty-five thousand five hundred and four acres, of which forty-six thousand and eighty acres were to be deducted for the founding of a state university or college and six thousand four hundred acres for public buildings.

The first apportionment of state funds was made in 1854. The amount of state funds for

* Annals of San Francisco.

that year was $52,961. The county and municipal school taxes amounted to $157,702. These amounts were supplemented by rate bills to the amount of $42,557. In 1856 the state fund had increased to $69,961, while rate bills had decreased to $28,619. That year there were thirty thousand and thirty-nine children of school age in the state, of these only about fifteen thousand were enrolled in the schools.

In the earlier years, following the American conquest, the schools were confined almost entirely to the cities. The population in the country districts was too sparse to maintain a school. The first school house in Sacramento was built in 1849. It was located on I street. C. H. T. Palmer opened school in it in August. It was supported by rate bills and donations. He gathered together about a dozen pupils. The school was soon discontinued. Several other parties in succession tried school keeping in Sacramento, but did not make a success of it. It was not until 1851 that a permanent school was established. A public school was taught in Monterey in 1849 by Rev. Willey. The school was kept in Colton Hall. The first public school house in Los Angeles was built in 1854. Hugh Overns taught the first free school there in 1850.

The amount paid for teachers' salaries in 1854 was $85,860; in 1906 it reached $5,666,045. The total expenditures in 1854 for school purposes amounted to $275,606; in 1906 to $8,727,008. The first high school in the state was established in San Francisco in 1856. In 1906 there were one hundred and ninety high schools, with an attendance of eighteen thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine students. Four millions of dollars were invested in high school buildings, furniture and grounds, and one thousand teachers were employed in these schools.

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC.

This institution was chartered in August, 1851, as the California Wesleyan College, which name was afterwards changed by act of the legislature to that it now bears. The charter was obtained under the general law of the state as it then was, and on the basis of a subscription of $27,500 and a donation of some ten acres of land adjacent to the village of Santa Clara. A school building was erected in which the preparatory department was opened in May, 1852, under the charge of Rev. E. Banister as principal, aided by two assistant teachers, and before the end of the first session had over sixty pupils. Near the close of the following year another edifice was so far completed that the male pupils were transferred to it, and the Female Collegiate Institute, with its special course of study, was organized and continued in the original building. In 1854 the classes of the college proper were formed and the requisite arrangement with respect to president, faculty, and course of study made. In 1858 two young men, constituting the first class, received the degree of A. B., they being the first to receive that honor from any college in California. In 1865 the board of trustees purchased the Stockton rancho, a large body of land adjoining the town of Santa Clara. This was subdivided into lots and small tracts and sold at a profit. By this means an endowment was secured and an excellent site for new college building obtained.

THE COLLEGE OF CALIFORNIA.

The question of founding a college or university in California had been discussed early in 1849, before the assembling of the constitutional convention at San José. The originator of the idea was the Rev. Samuel H. Willey, D. D., of the Presbyterian church. At that time he was stationed at Monterey. The first legislature passed a bill providing for the granting of college charters. The bill required that application should be made to the supreme court, which was to determine whether the property possessed by the proposed college was worth $20,000, and whether in other respects a charter should be granted. A body of land for a college site had been offered by James Stokes and Kimball H. Dimmick to be selected from a large tract they owned on the Guadalupe river, near San José. When application was made for a college charter the supreme court refused to give a charter to the applicants on the plea that the land was unsurveyed and the title not fully determined.

The Rev. Henry Durant, who had at one time been a tutor in Yale College, came to California

in 1853 to engage in teaching. At a meeting of the presbytery of San Francisco and the Congregational Association of California held in Nevada City in May, 1853, which Mr. Durant attended, it was decided to establish an academy at Oakland. There were but few houses in Oakland then and the only communication with San Francisco was by means of a little steamer that crossed the bay two or three times a day. A house was obtained at the corner of Broadway and Fifth street and the academy opened with three pupils. A site was selected for the school, which, when the streets were opened, proved to be four blocks, located between Twelfth and Fourteenth, Franklin and Harrison streets. The site of Oakland at that time was covered with live oaks and the sand was knee deep. Added to other discouragements, titles were in dispute and squatters were seizing upon the vacant lots. A building was begun for the school, the money ran out and the property was in danger of seizure on a mechanics' lien, but was rescued by the bravery and resourcefulness of Dr. Durant.

In 1855 the College of California was chartered and a search begun for a permanent site. A number were offered at various places in the state. The trustees finally selected the Berkeley site, a tract of one hundred and sixty acres on Strawberry creek near Oakland, opposite the Golden Gate. The college school in Oakland was flourishing. A new building, Academy Hall, was erected in 1858. A college faculty was organized. The Rev. Henry Durant and the Rev. Martin Kellogg were chosen professors and the first college class was organized in June, 1860. The college classes were taught in the buildings of the college school, which were usually called the College of California. The college classes were small and the endowment smaller. The faculty met with many discouragements. It became evident that the institution could never become a prominent one in the educational field with the limited means of support it could command. In 1863 the idea of a state university began to be agitated. A bill was passed by the state legislature in 1866, devoting to the support of a narrow polytechnical school, the federal land grants to California for the support of agricultural schools and a college of mechanics. The trustees of the College of California proposed in 1867 to transfer to the state the college site at Berkeley, opposite the Golden Gate, together with all the other assets remaining after the debts were paid, on condition that the state would build a University of California on the site at Berkeley, which should be a classical and technological college.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

A bill for the establishing of a state university was introduced in the legislature March 5, 1868, by Hon. John W. Dwinelle of Alameda county. After some amendments it was finally passed, March 21, and on the 27th of the same month a bill was passed making an appropriation for the support of the institution.

The board of regents of the university was organized June 9, 1868, and the same day Gen. George B. McClellan was elected president of the university, but at that time being engaged in building Stevens Battery at New York he declined the honor. September 23, 1869, the scholastic exercises of the university were begun in the buildings of the College of California in Oakland and the first university class was graduated in June, 1873. The new buildings of the university at Berkeley were occupied in September, 1873. Prof. John Le Conte was acting president for the first year. Dr. Henry Durant was chosen to fill that position and was succeeded by D. C. Gilman in 1872. The cornerstone of the Agricultural College, called the South Hall, was laid in August, 1872, and that of the North Hall in the spring of 1873.

The university, as now constituted, consists of Colleges of Letters, Social Science, Agriculture, Mechanics, Mining, Civil Engineering, Chemistry and Commerce, located at Berkeley; the Lick Astronomical Department at Mount Hamilton; and the professional and affiliated colleges in San Francisco, namely, the Hastings College of Law, the Medical Department, the Post-Graduate Medical Department, the College of Dentistry and Pharmacy, the Veterinary Department and the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art. The total value of the property belonging to the university at this time is about $5,000,000

and the endowment funds nearly $3,000,000. The total income in 1900 was $475,254.

LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY.

"When the intention of Senator Stanford to found a university in memory of his lamented son was first announced, it was expected from the broad and comprehensive views which he was known to entertain upon the subject, that his plans, when formed, would result in no ordinary college endowment or educational scheme, but when these plans were laid before the people their magnitude was so far beyond the most extravagant of public anticipation that all were astonished at the magnificence of their aggregate, the wide scope of their detail and the absolute grandeur of their munificence. The brief history of California as an American state comprises much that is noble and great, but nothing in that history will compare in grandeur with this act of one of her leading citizens. The records of history may be searched in vain for a parallel to this gift of Senator Stanford to the state of his adoption. * * * By this act Senator Stanford will not only immortalize the memory of his son, but will erect for himself a monument more enduring than brass or marble, for it will be enshrined in the hearts of succeeding generations for all time to come."*

Senator Stanford, to protect the endowments he proposed to make, prepared a bill, which was passed by the legislature, approved by the governor and became a law March 9, 1885. It is entitled "An act to advance learning, the arts and sciences and to promote the public welfare, by providing for the conveyance, holding and protection of property, and the creation of trusts for the founding, endowment, erection and maintenance within this state of universities, colleges, schools, seminaries of learning, mechanical institutes, museums and galleries of art."

Section 2 specifies how a grant for the above purposes may be made: "Any person desiring in his lifetime to promote the public welfare by founding, endowing and having maintained within this state a university, college, school, seminary of learning, mechanical institute, museum or gallery of art or any or all thereof, may, to that end, and for such purpose, by grant in writing, convey to a trustee, or any number of trustees named in such grant (and their successors), any property, real or personal, belonging to such person, and situated or being within this state; provided, that if any such person be married and the property be community property, then both husband and wife must join in such grant." The act contains twelve sections. After the passage of the act twenty-four trustees were appointed. Among them were judges of the supreme and superior courts, a United States senator and business men in various lines.

Among the lands deeded to the university by Senator Stanford and his wife were the Palo Alto estate, containing seventy-two hundred acres. This ranch had been devoted principally to the breeding and rearing of thoroughbred horses. On this the college buildings were to be erected. The site selected was near the town of Palo Alto, which is thirty-four miles south from San Francisco on the railroad to San José, in Santa Clara county.

Another property donated was the Vina rancho, situated at the junction of Deer creek with the Sacramento river in Tehama county. It consisted of fifty-five thousand acres, of which thirty-six thousand were planted to vines and orchard and the remainder used for grain growing and pasture.

The third rancho given to the support of the university was the Gridley ranch, containing about twenty-one thousand acres. This was situated in Butte county and included within its limits some of the richest wheat growing lands in the state. At the time it was donated its assessed value was $1,000,000. The total amount of land conveyed to the university by deed of trust was eighty-three thousand two hundred acres.

The name selected for the institution was Leland Stanford Junior University. The cornerstone of the university was laid May 14, 1887, by Senator and Mrs. Leland Stanford. The site of the college buildings is about one mile west from Palo Alto. In his address to the trustees

* Monograph of Leland Stanford Junior University.

November 14, 1885, Senator Stanford said: "We do not expect to establish a university and fill it with students at once. It must be the growth of time and experience. Our idea is that in the first instance we shall require the establishment of colleges for both sexes; then of primary schools, as they may be needed; and out of all these will grow the great central institution for more advanced study." The growth of the university has been rapid. In a very few years after its founding it took rank with the best institutions of learning in the United States.

NORMAL SCHOOLS.

The legislature of 1862 passed a bill authorizing the establishment of a state normal school for the training of teachers at San Francisco or at such other place as the legislature may hereafter direct. The school was established and conducted for several years at San Francisco, but was eventually moved to San José, where a site had been donated. A building was erected and the school became a flourishing institution. The first building was destroyed by fire and the present handsome and commodious building erected on a new site. The first normal school established in the state was a private one, conducted by George W. Minns. It was started in San Francisco in 1857, but was discontinued after the organization of the state school in 1863, Minns becoming principal. A normal school was established by the legislature at Los Angeles in 1881. It was at first a branch of the state school at San José and was under control of the same board of trustees and the same principal. Later it was made an independent institution with a board and principal of its own.

Normal schools have been established at Chico (1889), San Diego (1897) and San Francisco (1899). The total number of teachers employed in the five state normal schools in 1900 was one hundred and one, of whom thirty-seven were men and sixty-four women. The whole number of students in these at that time was two thousand and thirty-nine, of whom two hundred and fifty-six were men and one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine women.

The total receipts for the support of these schools from all sources were for the year ending June 30, 1906, $429,416; the total expenditures for the same time were $316,127; the value of the normal school property of the state is about $1,017,195. The educational system and facilities of California, university, college, normal school and public school, rank with the best in the United States.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CITIES OF CALIFORNIA—THEIR ORIGIN AND GROWTH.

ALTHOUGH Spain and Mexico possessed California for seventy-seven years after the date of the first settlement made in it, they founded but few towns and but one of those founded had attained the dignity of a city at the time of the American conquest. In a previous chapter I have given sketches of the founding of the four presidios and three pueblos under Spanish rule. Twenty missions were established under the rule of Spain and one under the Mexican Republic. While the country increased in population under the rule of Mexico, the only new settlement that was formed was the mission at Solano.

Pueblos grew up at the presidios and some of the mission settlements developed into towns. The principal towns that have grown up around the mission sites are San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel, San Buenaventura, San Miguel, San Luis Obispo, Santa Clara and San Rafael.

The creation of towns began after the Americans got possession of the country. Before the treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico had been made, and while the war was in progress, two enterprising Americans, Robert Semple and T. O. Larkin, had created on paper an extensive city on the Straits of Carquinez. The city of Francisca "comprises five miles,"

so the proprietors of the embryo metropolis announced in the *Californian* of April 20, 1847, and in subsequent numbers. According to the theory of its promoters, Francisca had the choice of sites and must become the metropolis of the coast. "In front of the city," says their advertisement, "is a commodious Bay, large enough for two hundred ships to ride at anchor safe from any wind. The country around the city is the best agricultural portion of California on both sides of the Bay; the straits being only one mile wide, an easy crossing may always be made. The entire trade of the great Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys (a fertile country of great width and nearly seven hundred miles long from North to South) must of necessity pass through the narrow channel of Carquinez and the Bay, and the country is so situated that every person who passes from one side of the Bay to the other will find the nearest and best way by Francisca."

In addition to its natural advantages the proprietors offered other attractions and inducements to settlers. They advertised that they would give "seventy-five per cent of the net proceeds of the ferries and wharves for a school fund and the embellishment of the city"; "they have also laid out several entire squares for school purposes and several others for public walks" (parks). Yet, notwithstanding all the superior attractions and natural advantages of Francisca, people would migrate to and locate at the wind-swept settlement on the Cove of Yerba Buena. And the town of the "good herb" took to itself the name of San Francisco and perforce compelled the Franciscans to become Benicians. Then came the discovery of gold and the consequent rush to the mines, and although Francisca, or Benicia, was on the route, or one of the routes, somehow San Francisco managed to get all the profits out of the trade and travel to the mines.

The rush to the land of gold expanded the little settlement formed by Richardson and Leese on the Cove of Yerba Buena into a great city that in time included within its limits the mission and the presidio. The consolidation of the city and county governments gave a simpler form of municipal rule and gave the city room to expand without growing outside of its municipal jurisdiction. The decennial Federal census from 1850 to the close of the century indicates the remarkable growth of San Francisco. Its population in 1850 was 21,000; in 1860, 56,802; in 1870, 149,473; in 1880, 234,000; in 1890, 298,997; in 1900, 342,742.

In Chapter XXVI, page 175 et seq. of this volume, I have given the early history of San Francisco, or Yerba Buena, as it was called at first. I have there given an account of its growth and progress from the little hamlet on Yerba Buena cove until it became the metropolis of the Pacific coast. In that chapter I have told briefly the story of the "Six Great Fires" that, between December, 1849, and July, 1851, devastated the city. These wiped out of existence every trace of the make-shift and nondescript houses of the early gold period. After each fire the burned district was rebuilt with hastily constructed houses, better than those destroyed, but far from being substantial and fire-proof structures. The losses from these fires, although great at the time, would be considered trivial now. In the greatest of these—the fifth—starting on the night of May 3, 1851, and raging for ten hours, the property loss was estimated to be between ten and twelve million dollars. There were many lives lost. Over one thousand houses were destroyed. The brick blocks and corrugated iron houses that by this time had replaced the flimsy structures of the earlier period in the business quarter of the city were supposed to be fire-proof, but the great conflagration of May 3d and 4th, 1851, disapproved this claim. They were consumed or melted down by the excessive heat of that great fire.

It became evident to the business men and property holders that a better class of buildings must be constructed, more stringent building regulations enforced, and a more abundant water supply secured. All these in due time were obtained, and the era of great fires apparently ended. As it expanded beyond the business quarter it became a city of wooden walls. But few dwelling houses were built of brick or stone, and south of Market street many of the business

houses too were built of wood. Ninety per cent. of all the buildings in the modern city were frame structures.

After the great fires of the early '50s San Francisco seemed to have become practically immune from destructive conflagrations. Other large cities of its class had suffered from great fires. Chicago, in 1871, had been swept out of existence by a fire that destroyed $170,000,000 of property. Boston, in 1872, had been forced to give up to the fire fiend $75,000,000 of its wealth; and Baltimore, in 1904, had suffered a property loss of $50,000,000. San Francisco for more than half a century had suffered but little loss from fires. Those that had started were usually confined to the building or the block in which they originated. The efficiency of its fire fighters, its fireproof business blocks, and the supposed indestructibility of the redwood walls of its dwelling houses had engendered in its inhabitants a sense of security against destructive fires.

The emblem on the seal of the city and county of San Francisco—the Phoenix rising from the flames in front of the Golden Gate—adopted in 1852, after the last of the "Six Great Fires," had little significance to the inhabitants of the modern city. The story of the Great Fires was ancient history. Nil desperandum—motto of the invincibles who rebuilt the old city six times—had no particular meaning to their descendants except as a reminder of the energy, enterprise and unconquerable determination of the men of the olden, golden days. History would not repeat itself. The day of great fires for San Francisco was past. This dream of the immunity of their city from destructive conflagrations was to receive a rude awakening.

THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE.

On the morning of April 18, 1906, at thirteen minutes past 5 o'clock, its four hundred thousand inhabitants were aroused from their slumbers by the terrifying shock of an earthquake. The temblor was not a new visitor to San Francisco. Earthquake shocks had shaken it at intervals ever since its founding, but these had done little damage and had come to be regarded more as a bugbear to frighten new arrivals than anything to be feared. The earthquake of October, 1868, was the most severe of those in the past. Five lives were lost in it by falling walls. The walls of many buildings were cracked. But one of the most dangerous elements of the last great temblor did not exist then, that is the electric wire. The live wire has become one of the most dreaded agents in great fires.

The impressions produced by the shock and the sights witnessed during the progress of the fire are thus graphically described by James Hopper in *"Everybody's Magazine"* for June (1906): "Right away it was incredible—the violence of the quake. It started with a directness, a savage determination that left no doubt of its purpose. It pounced upon the earth as some sideral bulldog, with a rattle of hungry eagerness. The earth was a rat, shaken in the grinding teeth, shaken, shaken, shaken with periods of slight weariness followed by new bursts of vicious rage. As far as I can remember my impressions were as follows: First for a few seconds a feeling of incredulity, capped immediately with one of finality, of incredulity at the violence of the vibrations. 'It's incredible, incredible,' I think I said aloud. Then the feeling of finality: 'It's the end—St. Pierre, Samoa, Vesuvius, Formosa, San Francisco—this is death.' Simultaneously with that a picture of the city swaying beneath the curl of a tidal wave foaming to the sky. Then incredulity again at the length of it, at the sullen violence of it. Incredulity again at the mere length of the thing, the fearful stubbornness of it. Then curiosity—I must see it.

"I got up and walked to the window. I started to open it, but the pane obligingly fell outward and I poked my head out, the floor like a geyser beneath my feet. Then I heard the roar of the bricks coming down in cataracts and the groaning of twisted girders all over the city, and at the same time I saw the moon, a calm crescent in the green sky of dawn. Below it the skeleton frame of an unfinished sky-scraper was swaying from side to side with a swing as exaggerated and absurd as that of a palm in a stage tempest.

"Just then the quake, with a sound as of a snarl, rose to its climax of rage, and the back wall of my building for three stories above me fell. I

saw the mass pass across my vision swift as a shadow. It struck some little wooden houses in the alley below. I saw them crash in like emptied egg shells and the bricks pass through the roof as through tissue paper.

"The vibrations ceased and I began to dress. Then I noted the great silence. Throughout the long quaking, in this great house full of people I had not heard a cry, not a sound, not a sob, not a whisper. And now, when the roar of crumbling buildings was over and only a brick falling here and there like the trickle of a spent rain, this silence continued, and it was an awful thing. But now in the alley some one began to groan. It was a woman's groan, soft and low.

"I went down the stairs and into the streets, and they were full of people, half-clad, dishevelled, but silent, absolutely silent, as if suddenly they had become speechless idiots. I went into the little alley at the back of the building, but it was deserted and the crushed houses seemed empty. I went down Post street toward the center of town, and in the morning's garish light I saw many men and women with gray faces, but none spoke. All of them, they had a singular hurt expression, not one of physical pain, but rather one of injured sensibilities, as if some trusted friend, say, had suddenly wronged them, or as if some one had said something rude to them." * * * * * * * * * * *

He made his way to the *Call* building, where he met the city editor, who said to him: "The Brunswick hotel at Sixth and Folsom is down with hundreds inside her. You cover that."

"Going up into the editorial rooms of the *Call,* with water to my ankles, I seized a bunch of copy paper and started up Third street. At Tehama street I saw the beginning of the fire which was to sweep all the district south of Market street. It was swirling up the narrow way with a sound that was almost a scream. Before it the humble population of the district were fleeing, and in its path, as far as I could see, frail shanties went down like card houses. And this marks the true character of the city's agony. Especially in the populous districts south of Market street, but also throughout the city, hundreds were pinned down by the debris, some to a merciful death, others to live hideous minutes. The flames swept over them while the saved looked on impotently. Over the tragedy the fire threw its flaming mantle of hypocrisy, and the full extent of the holocaust will never be known, will remain ever a poignant mystery."

"The firemen there were beginning the tremendous and hopeless fight which, without intermission, they were to continue for three days. Without water (the mains had been burst by the quake) they were attacking the fire with axes, with hooks, with sacks, with their hands, retreating sullenly before it only when its feverish breath burned their clothing and their skins."

* * * * *

He secured an automobile at the hire of $50 a day to cover the progress of the fire.

"We started first to cover the fire I had seen on its westward course from Third street. From that time I have only a vague kaleidoscopic vision of whirring at whistling speed through a city of the damned. We tried to make the fallen Brunswick hotel at Sixth and Folsom streets. We could not make it. The scarlet steeple chaser beat us to it, and when we arrived the crushed structure was only the base of one great flame that rose to heaven with a single twist. By that time we knew that the earthquake had been but a prologue, and that the tragedy was to be written in fire. We went westward to get the western limit of the blaze."

"Already we had to make a huge circle to get above it. The whole district south of Market street was now a pitiful sight. By thousands the multitudes were pattering along the wide streets leading out, heads bowed, eyes dead, silent and stupefied. We stopped in passing at the Southern Pacific hospital. Carts, trucks, express wagons, vehicles of all kinds laden with wounded, were blocking the gate. Upon the porch stood two internes, and their white aprons were red-spotted as those of butchers. There were one hundred and twenty-five wounded inside and eight dead. Among the wounded was Chief Sullivan of the fire department. A chimney of the California hotel had crushed through his house at the first shock of the earthquake, and he and his wife had been taken out of the debris with

incredible difficulty. He was to die two days later, spared the bitter, hopeless effort which his men were to know."

* * * * *

"At Thirteenth and Valencia streets a policeman and a crowd of volunteers were trying to raise the debris of a house where a man and woman were pinned. One block farther we came to a place where the ground had sunk six feet. A fissure ran along Fourteenth street for several blocks and the car tracks had been jammed along their length till they rose in angular projections three or four feet high. As we were examining the phenomenon in a narrow way called Treat avenue a quake occurred. It came upon the far-end of endurance of the poor folk crowding the alley. Women sank to their knees, drew their shawls about their little ones, and broke out in piercing lamentations, while men ran up and down aimlessly, wringing their hands. An old woman led by a crippled old man came wailing down the steps of a porch, and she was blind. In the center of the street they both fell and all the poor encouragement we could give them could not raise them. They had made up their minds to die."

* * * * *

"On Valencia street, between Eighteenth and Nineteenth, the Valencia hotel, a four-story wooden lodging-house was down, its four stories telescoped to the height of one, its upper rooms ripped open with the cross section effect of a doll-house. A squad of policemen and some fifty volunteers were working with rageful energy at the tangle of walls and rafters. Eleven men were known to have escaped, eight had been taken out dead, and more than one hundred were still in the ruins. The street here was sunk six feet, and again, as I was to see it many times more, I saw that strange angular rise of the tracks as if the ground had been pinched between some gigantic fingers."

"We went down toward the fire now. We met it on Eighth street. From Third it had come along in a swath four blocks wide. From Market to Folsom, from Second to Eighth, it spread its heaving red sea, and with a roar it was rushing on, its advance billow curling like a monster comber above a flotsam of fleeing humanity. There were men, women and children. Men, women and children—really that is about all I remember of them, except that they were miserable and crushed. Here and there are still little snap-shots in my mind—a woman carrying in a cage a green and red parrot, squawking incessantly 'Hurry, hurry, hurry;' a little smudge-faced girl with long-lashed brown eyes holding in her arms a blind puppy; a man with naked torso carrying upon his head a hideous chromo; another with a mattress and a cracked mirror. But by this time the cataclysm itself, its manifestation, its ferocious splendor, hypnotized the brain, and humans sank into insignificance as ants caught in the slide of a mountain. One more scene I remember. On Eighth street, between Folsom and Howard, was an empty sand lot right in the path of the conflagration. It was full of refugees, and what struck me was their immobility. They sat there upon trunks, upon bundles of clothing. On each side, like the claws of a crab, the fire was closing in upon them. They sat there motionless, as if cast in bronze, as if indeed they were wrought upon some frieze representing the Misery of Humanity. The fire roared, burning coals showered them, the heat rose, their clothes smoked, and they still sat there, upon their little boxes, their bundles of rags, their goods, the pathetic little hoard which they had been able to treasure in their arid lives, a fixed determination in their staring eyes not to leave again, not to move another step, to die there and then, with the treasures for the saving of which their bodies had no further strength."

The vibrations of the first earthquake shock had scarcely ceased before the fire broke out in a number of different localities. The first alarm came from Clay and Drumm streets on the city front. Others followed in rapid succession until by the afternoon of the first day the fire had almost entirely circled the lower section of the city. The firemen made a brave fight at various points to stay its progress, but the water mains had been broken and their engines were useless. Then the only hope to arrest the march of the fire fiend was dynamite. The steady boom, boom of that explosive as hour after hour passed and house after

house was blown up told of the losing fight that was being waged against the destroying element.

The wooden houses south of lower Market street, one of the sections first attacked by the fire fiend, were quickly destroyed and the fire swept on to the westward. By Wednesday night it had swept up to and leaped across Market street. The tall buildings of the *Call, Chronicle* and *Examiner* at Third and Market streets succumbed and the great business blocks of the neighborhood were gutted by the flames, only their outer shells remained. By Thursday morning the flames had swept over Sansome and Montgomery to Kearney and in places beyond.

Jack London, in *"Collier's"* of May 5th, gives the following dramatic description of the scenes in the heart of the business section:

"At nine o'clock Wednesday evening I walked down through the very heart of the city. I walked through miles and miles of magnificent buildings and towering skyscrapers. Here was no fire. All was in perfect order. The police patrolled the streets. Every building had its watchman at the door. And yet it was doomed, all of it. There was no water. The dynamite was giving out. And at right angles two different conflagrations were sweeping down upon it.

"At one o'clock in the morning I walked down through the same section. Everything still stood intact. There was no fire. And yet there was a change. A rain of ashes was falling. The watchmen at the doors were gone. The police had been withdrawn. There were no firemen, no fire-engines, no men fighting with dynamite. The district had been absolutely abandoned. I stood at the corner of Kearney and Market, in the very heart of San Francisco. Kearney street was deserted. Half a dozen blocks away it was burning on both sides. The street was a wall of flame. And against this wall of flame, silhouetted sharply, were two United States cavalrymen sitting their horses, calmly watching. That was all. Not another person was in sight. In the intact heart of the city two troopers sat their horses and watched.

"Surrender was complete. There was no water. The sewers had long since been pumped dry. There was no dynamite. Another fire had broken out further up-town, and now from three sides conflagrations were sweeping down. The fourth side had been burned earlier in the day. In that direction stood the tottering walls of the *Examiner* building, the burned-out *Call* building, the smouldering ruins of the Grand hotel, and the gutted, devastated, dynamited Palace hotel. The following will illustrate the sweep of the flames and the inability of men to calculate their speed. At eight o'clock Wednesday evening I passed through Union Square. It was packed with refugees. Thousands of them had gone to bed on the grass. Government tents had been set up, supper was being cooked, and the refugees were lining up for free meals.

"At half-past one in the morning three sides of Union Square were in flames. The fourth side, where stood the great St. Francis hotel, was still holding out. An hour later, ignited from top and sides, the St. Francis was flaming heavenward. Union Square, heaped high with mountains of trunks, was deserted. Troops, refugees, and all had deserted.

"Remarkable as it may seem, Wednesday night, while the whole city crashed and roared into ruin, was a quiet night. There were no crowds. There was no shouting and yelling. There was no hysteria, no disorder. I passed Wednesday night in the path of the advancing flames, and in all those terrible hours I saw not one woman who wept, not one man who was excited, not one person who was in the slightest degree panic-stricken.

"Before the flames, throughout the night, fled tens of thousands of homeless ones. Some were wrapped in blankets. Others carried bundles of bedding and dear household treasures. Sometimes a whole family was harnessed to a carriage or delivery wagon that was weighted down with their possessions. Baby buggies, toy wagons and go-carts were used as trucks, while every other person was dragging a trunk. Yet everybody was gracious. The most perfect courtesy obtained. Never, in all San Francisco's history, were her people so kind and courteous as on this night of terror."

* * * * *

"All night these tens of thousands fled before

the flames. Many of them, the poor people from the labor ghetto, had fled all day as well. They had left their homes burdened with possessions. Now and again they lightened up, flinging out upon the street clothing and treasures they had dragged for miles.

"They held on longest to their trunks, and over these trunks many a strong man broke his heart that night. The hills of San Francisco are steep, and up these hills, mile after mile, were the trunks dragged. Everywhere were trunks, with across them lying their exhausted owners, men and women. Before the march of the flames were flung picket lines of soldiers. And a block at a time, as the flames advanced, these pickets retreated. One of their tasks was to keep the trunk-pullers moving. The exhausted creatures, stirred on by the menace of bayonets, would arise and struggle up the steep pavements, pausing from weakness every five or ten feet.

"Often, after surmounting a heart-breaking hill, they would find another wall of flame advancing upon them at right angles and be compelled to change anew the line of their retreat. In the end, completely played out, after toiling for a dozen hours like giants, thousands of them were compelled to abandon their trunks.

"It was in Union Square that I saw a man offering $1,000 for a team of horses. He was in charge of a truck piled high with trunks from some hotel. It had been hauled here into what was considered safety, and the horses had been taken out. The flames were on three sides of the Square, and there were no horses."

* * * * *

"An hour later, from a distance, I saw the truck-load of trunks burning merrily in the middle of the street."

* * * * *

All day Thursday the fight was waged, the flames steadily advancing to the westward. It was determined to make the last stand on Van Ness avenue, the widest street in the city. It was solidly lined with magnificent dwellings, the residences of many of the wealthy inhabitants. Here the fire fighters rallied. Here all the remaining resources for fighting the destroying element were collected, dynamite, barrels of powder from the government stores and a battery of marine guns. The mansions lining the avenue for nearly a mile in length were raked with artillery or blown up with dynamite and powder. Here and there the flames leaped across the line of defense and ignited buildings beyond. Two small streams of water were secured from unbroken pipes and the fires that broke out beyond the line of defense were beaten out, principally by the use of wet blankets and rugs. By midnight of the 19th the fire was under control, and by Friday morning the flames were conquered. A change of wind during the night had aided the fire fighters to check its westward march. As the wind drove it back, it swept around the base of Telegraph Hill and destroyed all the poor tenement houses near the base of that hill that it had spared on its first advance, except a little oasis on the upper slope that had been saved by a liberal use of Italian wine. In the great fire of May 4, 1851, De Witt & Harrison saved their warehouse, which stood on the west side of Sansome street between Pacific and Broadway, scarce a stone's throw from Telegraph Hill, by knocking in the heads of barrels of vinegar and covering the building with blankets soaked in that liquid in place of water, which could not be obtained. Eighty thousand gallons were used, but the onward march of the flames in that direction was stopped. How many gallons of wine were sacrificed will never be known.

The earthquake shock had scarcely ceased before General Funston, in command of the military forces at the Presidio, called out the troops and sent them down into the stricken city, to aid in keeping order and fighting the fire. Mayor Schmitz issued a proclamation placing the city under martial law. Across the streets were thrown cordons of soldiers, who forced the dazed and half-crazed crowd to keep away from the danger of the advancing fire and falling walls. In addition to their other duties the military had to undertake the repression of crime. Even amid the scenes of suffering, desolation and death, thieves looted stores and robbed the dead bodies, and ghouls, half-drunk with liquor, committed deeds of unspeakable horror. These when caught received short shrift. They were shot

down without trial. Several regiments of the National Guard, from different parts of the state, were called out and they did efficient service in San Francisco, Oakland and Alameda. The Presidio, Golden Gate Park and other parks were converted into refugee camps and rations issued. Military organization was prompt and effective. Four days after the fire there were military butchers, blacksmiths, carpenters, chimney inspectors and sanitary inspectors. Strict military regulations were enforced in the various camps and a constant watch was kept up to prevent the breaking out of epidemic diseases. Train loads of provisions and clothing were hurried from all parts of the state and beyond for the immediate relief of the sufferers. Contributions of money flowed in from all over the country, until the total ran up into the millions. The railroads furnished free transportation to all who had friends in other cities of the state. The Red Cross Relief Society, at the head of which is James D. Phelan, ex-mayor of San Francisco, had taken up the burden of caring for the destitute until they could take care of themselves.

The actual number of lives lost by the earthquake will never be known; many who were pinned down in the wrecked buildings would have escaped with slight injuries had not the fire followed so quickly after the earthquake shock. The total number of deaths officially reported up to the last of May was three hundred and thirty-three. The property loss ranges from two hundred to two hundred and fifty millions of dollars. Insurance covered about one hundred and twenty millions; whether all of this will be paid is yet to be decided.

The fire devastated two hundred and sixty-nine blocks, covering an area of nearly three thousand acres, or about five square miles. In this vast fire-swept desert there were three little oases that the destroyer had left unscathed. In the very heart of this desert stood the mint with its accumulated treasure unharmed by fire or earthquake shock. Thirty-five years ago, when Gen. O. H. La Grange was superintendent of the mint, he had sunk an artesian well within the inclosure. He received neither thanks nor encouragement from the government for his work. When the fire surged around it the employes and ten soldiers were housed within it; for seven hours they fought against the onslaught of flames that dashed against the building. The courageous fighters, aided by the thick walls and the water supply from the artesian well, won the victory and the building with its treasure was saved. Throughout the days and nights that the fire raged the tall tower of the Ferry building loomed up through the smoke of the burning city, the hands of the silent clock mutely pointing to 13 minutes past 5, the moment the temblor began its work.

The post office, with but nominal damages, survived the wreck and ruin of the city. The palatial homes of the bonanza kings and railroad magnates, built on Knob Hill thirty years ago, were wiped out of existence. Of Mark Hopkins Art Institute with its treasures of art only a chimney is left. Of the Stanford house, the Crocker mansion, the Huntington palace and the Flood residence only broken pillars, ruined arches, heaps of bricks, shattered glass and piles of ashes tell how complete a leveler of distinction fire is. Chinatown, the plague spot of San Francisco and the old time *bête noir* of Denis Kearney and his followers, has been obliterated from the map of the city. Not a vestige is left to mark where it was, but is not. Kearney's slogan, "The Chinese must go," is again reiterated; and it is questionable whether the almond-eyed followers of Confucius will be allowed to relocate in their former haunts.

OAKLAND, ALAMEDA AND BERKELEY.

The cities across the bay from San Francisco, Oakland, Alameda and Berkeley, escaped with but slight damage. A number of buildings were wrecked and chimneys thrown down, but the fire did not follow the shock and the aggregated loss of property in all three did not exceed $2,000,000. There were five lives lost in Oakland. These cities became great camps of refuge for the homeless of San Francisco. The hospitality of their people was taxed to the utmost to take care of the San Francisco sufferers, who fled from their stricken city as soon as the means of exit were available.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY.

With a strange partiality the temblor spared the buildings of the State University at Berkeley. Located only a dozen miles from San Francisco, scarcely a brick was displaced from a chimney, but it wrought ruin to many of the noble buildings of Stanford University, thirty-four miles distant from the metropolis. The Memorial Church, the unfinished library, the new gymnasium, part of the art museum, the Stanford residence at Palo Alto and the memorial arch were badly wrecked. Some of them were hopelessly ruined. Encina hall (the men's dormitory) was injured by the fall of stone chimneys and one student was killed. The loss in all amounted to $3,000,000.

SAN JOSE.

The city of San Jose seemed to be in the line of march chosen by the temblor. The business center was wrecked, its court house destroyed and many of its dwellings badly damaged. Fortunately it escaped a visitation by fire. Nineteen lives were lost and the property loss exceeded $2,000,000.

SANTA ROSA.

The city of Santa Rosa, the capital of Sonoma county, in proportion to its wealth and the number of its inhabitants, suffered more severely than any other city in California. The business portion of the city, which was closely grouped around the Court House Square, was entirely destroyed. As there were no suburban stores the supply of provisions was cut off. The breaking off of communication left the outside world ignorant of Santa Rosa's fate. For a time she was left entirely to her own resources to aid her sufferers. As in San Francisco, fire followed the temblor, which increased greatly the loss of life and property. The water mains were not broken and within three hours the fire was practically under control.

Among the buildings destroyed by earthquake and fire were the court house, the new Masonic temple, the public library, six hotels, a five-story brewery, a shoe factory, a four-story flour mill, two theaters, the Odd Fellows hall, and a number of office buildings, flats and apartment houses. The number of dead reported was fifty-six. The injured and missing numbered eighty-seven.

The business houses in San Mateo, Belmont, Palo Alto and Redwood City were nearly all wrecked. Many of the stately mansions and rose-embowered cottages that line the road between San Francisco and San Jose on the western side of the bay were thrown from their foundations and chimneys falling on the roofs had cut their way to the ground.

On the eastern side the towns of San Leandro and Haywards that were badly damaged in the earthquake of 1868 escaped this last temblor unharmed. Santa Clara, Gilroy and Salinas suffered in about the same proportion as San Jose.

At Monterey the Del Monte hotel was injured by the falling of the chimneys through the roof. Two persons, a bridal couple from Arizona, were killed by the falling of a chimney.

Hollister, Napa and Santa Cruz suffered considerable damage. The greatest loss of life at any public institution occurred at the Agnews Insane Asylum. It contained ten hundred and eighty-eight patients, besides physicians, nurses and attendants; of these, as nearly as can be ascertained, one hundred and ten inmates and employes were killed. The buildings were entirely destroyed. The inmates who escaped injury were housed in tents and guards stationed around the inclosure to keep them from running away. Temporary buildings were at once constructed. There was no loss of life or property south of Monterey. The shock throughout the southern part of the state was very slight.

LOS ANGELES.

The only settlement under Mexican domination that attained the dignity of a ciudad, or city, was Los Angeles. Although proclaimed a city by the Mexican Congress more than ten years before the Americans took possession of the country, except in official documents it was usually spoken of as el pueblo—the town. Its population at the time of its conquest by the Americans numbered about sixteen hundred. The first legislature gave it a city charter, although fifteen

years before it had been raised to the dignity of a city; the lawmakers for some reason cut down its area from four square leagues to four square miles. This did not affect its right to its pueblo lands. After the appointment of a land commission, in 1851, it laid claim to sixteen square leagues, but failed to substantiate its claim. Its pueblo area of four square leagues (Spanish) was confirmed to it by the commission. Within the past seven years, by annexation, its area has been increased from the original four square leagues or about twenty-seven miles, to thirty-seven square miles. Its increase in population during the past twenty years has been the greatest of any of the large cities of the state. In 1880 it had 11,183 inhabitants; in 1890, 50,353; in 1900, 102,429. Its growth since 1900 has exceeded that of any similar period in its history. Its estimated population January, 1908, is 300,000.

Many influences have contributed to the growth and advancement of the city, not the least of which has been the excellent transportation service developed in the Pacific Electric System. The first attempt to introduce the trolley car in Los Angeles was a failure, and the promoter, Howland, died in poverty. Later, other ventures to provide suitable transportation were made, though none was successfully launched until 1892, when the Los Angeles Electric Railroad system was inaugurated. The first line constructed was that on West Second, Olive, First and other streets to Westlake Park. The property owners on the line of the road gave a subsidy of $50,000 to the promoters. When H. E. Huntington bought the controlling interest in the Los Angeles Electric Railway the building of a system of suburban and interurban railways to the different cities and towns contiguous to Los Angeles was begun. The road to Long Beach was completed in 1902, to Monrovia in 1903, and to Whittier the same year. The seven-story Huntington building, at the corner of Sixth and Main streets, the entrepot of all Huntington interurban lines, was completed in 1903. These improvements, together with the extension of new street car lines in the city, stimulated the real estate market and brought about a rapid advance in values. Lots on South Main street, held at $100 per front foot in 1900, sold five years later at $1,500, and frontage on South Hill street valued at $200 a front foot in 1901, sold in 1906 at $2,500. Real estate contiguous to the business district, but still residence property, had advanced in value in five years from one thousand to twelve hundred per cent.

OAKLAND.

The site of the city of Oakland was discovered by the Spaniards in 1772, when a brave band of explorers set out to find the lost bay of San Francisco.

The first official survey of Oakland in 1853 established the boundaries at Fourteenth street on the north, Oakland creek on the south, the slough which now is Lake Merritt on the east, and on the west a line three hundred feet west of West street. The enclosed area was divided into blocks 200x300 feet in dimension, with streets eighty feet in width with the exception of the main street, one hundred and ten feet wide. Six blocks were reserved for parks. Oakland was incorporated March 25, 1854. H. W. Carpentier was the first mayor.

Since 1880 the city has been extended toward the foothills, and laid out with regularity. The streets have been effectively paved, and constant attention given them. Large amounts of money have been expended for sidewalks, sewers have been kept in serviceable condition, and parks beautified.

The first newspaper, the *Contra Costa*, was established in the fall of 1854 by S. M. Clarke, though the first devoted solely to Oakland's interests was the *Leader*, edited by H. Davison, founded in the spring of 1854 and printed in San Francisco. The Oakland *Journal*, a German weekly, was started in 1875. Oakland now supports two daily papers, the *Tribune* and the *Enquirer*.

The city is well situated for manufacturing purposes, with its harbor facilities, its three transcontinental railways, and the settlement for all time of the city's complete ownership of the water front.

Oakland has eighteen banks, with an authorized capital of $3,495,100. The total paid in

capital is $2,188,007; the deposits for June, 1908, totaled $38,561,051.35. The institutions that occupy their own buildings are the Central Bank, the Union Savings, the Oakland Bank of Savings, and the First National, the last two named having completed modern structures in 1908.

The Board of Trade was started in 1886, and became the Chamber of Commerce in 1901. The Merchants Exchange was organized in 1895.

The advancement of needed reforms and upbuilding of the city are being carried through successfully. The final settlement in September, 1908, of all waterfront litigation, gave Oakland possession of her tide lands. Modern business blocks have been erected, also elegant residences, theaters, and hotels, among the latter being St. Marks, completed in 1908; the Claremont, in the Claremont hills, nearing completion; Bankers, to occupy a square block when completed, and which will compare with any in the west; Arcade, opened in May, 1908; The Key Route Inn, Hotel Metropole and Athens. The extension of the street railway, known as the Oakland Traction Company, into the suburban sections, is opening up fine residential districts, bringing the city in close connection with Piedmont, Berkeley, the sections about Fruitvale and other new settlements. The expansion of the Key Route service, and steam lines of the Southern Pacific, nearly ready to change to electricity, now in operation, giving rapid and safe transportation to and from San Francisco, together with the tendency toward clean, independent municipal government makes Oakland, with her rapidly increasing population (estimated in 1908 at 265,000 in her own limits), an ideal home city, as well as an excellent business location, second to none on the Pacific coast.

BERKELEY.

In 1820 the present site of Berkeley formed a part of a grant given to Don Luis Peralta by Governor Pablo Vicente de Sola, and was transferred in 1842 to his son, José Domingo Peralta, when Don Luis partitioned the grant. In 1852 came the first three American farmers in Oakland township, F. K. Shattuck, W. Hillegass, and G. M. Blake, who began farming on the present site of Berkeley. Not a house was in sight from where they pitched their tents. Years later, with Rev. Henry Durant, these three men labored to have that spot selected for the site of the University of California buildings and campus. On March 1, 1858, the trustees of the College of California, destined to grow into the great university, accepted a site of over two hundred acres, on the western slope of the Contra Costa hills, for a permanent location, in what is now Berkeley.

In 1878, by a special act of the legislature, Berkeley town was incorporated. Within the ten years since the coming of the university in 1868, had grown up the little city. The first university buildings on the slopes looked down upon a small village known as Ocean View, later called West Berkeley, while the cluster of houses close around the university became known as East Berkeley, and comprised the first incorporated town. A superior class of citizens had begun to settle there when the university was established in its permanent home.

In 1891 the limits of Berkeley were extended by the annexation of Ocean View. Other territory was annexed by general elections in 1892, 1906 and 1908, in the last year stated the first public park being created by the acquisition of the old Indian burial ground. In 1893 Berkeley had become a town of the fifth class under the general laws of the state, and a freeholders' charter was adopted in 1895, with a subsequent amendment in 1905.

The growth of the city has been rapid; in 1908 it had an estimated population of over 35,000. In that year was completed a town hall at a cost of more than $150,000, the new high school, worth about as much, having been completed about three years before. The new Polytechnic high school was begun in the fall of 1907, on property bought near the high school. On account of the shipping facilities, including the new wharf on the west front, dedicated in 1908, several manufacturing concerns are being established in Berkeley. A heavy retail business is carried on in West Berkeley, and in the heart of central Berkeley. The banking facilities are adequate and the institutions are well capitalized

and in a flourishing condition and rank high among those of the state. Transportation is afforded by two transcontinental railroads, a network of electric street car lines, and two suburban systems operating between San Francisco and Berkeley.

The University of California, the pride of all Californians, and one of the ranking institutions of the world, has had a phenomenal growth since its inception. It was instituted by an act of the legislature on March 23, 1868. The instruction was begun in Oakland in 1869 and commencement held July 16, 1873, in Berkeley. The College of California, which was started in 1855 in Oakland by Rev. Henry Durant, was donated to the state and became a college of letters of the university in 1869, being transferred at that time; and through that college the university became possessed of some valuable property in Oakland. In 1873 the university was removed to the Berkeley property, where buildings erected by the state were completed. The institution continued to grow from that time, developing its possessions, and making a foundation for its future. The years from 1878 to 1890 were a period of remarkable growth in the university, and of close financial stress because of the inadequacy of state support. During those years the Lick Astronomical department was given by James Lick; the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art was given; J. C. Wilmerding gave the Wilmerding School of Industrial Arts; Stiles hall was given for the use of the university Christian societies by Mrs. A. J. Stiles; and an exhibit was sent to the Mid-Winter fair, from which the university greatly benefited. Scholarships given by Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst were bestowed, and the Harmon gymnasium was donated.

From 1895 to 1900 new buildings were erected, these being the Botany, Philosophy and Agricultural buildings, and East Hall. In the same period the Hearst Mining Memorial building was begun.

In 1905 the state appropriated $150,000 for a state university farm, which is located on seven hundred and eighty acres of land near Davisville, Yolo county, the citizens buying and donating to the university the water rights. In 1906 the San Francisco fire of April 18 destroyed the Hopkins Institute of Art and most of its treasures, an irreparable loss. In 1908 Clarence W. Mackay gave $100,000 to build the new building for the college of mechanics, which was established in 1875.

The administration of the university and its finances is in the hands of a corporation known as the Regents of the University of California, consisting of the governor, lieutenant-governor, speaker of the assembly, state superintendent of public instruction, president of the State Agricultural Society, president of the Mechanics Institute of San Francisco, and the president of the university, all ex-officio; and the sixteen other members, appointees of the governor. Out of the proceeds of the sale of tide lands in the city and county of San Francisco, $200,000 was appropriated for the benefit of the university. Its resources are: The Seminary fund and Public building fund granted by Congress to the state; property received from the College of California, including the Berkeley site; funds derived from the Congressional land grant of July 2, 1862; tide land funds appropriated by the state; various appropriations by the legislature for specified purposes; State University fund created by the Vrooman act, of a perpetual endowment from the state tax, of one cent on each $100 of assessed valuation; endowment fund of the Lick astronomical department; United States experiment station of $1,500 a year; and gifts of individuals. The colleges of dentistry, medicine and pharmacy are supported by moderate fees from students; the college of law has a separate endowment; and there is also a military department in the charge of an officer of the United States army. The university has the second largest library in the state, containing collections of fine arts; and classical archeological museums, classified and distributed by departments. It also has complete laboratories and a gymnasium. The presidents of this institution from the date of founding to the present time were as follows: Henry Durant, D. C. Gilman, John LeConte, Horace Davis, Martin Kellogg, and since 1899, Benjamin Ide Wheeler.

ALAMEDA.

Alameda township was constituted in 1854 by a special act of the legislature. In covered a peninsula four and one-half miles long, by three-quarters to one and one-half miles wide, and contained about twenty-two hundred acres. The same legislature passed a special act incorporating the town of Encinal, but the population being insufficient, no town government was organized under this law until the next year.

By a special act of the legislature March 7, 1872, the town of Alameda was incorporated with the township boundaries. The act was amended in 1874 because of the growing needs of the town, and again in 1876; and in 1878 a re-incorporation act was passed. In 1884 under the general laws of the state, Alameda became a city of the fifth class. No further changes were made in the form of municipal government until 1906, when a model freeholders' charter was adopted.

In 1876 the town was divided into wards, a town hall erected and the next year the sewer system was begun and continued until 1885, when the present system was adopted. The fire department, organized as a volunteer department in 1876, and made a paid department in 1885, has gradually kept abreast of the growing conditions. The city government began the macadamizing of the streets in 1875, and the same year the first high school building was erected, and retained in use until 1899, when the present costly brick structure replaced it.

Soon after Alameda had been made a city of the fifth class, the Federal government became interested in the improvement of the harbor. Dredging, which since has been prosecuted at a total expenditure of $3,000,000, was begun. The isthmus which connected Alameda to the main land was severed; a steel drawbridge was built across the canal on Park street by the United States government in 1892. The estuary, as San Antonio creek has come to be known, was continued by a tidal canal to San Leandro bay, which was deepened into a tidal basin. This project, which made an island of Alameda, was completed in 1902, and was celebrated by the citizens of the island city in a Mardi Gras on the shore of the new waterway. Private capital followed the government, by the reclaiming of marsh lands for manufacturing sites. Many firms have been attracted to the city.

The place is naturally healthy. A superb system of municipal lighting is in operation; pure artesian water for domestic purposes comes from a series of wells that were constructed at a cost of nearly $500,000 by private individuals; thousands of substantial, and many of them beautiful, homes have been built; business blocks of considerable size have been erected; the public school system equals that of any city in the state, consisting of the high school, evening school, parental school, and eight grammar schools. The city supports a fine free library; churches of nearly every denomination have been provided; hospitals and private sanitariums are maintained; the police department is efficient; banking facilities are adequate and well capitalized; street car service is excellent, supplemented by the Southern Pacific broad and narrow gauge systems, traversing the entire peninsula. Alameda supports a full company of the National Guard of California. The city is an ideal residence place, with a population of about twenty-five thousand, famed for the upright character of her citizenship—patriotic, home-loving people, jealous of the fair name of their city in the world of industry and politics.

SACRAMENTO.

Sutter built his fort near the junction of the Sacramento and American rivers in 1839. It was then the most northerly settlement in California and became the trading post for the northern frontier. It was the outpost to which the tide of overland immigration flowed before and after the discovery of gold. Sutter's settlement was also known as New Helvetia. After the discovery of gold at Coloma it was, during 1848, the principal supply depot for the mines. Sutter had a store at the fort and did a thriving business. Sam Brannan, in June, 1848, established a store outside of the fort, in a long adobe building. His sales amounted to over $100,000 a month. His profits were enormous. Gold

dust was a drug on the market and at one time passed for $8 an ounce, less than half its value. In September, 1848, Priest, Lee & Co. established a business house at the fort and did an immense business. The fort was not well located for a commercial center. It was too far away from the river by which all the freight from San Francisco was shipped. The land at the embarcadero was subject to overflow and was deemed unsuited for the site of a city. Sutterville was laid out on rising ground three miles below. A survey of lots was extended from the fort to the embarcadero and along the river bank. This embryo town at the embarcadero took the name of Sacramento from the river. Then began a rivalry between Sutterville and Sacramento. The first house in Sacramento, corner of Front and I streets, was erected in January, 1849. The proprietors of Sutterville, McDougall & Co., made an attempt to attract trade and building to their town by giving away lots, but Sutter beat them at that game, and Sacramento surged ahead. Sam Brannan and Priest, Lee & Co. moved their stores into Sacramento. The fort was deserted and Sutterville ceased to contend for supremacy. In four months lots had advanced from $50 to $1,000 and business lots to $3,000. A regular steamboat service on the river was inaugurated in August, 1849, and sailing vessels that had come around the Horn to avoid trans-shipment worked their way up the river and landed their goods at the embarcadero. The first number of the *Placer Times* was issued April 28, 1849. The steamboat rates of passage between San Francisco and Sacramento were: Cabin, $30; steerage, $20; freight $2.50 per one hundred pounds. By the winter of 1849 the population of the town had reached five thousand and a year later it had doubled. Lots in the business section were held at $30,000 to $50,000 each. The great flood of 1849-50, when four-fifths of the city was under water, somewhat dampened the enthusiasm of the citizens, but did not check the growth of the city. Sacramento became the trading center of the mines. In 1855 its trade, principally with the mines, amounted to $6,000,000. It was also the center of the stage lines, a dozen of which led out from it.

It became the state capital in 1853, and although disastrous floods drove the legislators from the capital several times, they returned when the waters subsided. The great flood of 1861-62 inundated the city and compelled an immense outlay for levees and for raising the grades of the streets. Sacramento was made the terminus of the Central Pacific Railroad system, and its immense workshops are located there. Its growth for the past thirty years has been slow but steady. Its population in 1890 was 26,386; in 1900, 29,282.

SAN JOSE.

The early history of San José has been given in the chapter on Pueblos. After the American conquest the place became an important business center. It was the first state capital and the removal of the capital for a time checked its progress. In 1864 it was connected with San Francisco by railroad. The completion of the railroad killed off its former port, Alviso, which had been laid out as a city in 1849. Nearly all the trade and travel before the railroad was built had gone by way of Alviso down the bay to San Francisco. San José and its suburb, Santa Clara, early became the educational centers of California. The first American college founded in the state was located at Santa Clara and the first normal school building erected in the state was built at San José. The population of San José in 1880 was 12,570; in 1900, 21,500.

STOCKTON.

In 1844 the Rancho Campo de los Franceses, Camp of the French, or French Camp, on which the city of Stockton is located, was granted to William Gulnac by Governor Micheltorena. It contained eleven leagues of 48,747 acres of land. Capt. Charles M. Weber, the founder of Stockton, was a partner of Gulnac, but not being a Mexican citizen, he could not obtain a land grant. After Gulnac obtained the grant he conveyed a half interest in it to Weber. Weber shortly afterwards purchased his partner's interest and became sole owner of the grant. Some

attempts were made to stock it with cattle, but Indian depredations prevented it. In 1847, after the country had come into the possession of the Americans, Weber removed from San José, which had been his place of residence since his arrival in California in 1841, and located on his ranch at French Camp. He erected some huts for his vaqueros and fortified his corral against Indians. In 1848 the site of the city was surveyed and platted under the direction of Captain Weber and Maj. R. P. Hammond. The rancho was surveyed and sectionized and land offered on most advantageous terms to settlers. Captain Weber was puzzled to find a fitting name for his infant metropolis. He hesitated between Tuleburgh and Castoria (Spanish for beaver). Tules were plentiful and so were beaver, but as the town grew both would disappear, so he finally selected Stockton, after Commodore Stockton, who promised to be a godfather to the town, but proved to be a very indifferent step-father; he never did anything for it. The discovery of gold in the region known as the southern mines brought Stockton into prominence and made it the metropolis of the southern mining district. Captain Weber led the party that first discovered gold on the Mokelumne river. The freight and travel to the mines on the Mokelumne, Tuolumne and Stanislaus rivers passed through Stockton, and its growth was rapid. In October, 1849, the *Alta California* reports lots in it selling from $2,500 to $6,000 each, according to situation. At that time it had a population of about one thousand souls and a floating population, that is, men coming and going to the mines, of about as many more. The houses were mostly cotton-lined shacks. Lumber was $1 a foot and carpenters' wages $16 per day. There was neither mechanics nor material to build better structures. Every man was his own architect and master builder. Cloth was scarce and high and tacks at one time were worth $5 a package; even a cloth house was no cheap affair, however flimsy and cheap it might appear. On the morning of December 23, 1849, the business portion of the town was swept out of existence by fire. Rebuilding was begun almost before the embers of the departed city were cold and a better city arose from the ashes of the first. After the wild rush of mining days was over, Stockton drifted into a center of agricultural trade and it also became a manufacturing city. Its growth has been steady, devoid of booms or periods of inflation, followed by collapse. Its population in 1890 was 14,424; in 1900, 17,506.

SAN DIEGO.

In former chapters I have described the founding of the presidio and mission of San Diego. A pueblo of twenty-five or thirty houses grew up around the presidio. This is what is known as Old San Diego. In 1858 it was incorporated as a city. March 18, 1850, Alcalde Sutherland granted to William Heath Davis and five associates one hundred and sixty acres of land a few miles south of Old Town, in consideration that they build a wharf and create a "new port." The town of New San Diego was laid out, the wharf was built, several houses erected, and government barracks constructed. A newspaper was established and the Panama steamers anchored at the wharf. San Diego was riding high on the wave of prosperity. But the wave broke and left San Diego stranded on the shore of adversity. In 1868, A. E. Horton came to San Diego. He bought about nine hundred acres of pueblo lands along the bay at twenty-six cents an acre. He subdivided it, gave away lots, built houses and a wharf and soon infused life into the sleepy pueblo. In 1884 the Southern California Railroad was completed into the city. In 1887 San Diego experienced a wonderful real estate boom and its growth for several years was marvelous. Then it came to a standstill, but has again started on the highway to prosperity. Its population in 1890 was 16,159; in 1900, 17,700.

FRESNO CITY.

Fresno City was founded by the Southern Pacific Railroad in May, 1872. The road at that time was in the course of construction. The outlook for a populous town was not brilliant Stretching for miles away from the town site in different directions was an arid-looking plain. The land was fertile enough when well watered,

but the few settlers had no capital to construct irrigating canals.

In 1875 began the agricultural colony era. The land was divided into twenty-acre tracts. A number of persons combined together and by their united capital and community labor constructed irrigating canals and brought the land under cultivation. The principal product is the raisin grape. Fresno City became the county seat of Fresno county in 1874. It is now the largest and most important city of the Upper San Joaquin Valley. Its population in 1890 was 10,818; in 1900, 12,470.

VALLEJO.

Vallejo was founded for the state capital. It was one of several towns which had that temporary honor in the early '50s, when the state capitol was on wheels, or at least on the move. The original name of the place was Eureka. General Vallejo made a proposition to the legislature of 1850 to grant the state one hundred and fifty-six acres of land and to donate and pay to the state within two years after the acceptance of this proposition $370,000, to be used in the erection of public buildings. The legislature accepted his proposition. The location of the state capital was submitted to a vote of the people at the election on October 7, 1850, and Vallejo received more votes than the aggregated vote of all its competitors. Buildings were begun, but never completed. The legislature met there twice, but on account of insufficient accommodations sought other places where they were better cared for. General Vallejo's proposition at his own request was cancelled. In 1854 Mare Island, in front of Vallejo, was purchased by the general government for a United States navy yard and naval depot. The government works gave employment to large numbers of men and involved the expenditure of millions of dollars. The town began to prosper and still continues to do so. Its population in 1890 was 6,343; in 1900, 7,965.

NEVADA CITY.

No mining town in California was so well and so favorably known in the early '50s as Nevada City. The first discovery of gold near it was made in September, 1849; and the first store and cabin erected. Rumors of rich strikes spread abroad and in the spring of 1850 the rush of gold-seekers came. In 1851 it was estimated that within a circuit of seven miles there was a population of 30,000. In 1856 the business section was destroyed by fire. It was then the third city in population in the state. It has had its periods of expansion and contraction, but still remains an important mining town. Its population in 1880 was 4,022; in 1890, 2,524; in 1900, 3,250.

GRASS VALLEY.

The first cabin in Grass Valley was erected in 1849. The discoveries of gold quartz raised great expectations. A quartz mill was erected in 1850, but this new form of mining not being understood, quartz mining was not a success; but with improved machinery and better methods, it became the most important form of mining. Grass Valley prospered and surpassed its rival, Nevada City. Its population in 1900 was 4,719.

EUREKA.

In the two hundred years that Spain and Mexico held possession of California its northwest coast remained practically a terra incognita, but it did not remain so long after the discovery of gold. Gold was discovered on the head waters of the Trinity river in 1849 and parties of prospectors during 1849 and 1850 explored the country between the head waters of the Trinity and Klamath rivers and the coast. Rich mines were found and these discoveries led to the founding of a number of towns on the coast which aspired to be the entrepots for the supplies to the mines. The most successful of these proved to be Eureka, on Humboldt Bay. It was the best located for commerce and soon outstripped its rivals, Arcata and Bucksport. Humboldt county was formed in 1854, and Eureka, in 1856, became the county seat and was incorporated as a city. It is the largest shipping point for lumber on the coast. It is also the commercial center of a rich agricultural and dairying district. Its population in 1880 was 2,639; in 1890, 4,858; in 1900, 7,327.

MARYSVILLE.

The site on which Marysville stands was first known as New Mecklenburg and was a trading post of two houses. In October, 1848, M. C. Nye purchased the rancho and opened a store at New Mecklenburg. The place then became known as Nye's rancho. In 1849 a town was laid out and named Yubaville. The name was changed to Marysville in honor of the wife of the proprietor of the town Covilland. His wife was Mary Murphy, of the Donner party. Marysville, being at the head of navigation of the north fork of the Sacramento, became the entrepot for mining supplies to the miners in the rich Yuba mines. After the decline of mining it became an agricultural center for the upper portion of the Sacramento. Its population in 1880 was 4,300; in 1890, 3,991; in 1900, 3,397.

REDDING.

The *Placer Times* of May 8, 1850, contains this notice of Reading, now changed to Redding: "Reading was laid off early in 1850 by P. B. Reading at the headwaters of the Sacramento within forty-five miles of the Trinity diggings. Reading is located in the heart of a most extensive mining district, embracing as it does, Cottonwood, Clear, Salt, Dry, Middle and Olney creeks, it is in close proximity to the Pitt and Trinity rivers. The pet steamer, Jack Hayes, leaves tomorrow morning (May 9, 1850) for Reading. It has been hitherto considered impossible to navigate the Sacramento to this height." The town grew rapidly at first, like all mining towns, and like most of such towns it was swept out of existence by fire. It was devastated by fire in December, 1852, and again in June, 1853. Its original name, Reading, got mixed with Fort Redding and it now appears on all railroad maps and guides as Redding. Its population in 1890 was 1,821; in 1900, 2,940.

PASADENA.

Pasadena is a child of the colony era of the early '70s. Its original name was the Indiana Colony. In 1873 a number of persons formed a company for the purchasing of a large tract of land and subdividing it among them. They incorporated under the title of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association and purchased four thousand acres in the San Pasqual rancho, situated about nine miles east of Los Angeles city. This was divided on the basis of one share of stock being equivalent to fifteen acres. Each stockholder received in proportion to his investment. The colonists turned their attention to the cultivation of vineyards and orange orchards. In 1875 the name was changed to Pasadena, an Algonquin word meaning Crown of the Valley. The colony had become quite noted for its production of oranges. In 1887 the great real estate boom struck it and the cross roads village suddenly developed into a city. It has become famous as a tourist winter resort. Its population in 1890 was 4,882; in 1900, 9,117.

POMONA.

Pomona was founded by the Los Angeles Immigration and Land Co-Operative Association. This company bought twenty-seven hundred acres of the Rancho San José, lying along the eastern border of Los Angeles county. The town was laid off in the center of the tract. The remainder of the tract was divided into forty-acre lots. The town made a rapid growth at first, but disaster overtook it. First the dry season of 1876-77, and next a fire that swept it almost out of existence. In 1880 its population had dwindled to one hundred and eighty persons. In about 1881 it began to revive and it has made a steady growth ever since. It is the commercial center of a large orange growing district. Its population in 1890 was 3,634; in 1900, 5,526.

SAN BERNARDINO.

San Bernardino was originally a Mormon colony. In 1851 one hundred and fifty families were sent from Salt Lake to found a colony or a stake of Zion. The object of locating a colony at this point was to keep open a line of communication with some seaport. San Bernardino was near the old Spanish trail which let out through the Cajon pass. Goods could be transported to Salt Lake from San Pedro at all seasons of the year, which could not be done to Salt Lake

over the central route westward or eastward during the winter. The leaders of the Mormon colony, Lyman and Rich, bought the San Bernardino rancho from the Lugos. A portion of the land was subdivided into small tracts and sold to the settlers. The Mormons devoted themselves to the cultivation of wheat, of which they raised a large crop the first year and received as high as $5 per bushel. The colony prospered for a time, but in 1857 the settlers, or all of them that would obey the call, were called to Salt Lake by Brigham Young to take part in the threatened war with the United States. The faithful sold their lands for whatever they could get and departed. The gentiles bought them and the character of the settlement changed. The city of San Bernardino has an extensive trade with the mining districts to the east of it. Its population in 1890 was 4,012; in 1900, 6,150.

RIVERSIDE.

Riverside had its origin in the colony era. It began its existence as the Southern California Colony Association. In 1870 an association, of which Judge John W. North and Dr. James Greves were leaders, purchased four thousand acres of the Roubidoux rancho and adjoining lands, aggregating in all about nine thousand acres. This was subdivided into small tracts and sold to settlers at a low price. A town was laid off and named Jurupa, but this being difficult of pronunciation its name was changed to Riverside, which eventually became the name of the settlement as well. An extensive irrigating system was constructed and the cultivation of citrus fruits became the leading industry. The Bahia or Washington navel orange has made Riverside famous in orange culture. It was propagated by budding from two small trees sent by the Department of Agriculture to a citizen of Riverside. The city of Riverside in area is one of the largest cities of the state. Its boundaries include fifty-six square miles. Its corporate lines take in most of the orange groves of the settlement. By this means municipal regulations against insect pests can be better enforced. The population of Riverside in 1890 was 4,683; in 1900, 7,973.

MONTEREY COUNTY.

By JACOB R. LEESE.

CHAPTER I.

THE INDIANS OF MONTEREY.

IN the Biblical record we read that in Eden God created the first of the human race. Assuming this declaration true, how came the Indians upon this western coast, a people unknown to the world prior to their discovery in 1492 by Christopher Columbus? It is a problem as yet unsolved, a problem as mysterious as the origin of the Monterey cypress, the only specie of its kind known to the botanist. As an answer to the question, some scholars claim, because the Indians have certain customs, ceremonies and beliefs similar to the Chinese, the Indians are a low type of the Mongolian race, and that in some remote period a Chinese junk sailed or drifted across Behring's Straits, and the voyagers gradually worked their way south. Others assert that they crossed from Cuba to Florida and traveled westward to California, as did Alvaro Nunez Cabeza de Vaca. Be that as it may be, the "Diggers" were the original owners of Monterey, and a brief history of them may be interesting.

The only knowledge we have of this people is that obtained from the Spanish priests, travelers and early-day pioneers, for they left no monuments, tombs, books, picture writings or legends, and in regard to their locations J. R. Porter tells us that the Ensenes, the Runsenes and the Achasters occupied the Carmelo valley, the vicinity of Monterey and the Santa Lucia hills; the Ansaymus and the Nutsunes, the San Juan valley; the Jolons, the San Antonio valley, and the Sackhones, the Kathlendarueas; and Sargentarucos, the territory of Soledad. These large divisions were broken up into many tribes or families, each tribe living upon a rancheria and speaking a different dialect.

They had a common religion, believed in a god and in immortality, and each rancheria had a temple of worship or vanquech, in which stood an object of reverence or worship, generally a stuffed wildcat or a coyote adorned with feathers. Their god was called Chinigchinich, he appearing to them in a very mysterious manner after the death of Quiot, one of their great warriors. He was a descendant of Nocuma, an invisible spirit, maker of heaven and earth. Strong and powerful, he became a great chief, but cruel and tyrannical in his government. The people poisoned him.

Chinigchinich then appeared and proclaimed himself "All Powerful," said he possessed three personalities, that of Saor, Quogour and Tobet. "When my work is finished I will become invisible, and when I depart I shall ascend upward to the stars. From there I will always see you, and to those who obey my commands I will give all they ask, but those who disobey or disbelieve my teachings I will send bears to bite them, serpents to sting them. They will have no food to eat and disease shall overwhelm and destroy them."

The people accepted him as their sacred ruler, and in each tribe he appointed certain persons to priestly offices, those of the medicine men and sorcerers. Soon afterwards Chinigchinich died and ascended to the stars, and the people, with reverence and fear, worshipped him as a god.

The government of the rancheria was vested in the medicine men, the sorcerers, the elders or wise men and the chief, they comprising the puplem, or governing power. They were permitted to wear the sacred robe, or tobet, to enter at any time the vanquech and dance before the god. They were the advisers, nay, the power above the

throne, and they had the power to declare war, elect a new chief and exercise a general supervision over the rancheria affairs.

The office of chief was hereditary and descended from father to son. Sometimes the son was appointed chief before the father's death, but the latter continued his office through life. If a chief died or was killed, leaving an infant son, his widow became chief regent until her son became of age, the puplem, however, holding the controlling power. The chief was held in high honor by the tribe, as he was supposed to be a favorite son of the god, and the children were taught to venerate him. To injure or speak ill of him was a most serious offense, sometimes punishable with death.

The tribes were frequently engaged in war over the possession of the best producing land, the recovery of a stolen wife, and sometimes for the most frivolous causes. If, for instance, a Jolon stole a rabbit or a basket of acorns or insulted a Sackhone, it was considered a cause for war. The matter was referred to the puplem, and if they so declared the warriors were commanded to prepare their weapons and the women to prepare sufficient pinole, pounded seed, for the campaign. Sometimes a secret attack was planned, but generally an open fight was made, and, painted and dressed in their war costume, they advanced upon the enemy, the youngest and strongest braves in the lead. Advancing in a single column, shooting their arrows, they would jump and dance so as to prevent the foe from taking deadly aim. Their battles were of short duration, for they were too lazy and cowardly to long contend for a victory, and the wounded were few in number. No quarter was given; the old men decapitated and scalped the dead and badly wounded of the enemy. If women or children were captured they were held as slaves.

The men were extremely lazy, doing no work except to fish, hunt small game and mend their bows and arrows, snares and nets, but the women were never idle. They gathered and cooked the food, brought the water and firewood, pounded the seed and acorns and wove the baskets in which the food was prepared, carrying on their backs one and sometimes two pappooses while performing their work.

When their lords went forth to battle, they followed, carrying the food, the baggage and the babies upon their backs. As the arrows fell thick and fast they picked up those of the enemy and their warriors swiftly returned them. If a brave was badly wounded or killed, it was their duty to remove the body to a place of safety and minister to the wounded. Here the Red Cross movement of the Civil war had its inception, and perhaps a "Jenny Lind" was there. In their battles their principal weapons were bows and arrows pointed with sharpened bone or flint. Clubs were used occasionally. They made long spears pointed with bone for the spearing of fish, and a knife of obsidian for the skinning of game.

These people, according to all accounts, were the most degraded, filthy and repulsive of the human race. In height they were not over five and one-half feet, thick-set and badly proportioned, with low, retreating foreheads, deep-set black eyes, a nose depressed and wide-spreading nostrils, a large mouth, with thick, protruding lips and large white teeth. Their complexion was nearly black, and their bushy and matted hair was cut or burnt short in front. The men were almost beardless, some travelers declaring the hairs had been pulled out in youth and others that it was natural.

Their dress was scant and inexpensive. The men in their summer costume wore nature's garb only, but in winter they usually wore a rabbit or deer skin cloak over their shoulders. The women, more modest, in summer wore a closely woven petticoat of grass material, open at the side, they also wearing a cloak in winter. The ornaments which they wore were of bone and shell, some wearing shell ear-rings. In the warm climate[a] of Monterey clothing was not a necessity, not even warm houses, hence their teepees

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(a) The Indian's ability to withstand cold was surprising, and the reason was given in "Lo's" answer to General Vallejo. He one frosty morning, meeting an Indian almost naked, said to him, "Are you not cold?" "No," replied the Indian; but Vallejo doubting his word, the Indian asked, "Is your face cold?" "No," said the general. "Well, my body all face."

were of the cheapest construction. They consisted of a large tree pole set on end and fastened at the top with grass rope, an opening being made for the escape of smoke. The poles were covered with bark or brush for summer use and plastered with mud to keep out the rains. In this wick-ey-up the entire family huddled, like swine in a pen, until it became too filthy with refuse, food, dirt and vermin for further habitation. Then the family moved out, built a new hut and burned the old.

Regarding the number of Indians in Monterey at any one time, we have no definite account previous to the census of 1852. At that time 636 Indians were reported, 291 only being over twenty-one years of age.

The four missions in the height of their prosperity registered quite a large neophyte population, Carmelo in 1794 claiming 971 Christian Indians, Soledad in 1805 counting 725, San Juan Bautista in 1825 having 1,246 and San Antonio in 1834 claiming 1,400. As the padres made no effort to estimate the number of wild Indians within the county this report is not satisfactory, as the Spanish soldiers were at all seasons driving wild Indians into the missions from all parts of the territory and as hundreds yearly escaped and many died it was impossible at any time to correctly estimate the Indian population.

Economists tell us that marriages and births were governed in a measure by the food supply and possibly this factor was considered by the Indians, but in the rich fertile territory they had an abundance of food. Porter says that the coast Indians lived on fish, aulons, muscles and oftimes on the dead whale or sea lion that had floated to shore. In the interior they subsisted on wild oats, acorns, grass, clover and roots. They also occasionally shot deer and elk and snared birds, ducks and geese and they readily devoured grasshoppers, snakes, lizards and vermin. Bears were plentiful, but they dared not attack them. Kooser says the strawberries, gooseberries and blackberries were plentiful in certain places in the valley.

When the season drew near for the gathering of acorns, seeds and clover the chief sent for a crier to announce the harvest time. Then the people assembled, the puplem painted and decorated in appropriate costume and in front of the vanquech they performed the harvest dance. As the Indians danced they presented their baskets to the god, thus beseeching him to grant them a bountiful harvest. The dance concluded, men, women, and children marched forth to gather the supply of food.

Marriages were common and it was the custom for the women to very rudely receive the bride, unless she was the choice of a chief or his son. On the marriage day, the bridegroom with considerable ceremony, was seated in a bower or decorated booth and the puplem accompanied by a few of the old women then escorted the bride from her teepee into his presence. She was adorned with the marriage robe and with feathers and as she approached the bridegroom the women, grasping her person, tore from her body the marriage raiment and divided it among themselves. The bride, naked and unadorned, was then seated beside the bridegroom. If the bride was the chosen wife of the son of the chief then she was not only respectfully received, but seated by the side of her lord; she was adorned with a feather dress resembling somewhat the tobet. Sometimes a young warrior courted the girl of another tribe and as his expression of good will he gave presents to her parents. If the girl was willing, then with great ceremony she was taken to her new wick-ey-up. If unwilling, she was kidnapped and this sometimes was a cause of war. Polygamy was commonly practiced, and sometimes a brave would marry the entire family of girls from the oldest to the youngest.

The death rate of the aborigines must have been exceedingly heavy and it is stated that in five years, 1810-1816, the Indian mission population south of San Francisco was 19,467, this including 3,324 births; yet of this number 7,394 had died. Their average life was not over forty years, yet some of them were very long lived. Carson says in 1852 there were six Indians over one hundred years of age, and one of them, "Old Gabriel," died in March, 1890, at the age of one hundred and fifty-one years. Kooser tells of "Old Ned," who was baptized in a mission in 1776. He first saw him in 1847 and he had then

been blind for forty years from old age. His hands and feet were hard and horny, almost petrified, and he supported a family and made a good living by the charity bestowed upon him by friends and strangers.

Each tribe had its medicine men and sorcerers who claimed to heal diseases by a supernatural power given them by Chinigchinich. The people feared and yet revered them, and contributed to their support without any complaint against their exorbitant charges for services rendered.

They were seldom stricken with disease, but when it did attack them but few recovered, especially from fevers or small-pox, and when stricken they died by the hundred. The principal cure for all diseases was the sweat house,[b] although their medicine men practiced blood letting and made use of herbs for bruises and swellings and as laxatives. Some of the herbs used by them are today found in the pharmacopæia, among them, says George Warton James, being the yerba-santa-holy plant, casyara sagrada, sacred bark and the poison oak remedy, rhus-toxicodendron.

The dead were disposed of either by burial or cremation, the last-named method being the most common. The entire funeral ceremony was conducted by the sorcerers or medicine men, for which they were well paid. When a death occurred the body was prepared and then placed upon a large bundle of brush wood and everything belonging to the deceased, including his bows, arrows, beads, feathers and clothing and everything that his friends would contribute, was also placed upon the funeral pyre. The fire was then applied and wood supplied until the body was consumed. The ashes were then preserved by the family or formally buried. During the process of burning hired mourners would weep and wail the praises and good deeds of the dead, and the chief mourners would smear their faces and hair with the ashes of the deceased mixed with a kind of grease and there it remained until worn off.

(b) The sweat house was a chamber or cavern dug in the ground and large enough to accommodate fifteen or twenty persons. In this house they built a fire, closed the entrance, and there remained until sweating profusely. Then suddenly they would run out and plunge into the cold water of the river. The sudden reaction on the body caused either a cure or death, in most cases death.

CHAPTER II.

MEXICAN LIFE AND GOVERNMENT.

JUAN RODERIQUEZ CABRILLO, in December, 1542, sailing up the California coast, discovered a bay which he called the "Point of Pine." Time passed, and in 1602 Sebastian Visciano was sent to the north to relocate the bay. He found the harbor, December 16, and named it Monterey, in honor of the viceroy of Mexico, Gapar de Zuniza, Conte of Monterey, who sent out the expedition. The bay gave name to the county, which was created by the legislature in February, 1850, and is one of the largest in the state, being over eighty miles in length, with an average width of forty-five miles.

It is not my purpose to write of its beautiful valleys, Pajaro, Carmelo and Salinas, nor of its lofty pine-forest mountains, San Lucia and Gabilan, rich in oil, coal, petroleum, limestone, silver and gold, nor yet of the long Salinas river and smaller streams, Pajaro, San Antonio, Carmelo and Nacininento, but rather write of the people in their social, intellectual and progressive life, since the occupation of the territory by the Americans, with a brief introduction of the preceding seventy-five years.

Monterey is older than these United States, and when the old liberty bell rang out the independence of this nation, the bells of San Juan Bautista, Carmelo, La Soledad and San Antonio de Padau missions were calling to prayers the neophytes of the "Forest King" Monterey. These christianized Indians, as the fathers called them, were under the control of Spanish padres, of the Franciscan order, two at each mission.

A body of devout, God-fearing men, they had accompanied the Spanish cavaliers of Ferdinand De Soto as he landed in Mexico; they sailed with Visciano and celebrated mass on the shore of Monterey bay. They were with Governor Portola on his march of discovery at the finding of San Francisco bay, and they were with Father Junipero Serra as he traveled from place to place founding missions that he might "advance the Holy Cross."

Although strongly religious, they were also practical men, and, knowing that commercial progress was as essential to mission life as spiritual progress, they built in Monterey territory their four missions in the midst of the best and most fertile soil, and they claimed all the contiguous land, for the pasturing of their stock, the growing of fruit, vegetables and wheat. They prospered and became wealthy, and at one period, 1826, the four missions owned $135,000 in goods and money, together with 45,000 swine, 18,000 horses, 220,000 cattle and 240,000 sheep.

Working along religious lines only, they took no active part in political affairs, although in the earlier days they were encouraged, protected and maintained by the Spanish government because of their assistance in colonizing the territory. The discovery of Drake's bay in 1579 by Sir Francis Drake and the reported intention of Queen Elizabeth to colonize California compelled the Spanish king to take action, and soldiers with families were sent first to Baja and later to Alta California.

In 1771 a presidio was founded at Monterey, and during Governor de Neve's administration, 1774, Monterey was declared the capital. The population rapidly increased, large tracts of land were granted to soldiers and civilians. "Only fancy a farm sixty miles in length," wrote Colton, "and they lords of the ranchos, with Indian servants by the score to do their bidding!" They possessed thousands of horses and cattle and "2,000 horses, 15,000 cattle and 20,000 sheep are only what a thrifty farmer should have," said the same writer. "before he thinks of killing or selling. They are to be his productive stock, on which he should not encroach except in emergency."

Mexico gaining her independence in 1821, the flag of Spain was lowered from the custom house and the flag of the new republic floated to the breeze. The mission Indians were given their liberty, the missions were secularized in 1833 and rapidly declining, all of their lands and property were sold by the government, except such property as was actually necessary for religious work.

At this time, 1840, the shadows of another race and nation were fast deepening upon the California shore. Coming events rapidly assumed shape, events that eventually drove Mexico from the soil, but before we turn to those events let us join the Castilians in their social life, a life that made Monterey so enjoyable to the visitors and travelers.

Excluding the military, the inhabitants numbered perhaps three hundred,[a] this including the families of the Mexicans and Spaniards and foreigners from England, France, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, South America and the United States. Some arrived as early as 1814, John Gilroy coming in that year, Robert Livermore in 1816, W. E. P. Hartnell and David Spence in 1822, William Gale in 1824, J. B. R. Cooper in 1823 and Alfred Robertson in 1829. They had landed for various purposes, some as deserters from the merchant or whaling vessels, others to engage in business, while many came to obtain land and raise stock, expecting that in a few years the territory would become a part of the United States. They married the Spanish senoritas and Castilian daughters, the latter preferring the foreigners as husbands, and many of Monterey's high-class citizens are the fruits of these marriages.

The Spanish wedding was a most enjoyable event and an occasion of feasting and dancing for three or more continuous days, during which time the bride and bridegroom were given no rest. As soon as the marriage contract was signed

[a] John Bidwell said that the leading foreigners in Monterey in 1844 were Thomas O. Larkin, David Spence, Charles Wolters, W. E. P. Hartnell, James Watson, R. H. Thomas, Talbot H. Green, William Dickey, James McKinley, Milton Little and Dr. James Stokes. The principal natives were Governor Micheltorena, Manuel Jimeno, Jose Castro, Juan Malarin, Francisco Arce and Don Jose Abregno.

the bridegroom obtained the best horse he could find, and upon a saddle handsomely stamped and embroidered in gold and silver thread he rode to the home of the bride, leading a horse as finely and richly caparisoned as his own. Then the godmother, mounting the horse, the bridegroom behind her and the godfather riding the second horse, the bride in front of him, away they rode to the church, the horses galloping. On arrival all the friends and relatives being present, the couple would be received at the altar by the priest, dressed in his richest robes. As they knelt at the altar to partake of the sacrament their lady friends would gracefully wind about the twain silken tasseled strings, fringed with gold, or a silken sash, a symbol of their lifelong marriage. From the church the entire party returned to the bride's home, she riding with her husband. On arrival two persons, one on each side, would seize the bridegroom by the legs, if possible, before he could dismount, and each take a spur. To redeem them he must first pay for a bottle of wine. The newly wedded couple enter the house unattended and, kneeling before the parents, receive their blessing. Then, at the signal given by the bridegroom, the guitar, harp and violin struck up a waltz, and for three days and sometimes a week the festivities continued.

The harvest was bountiful; one writer says it was due to the climate, and Governor Borica exclaimed: "The fecundity of the country is remarkable; plenty to eat, plenty to drink and no end to children." W. E. P. Hartnell was blessed with twenty-four children. Colton in one family saw twenty-two children, and in another twenty-eight. It was no uncommon sight to find from fourteen to eighteen children at one table, the children of common parents. On one occasion a Spaniard who had fourteen children applied to Colton for the care of six orphans. "Are not fourteen enough for one table?" inquired Colton. "Ah," he replied, "the hen that has twenty chicks scratches no harder than the hen that has one."

Monterey is, as one writer expressed it, a well-built labyrinth, its independent founders having built their houses where they pleased. The streets are, therefore, narrow and irregular, and nearly all of the houses low, one-story buildings; the walls were built of adobe, two feet thick and covered with tile roofs, the eaves projecting over the walls to protect them from rain. A few buildings, notably Colton hall, the Pacific and Washington hotels and Alvarado's residence, were two stories high. They were all whitewashed yearly outside and inside by the Indian servants, and each of the better class of houses contained a large hall, used as a ballroom, with a dining-room and side sleeping rooms leading from the dance hall. The dwellings were without doors, a bullock hide being used to keep out the rain and wind. Only a few contained glass, and the first house in the country to afford that luxury was Hartnell's adobe on the Alisal.

In these homes the visitor was ever welcome, and he was not expected to wait for an invitation to come and make himself at home. Charles H. Shinn declares in the olden times it was considered a grievous offense even for a stranger to pass by a ranch without tarrying a few days. On his departure fresh horses were always provided, and "guest silver," covered with a cloth, lay upon the table. The guest was expected to take all the money he needed, and it was never counted, either before or after his departure. Their hospitality was unbounded, and Roubideaux, a French traveler, said: "The people were the most hospitable on the globe, and you could travel all over California and it cost you nothing for horses or food." You were supposed to provide your own blankets, and one would be thoughtless if he traveled and did not take a knife to cut his meat.

Their varieties of food were limited to beans, beef, meal and a few vegetables, which were raised upon a common patch of ground called the "Milpas," on the Salinas, near Blanco. Flour they had none, nor butter. They cooked all their foods in hog fat. Colton, complaining, said: "Emigrants from the United States are pouring into the valley, and we shall soon be able to get a ball of butter without churning it on the back of a wild colt and a potato without weighing it, as if it were a doubloon (a Spanish gold coin worth $15.60). Our bay is full of the finest fish, and

yet it is rare to meet one on the table," he wrote in 1846. The conditions have wonderfully improved since then.

The Californians were inveterate gamblers, playing all night and day, and often betting large amounts even to the half of their fortune upon a horse race or the turn of a card. Colton, when he was alcalde, endeavored to stop this evil, but as it was a national vice he found it impossible. On one occasion he found one of the prisoners without a shirt and upon making inquiry he found that the Spaniard had lost it gambling. They were not permitted either cards or dice and as a substitute the prisoners bet upon the falling position of a bone.

They were a happy, light-hearted people and they never worried over present or future troubles, either to self or relations. On being asked the question, "How can you sing when the flag of your country is lost?" a Mexican answered: "Oh, give us a guitar and a fandango and the devil take the flag." The daughter of Captain de la Torre—some might call her heartless, for gaily she sang her love songs accompanied by her guitar while her father was upon the battlefields liable to be shot if captured, as he had broken his parole. Two Spaniards in jail for highway robbery asked Colton's permission to have their guitars brought to them. Their request was granted, and as the streets were quieted the music of their guitars was heard blending in sweet harmony with their rich voices, but their melody had a weird and melancholy tone.

The people never tired of dancing either summer or winter, and the sound of the violin and guitar scarcely ever died away in the old homestead. Carson tells us that after skimming over the plains all day on their fine horses they joined in the giddy waltz at night, and it was nothing unusual to see a little black-eyed girl of seven dancing with her grandmother. So fond were they of dancing and the fandango, Duflot de Mofras, the French scientist says, in 1841 with a party of thirty males and females he rode fifty miles to a fandango. The party danced the following day and night and the following morning at sunrise started for Monterey.

Picnics were a common source of amusement, and with the sweetheart riding in front of her lover, away they would gallop, old and young, to the dells in the wildwood. Following after the horseman came the slow moving carreta containing the baggage and provisions, followed by a hundred or more dogs.[b] On arrival at the grounds the music struck up, and forth upon the green the man of seventy, still erect and tall, led the girl in the dance.

A strongly religious people, they annually observed Lent, which was preceded by a cascarone ball; Easter, Christmas, All Saints' Day, December twelfth, St. Guadalupe's Day and every Sunday. In addition they celebrated their national holidays of February 12th, March 2d and September 16th and 27th, these being celebrated by order of the government, to preserve its brilliancy and dignity and the respect in which it should be regarded in the eyes of the people. Governor Alvarado, who was a sort of free lance, neglected to attend to these national festivities, and his attention was called to the fact that all officials should attend solemn festivities and celebrations. Their special national holidays were September 16th and Independence Day, and Governor Micheltorena issued a special proclamation in 1843, giving the program at Monterey. On the evening previous a national salute of five guns was fired from El Catillo on the hill, the band at the same time playing patriotic airs. On the Fourth of July cannon salutes were fired throughout the day, and the militia paraded the streets. In the afternoon a bull fight took place on the Salinas plains and in the evening a grand ball ended the celebration.

The Carnes Tolendas or carnival ball was a particularly delightful festival, one in which the breaking of egg shells, filled with lavender or cologne, finely cut papers or sometimes scaled gold was the principal features. These egg shells were broken upon the heads of favored persons only, and it was considered the highest honor thus to be attacked. It was a sport in which the poorest and the wealthiest alike took part, no matter what the price of eggs, and for several

[b] Every family kept a dozen or more snarling, fighting dogs.

weeks previous to the carnival day the women would be engaged in loading egg shells.[c] One of these events took place in the home of Thomas O. Larkin, which is still standing on the corner of Main and Jefferson streets, and concerning which Colton wrote February 16, 1847, as follows: "It is past midnight and I have just come from the house of Thomas O. Larkin, where I left the youth and beauty of Monterey. This being the last night of the carnival every one has broken his last egg shell. Two of the young ladies broke their egg shells on the head of our commodore and got kissed by way of retaliation."

A beautiful custom was the celebration of Christmas, "la Noche Buena," the holy night, together with the dramatic representation of "Los Pastores." Those who took part rehearsed the play several weeks and on Christmas Eve, at an early hour, all the houses were illuminated, sky rockets shot upward and the old mission bells rang out merrily. Late in the evening the crowd turned their footsteps towards the church and at midnight a solemn high mass was celebrated. The mass ended at a given signal, the tinkling of a guitar was heard outside of the church and immediately a procession entered, six females dressed in long white flowing robes and bearing long wands decorated with various colored ribbons, followed by the arch angel Gabriel, personated by a boy, Lucifer, a hermit and Bartolo, three characters enacted by men. Approaching the altar the shepherdesses kneeling before the Christ image began a low chant accompanied by harps and guitars. Then scenes in the life of Christ were presented, the performance ending by the shepherdesses singing "Hosannah," in which the entire audience took part. It was customary following Christmas Day for the performers to give the drama in the homes of the leading citizens, and at the residences of the United States consul and that of General José Castro, this pastoral drama was performed.

The system of government in Monterey was very crude and imperfect and continuously changing, the citizens paying their respects to twelve different governors in twenty years. It was controlled entirely by politicians, the people in general taking no interest in political affairs, and the wire pullers were divided into factions and ever quarreling over the custom house positions, divisions of the mission properties and the capitol removal.

Revolutions were a part of Mexican life and in the revolution of 1822 Mexico gained her independence from Spain. At that time Pablo Vincento de Sola was the Spanish governor of California. He boasted of his loyalty to the Spanish king and threatened to shoot any one who was disloyal to his flag, but when his country suffered defeat he became an equally strong revolutionist, and for his disloyalty he was rewarded and given the position of deputy to the imperial congress.

In California there was what was known as a "junta," an official body of seven persons presumed to be elected by the people of the entire territory. The president of the junta was called the "primer vocal" and in case of a vacancy he became temporal governor until the position was permanently filled by the congress in Mexico. Luis Arguello, a San Francisco boy, was then "primer vocal" and he acted as governor until the arrival from Mexico of Jose Maria de Escheandia.[d] Then came the first quarrel. Arguello, in accordance with Escheandia's command, met the new governor at San Diego and turned over to him the affairs of the government. Arguello did not notify the junta of his departure and they assembled and appointed Jose Maria Estudillo as governor pro tem. Then the question arose, who is governor, Escheandia at San Diego, Arguello on his way, or Estudillo in the capitol? The

[c] To fill these shells, two small holes were made, one at each end of the egg, and the contents were easily blown out. If a liquid was used, after filling, the ends were sealed with wax.

[d] During Governor Arguello's term of office the church published an edict and posted it upon the door of the mission excommunicating any person who danced the waltz, a new dance just then introduced. The edict was published on Sunday and it so happened that a ball was to take place that evening in the home of Jose Maria Estudillo. The edict created a sensation among the pretty senoritas, and one of them asking the governor his opinion regarding the prohibition of the waltz, he replied "If I knew how and felt like it, I would dance as much as I pleased." His answer set the entire company waltzing, and the bishop's edict came to naught.

trouble was that the politicians of San Diego had seen the new governor and he concluded to make the southern port California's capitol. Sending an official notice to Estudillo at Monterey, he commanded that the government archives be removed to San Diego, and Estudillo obeying, packed the books and documents upon the backs of several mules and started for the southern town. After traveling but a few miles, however, he was overtaken by a squad of soldiers and compelled to return to Monterey. The governor came to Monterey in June, 1827, accompanied by two bridegrooms, Augustin V. Zemaraso and Romual Pacheco. They both fell in love in San Diego, the former marrying Luisa Arguello, and the latter Romona Carrillo. There were gay times in the capitol after their arrival.

A revolution in Mexico in 1830 caused another change of government and Escheandia was superseded by Manuel Victoria. He was bigoted, tyrannical and revengeful in his administration, and in less than a year the citizens, led by Jose Antonio Carrillo, Pio Pico and Juan Bandini, drove him from the territory by armed force and the junta elected Pio Pico temporary governor. Then the Mexican government sent to Alta California another governor of half Indian blood, Jose Figueroa. He was the best governor of early days, but unfortunately took sick and died at San Juan Bautista Mission. His body was removed to Monterey and placed in the San Carlo Church until the arrival of a vessel to carry it to Santa Barbara, where he had desired burial. The American brig Avon arrived on October 17, 1835. On the afternoon of that day a large funeral procession was formed, and under a military escort the remains were taken to the brig, a gun from the fort firing every half minute while the procession was moving. The casket was placed in the cabin of the vessel enveloped in the Mexican flag and a sentinel stood guard over the body. Then the ship's band began playing funeral marches and so continued until sunset. A few days later the brig sailed.

Jose Castro, acting governor during Figueroa's illness, gave way in January, 1836, to Nicholas Gutterez, he giving up the office in December to Colonel Marino Chico. The new governor made many enemies. He was a disbeliever in popular rights and quarreled continually with the leading officials and many of the Americans. The last foolish exhibition of his temper caused his banishment. There was a performance in Monterey and the whole town was present, including the governor. A few days previous Mrs. Juan and her paramour had been placed in jail. Her husband asked that Mrs. Juan be released. The governor granted the request, and Mr. and Mrs. Juan attended the show. The friends of the fellow, thinking it a good joke, obtained his release from the alcalde and he also attended the show. When the governor saw the paramour he grew very angry and made so much disturbance the entertainment was broken up. The following day armed men commenced gathering in the streets and the governor was told to "vamoose." He had no troops to protect him, and the deputation whom he assembled told him he had better go after soldiers. Taking their advice, the governor marched down the streets, the armed men stepping aside and saluting as he passed, and, sailing out of the harbor on the brig Clementina, he returned no more. Chico, before his departure, placed the affairs of government in the hands of ex-Governor Gutterez, and he unwisely took up the fight of his predecessor. Another body of armed men now assembled, under the leadership of Juan B. Alvarado, who was now seeking the office of governor. Gutterez, gathering around him a few of the troops, removed all of the powder and cannon balls from the fort to the presidio and shut himself in. Alvarado, in searching the "el castillo," found a lone cannon ball, and, emptying a number of musket cartridges, enough to discharge the small cannon, they loaded the piece. The gun was placed in charge of an old gunner. Alvarado then notified Gutterez that if he did not surrender before three o'clock he would open fire upon the presidio. The governor held the fort, and at the hour named the old gunner, with true aim, fired. The ball went crashing through the house roof, scattering the tiles and splinters, and Gutterez, fearing a second edition of the same, immediately surrendered. Alvarado and his men then marched in and took possession,

and a few days later Gutterez, with a few friends, sailed for Mazatlan.

Alvarado was now declared governor, but after holding his office a few months he was one day surprised to learn that Los Angeles was an enemy, and through the influence of Jose Carrillo, delegate to the Mexican congress, his brother, Carlos Antonio Carrillo, had been appointed governor. Gen. Jose Castro, the friend of Alvarado, soon put Carrillo to flight, and he wrote: "I have routed the enemy, and by favor of the night they have fled in all directions." Governor Alvarado became conceited and boastful, and in 1840, under the plea that the foreigners intended to create a revolution, he arrested and banished from the territory over thirty foreigners, including Isaac Graham. They all returned, however, and they were well paid by the Mexican government for all their losses.

Alvarado, in 1839, was married by proxy, he being in the capitol, and his bride, Martina Castro, in Santa Clara, and in the following year he was superseded as governor by Manuel Micheltorena. The new governor came marching up the coast with his convict army, and upon reaching San Fernando he suddenly halted and then retreated when he learned that Commodore Thomas Ap-Catesby Jones had captured Monterey and the stars and stripes of the United States were floating over the custom house. This little affair was soon settled and he marched on to Monterey. Micheltorena made a good governor, but the citizens would not submit to the outrages of the convicts, and as he made no effort to control them the people resolved to banish both the governor and his army. Alvarado and Castro again organized an army, and, meeting on the battlefield, Micheltorena surrendered without firing a single shot and promised to leave the territory. In February, 1845, the governor and his troops embarked in the American bark Don Quixote, and Pio Pico, being primer vocal, was declared California's governor. Before the Mexican congress had time to appoint a new governor the clash of arms took place along the Texas frontier, and Mexican authority in California was only a record in history.

CHAPTER III.

WAR IN MONTEREY.

IT is a remarkable fact that the nation that fought for liberty in 1776 and for the freedom of Cuban slaves in 1896 is the same nation that coveted and stole Mexico's land in 1846. For many years previous to the Mexican war San Francisco harbor and the immense body of land west of the Rocky mountains was considered a valuable acquisition to any nation, and at least four nations were hungering for the prize. Russia had long desired to sweep down from the frozen north and seize the "Land of Sunshine and Flowers;" France had her consul at Monterey spying out the land; England's consul, James A. Forbes, was not asleep, and Thomas O. Larkin, representing the United States, was quietly making friends with the Mexicans and keeping the government posted regarding the transpiring events.

Although the Mexicans were a non-aggressive people and inclined to be friendly with all nations, the action of the United States in sending General Taylor with his army across the Rio Grande compelled her to take one of two courses; either to declare war against the invaders and thus preserve her national dignity and honor, or cowardly submit to the accession of a large part of her territory to her stronger enemy for the extension of slavery.

Four years previous Mexico learned that the United States were scheming to force her to declare war by the unforeseen blunder made by Commodore Thomas Ap-Catesby Jones. The commodore at that time, 1842, was at Callao, Peru, in command of two war vessels, waiting there under instructions to sail immediately for California and seize her ports as soon as war was

declared. Early in October, Jones believed, because of a certain event, that war had been declared, and, hastily raising anchor, the United States and Cyane, under full sail, flew over the water to Monterey. Arriving October 19, he came to anchor within close range of the Mexican fort, and, sending a boat ashore, demanded the surrender of the town. There was no one in authority, Governor Alvarado being at his rancho, the Alisal, twenty miles away, and, landing his troops, they marched up the fort towards the Mexican flag and raised the stars and stripes, the guns of the sloop and frigate saluting the standard. That evening David Spence, in writing to General Vallejo at Sonoma, said: "All is tranquil and the town is almost deserted, for many of the officials have fled to the country." Jones made a blunder. No declaration of war had been proclaimed, and, lowering the flag, raised the Mexican bars and saluted as he sailed from port.

Four years passed, and July 2, 1846, another surprise was given the citizens, for on that morning Commodore John D. Sloat hove in sight, and the flagship Savannah, fifty-four guns; the Cyane and Levant, each twenty-four guns, were soon in the bay. Two days later our glorious Fourth of July was celebrated by the squadron, the second ever celebrated on the Pacific coast.[a]

Sloat, for some reason, had not been in any hurry to take possession of the capitol, but on the morning of July 7th he sent Captain Mervin ashore and he demanded the surrender of the town. The only official in sight was the old artilleryman, Marino Silva, and he referred the captain to Gen. Jose Castro, then at San Juan. It was simply a form of military courtesy, and about ten o'clock two hundred and fifty marines were landed, and, marching up to the custom house, they pulled down the Mexican colors and raised aloft the "Flag of the Free." It was loudly cheered by the troops and citizens, and the hill echoed and re-echoed to the booming cannon. Commodore Sloat then caused his proclamation to be read aloud in English and Spanish, declaring the territory a part of the United States and protection to all law-abiding citizens, either American or Mexican. He then sent copies of his proclamation to Captain Montgomery at San Francisco, Captain Fremont at New Helvetia, and Captain Fauntleroy at San Jose, with instructions to raise the stars and stripes and never again to lower them. July 8th Captain Mervin took possession of the custom house and Monterey became the military headquarters of the Pacific coast. Three hundred troops were landed and went into camp beneath the pine trees; two heavy cannon were mounted on wheels ready for action at a moment's notice, and the band was ordered to march up and down Main street, playing martial music. This delighted the citizens and señoritas.

In the meantime Captain Fauntleroy organized a company of dragoons and July 17th Commodore Sloat ordered him to march to San Juan Bautista, raise the flag, and find, if possible, the cannon and ammunition buried by Castro before he fled to the south. On arrival he found Captain Fremont at the mission, he having come from Sacramento to see Sloat and the two companies returned to Monterey.

Fremont had under his command one hundred and sixty men, together with two field pieces, one the famous "Sutter cannon." The command was composed of hunters, trappers, Delaware Indians and seamen, and as they marched through the street they created a sensation. Waldpole in describing the event declared, "A vast cloud of dust appeared first, and then in long file emerged this wildest wild party. Fremont riding ahead dressed in a blouse, leggings and felt hat was followed by the men, riding two and two, the rifle held in one hand across the pommel of the saddle. Their dress was a long, loose coat of deerskin tied in front with thongs, with pants of the same material. Their long knives, pistols and rifles glittered in the sunlight, while their untrimmed locks flowing out from under their foraging caps and their black beards and white teeth gave them a wild, savage aspect. They were allowed no liquor and their discipline was

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(a) The first 4th of July celebration on this coast took place in 1836 at Yerba Buena (San Francisco). It was celebrated by Jacob P. Leese, a well-known resident of Monterey.

very strict. The ground seemed to tremble under their heavy tramp, and marching to an open space on the hills under some large firs, they took up their quarters in messes of six or seven in the open air.

A few days later Fremont and his battalion sailed on the Cyane for San Diego, there to cooperate with Commodore Stockton, who arrived July 15th on board the Congress. Several weeks passed, during which time Commodore Stockton captured Los Angeles, and leaving there Lieutenant Archibald Gillespie in command of fifty men, the commodore returned to Monterey and later sailed for Yerba Buena. In less than a month after his departure from Los Angeles Juan Flaco, "Lean John," came galloping into Monterey, nearly tired out, with the startling news that the Mexicans had risen in revolt and Gillespie and his men were prisoners. Charles Brown had made this remarkable ride of four hundred and sixty miles in fifty hours without rest, and Colton says, "He was quite exhausted. I ordered him a cup of coffee and a hearty supper, after which he was permitted to sleep three hours. As he was the bearer of dispatches to Stockton, expecting to find him in Monterey, he was furnished a race horse by Job Dye and he hurried on to Yerba Buena."

The revolt of the Mexicans caused intense excitement in the old capitol and the Americans were in constant fear of attack. Several Mexicans who had been living in the town on parole now broke the pledge and hastened to their comrades assistance. The Americans barricaded the streets, organized a night patrol and every man carried weapons. Even Rev. Walter Colton, the alcade, slept with two revolvers under his pillow and a rifle at his bed-side. Their fears were soon quieted, for Captain Maddox arrived with fifty men and went into camp. Soon afterward, October 28th, Fremont and his command sailed into the bay on the ship Stirling. They were nearly starved and the call for bread and meat aroused all the butchers and bakers of the town.

Scarcely had Fremont's command settled down, when a forlorn, worn-out, half-starved guard of young mountaineers arrived in town. They were a squad who had been left under the command of Lieutenant Talbot to guard Santa Barbara. Marching two hundred men to that point Manuel Garfias demanded the surrender of the pueblo, but Talbot, with true pluck, refused to surrender. Knowing, however, it would be useless to resist, he retired to the mountains. Again they were called upon to give up their arms and upon refusal the Californians set fire to the forest. Escaping the flames they started northward for Monterey, without food, conveyance, or water on a five hundred mile journey. Fortunately they met an old Californian unfriendly to the Mexicans because of Governor Micheltorena's banishment, and he piloted the party northward some ninety miles across the mountains into the Tulare valley. Continuing up the valley after nearly a month of suffering and hardships they reached port.

In the California war, horses were a very important item, and when Gen. Jose Castro, then camped upon the Salinas river, learned that Captain Burroughs had just reached San Juan, driving three hundred horses for Fremont's command, he concluded to capture the manada, for the double purpose of waking the enemy and strengthening his own force. His endeavor to capture the horses resulted in the battle of Salinas Plains, the only serious battle save that of San Pasqual on California's soil.

While Captain Burroughs was in camp at San Juan he was reinforced by about the same number of men, thirty from San Jose under the command of Captain Thompson. The following day, November 16th, Thompson with a small guard started for Monterey to confer with Fremont, he taking a short cut, while Burroughs, with a scouting party in advance, started with the horses over the main traveled road.

Thompson and Burroughs upon reaching the rancho of Senor Gomez were surprised to learn that Thomas O. Larkin was a prisoner in Castro's camp, and Thompson hurried back to bring up his men, while Burroughs sent out scouts to learn the number and location of the enemy.

In the meantime Castro in command of one hundred and fifty men, all of them expert horsemen, but poorly armed, having only a few pistols with but a small quantity of ammunition, inef-

fective escopetas, improvised lances and lariats, moved north. They rode in two divisions, the one commanded by Castro, the other by Chavez, about a dozen scouts riding far in advance.

About three o'clock the Mexican scouts met the American scouts and opened fire. The Americans had plenty of ammunition and were well armed with rifles, but being very poor horsemen, they immediately retreated to a small grove of oak trees near by and dismounting, fought, each man for himself. The advance Mexicans were in charge of Joaquin de la Torre, and soon after they opened fire the entire army arrived and the little band of Americans were completely surrounded. They fought bravely, however, the fight lasting over an hour, says Larkin, who unfortunately was an eye witness; Chavez and Juan Ignaco Cantau were badly wounded, and Ben Foster killed, being riddled with bullets, and an Indian, Tom Hayes, was also badly wounded.

But Captain Burroughs, where was he? Leaving some fifteen men at the Gomez rancho to guard the horses, he galloped over the Salinas Plains in advance of his fifty men, riding the large handsome iron gray horse, Sacramento.[b] As his command came in sight Castro's men advanced upon the plain and the battle was hot and furious. Burroughs riding rapidly within rifle shot of the enemy suddenly halted, fired and then charged with unloaded rifles. Castro, with tactics exactly opposite to those of Burroughs, fired at long range and, turning, began to retreat. The Americans rode after them rapidly, but it was an ill timed movement, for the thirty men from the grove now fell in behind them, and Castro advancing, the Americans were not only confronted by their enemy, but they were cut in two. The Americans finally succeeded in forming a solid column with their enemy in the front. Castro then retreated, not, however, without disastrous results to the Americans. Four were killed, including Captain Burroughs. He was killed, it is related, by "Three Fingered Jack," who made a special mark of Burrough that he might get possession of the horse, Sacramento. Many Mexicans had been anxious for a long time to obtain this stylish animal, but even "Three Fingered Jack" failed; when Castro beat a hasty retreat, the riderless horse ran with them, but finding himself in bad company he stopped, and with head lifted high in the air he trotted to his old companions. Fremont soon afterward obtained possession of his favorite charger, together with the horses that had been collected in the Sacramento Valley.

One of the amusing features of this fight was the efforts made by some of the first families to protect Lieutenant Chavez and others from arrest by the American officials. Chavez, badly wounded, succeeded in January, 1848, in reaching Monterey undiscovered by the officials. Suspecting his presence in the town, however, they soon began searching for him in the Spanish homes, but failed to find him. A certain senorita was suspected of harboring the chief and they searched her house from garret to cellar, even entering the bed room where two lovely duennas were quietly sleeping. Chavez could not be found, but had they closely observed the bed, however, they would have found him lying under the covers between the two females. Another device was that of the fandango. The authorities were looking for a Spaniard who had broken his parole, and after fighting the Americans had returned to Monterey. One of his female friends, under suspicion of knowing the fugitive's hiding place, sent out invitations for a fandango. All her American friends were present, including the military officers, and while they were merrily dancing the much-wanted Spanish soldier was quietly sleeping in the bake oven just outside the house.

Shortly after this incident there was a very important arrival, the ship Lexington, January 28, 1847, having on board Company F, one hundred and forty men, one half of them being of German and Irish descent. The company were in camp in Monterey until August 21, 1852, at which time, on board the brig Governor Patter-

(b) This was a historic horse, and known not only on this coast, but throughout the southern states. Sacramento was bred by Captain Sutter, who presented him to Capt. John C. Fremont in 1842; he was taken east to Kentucky, where he was much admired. Fremont rode this animal in all his exploring expeditions, and returning to California in 1846, left the charger at Sonoma. Captain Burroughs was riding the horse to his owner when he was killed.

son, they sailed for San Diego and the Monterey post was abandoned. On board the Lexington were several officers famous in future life, among them Lieutenant William T. Sherman, E. O. C. Ord, Lucien Loser, Henry W. Halleck and Sergeants James Carson and B. P. Kooser. The vessel was heavily loaded with shot and shells, several hundred barrels of powder, battery cannon, mortars, pistols, muskets, swords, and everything necessary in the building of fortifications, such as saws, hammers, shovels, spades, plows, pick axes and forges, together with a saw mill and grist mill.

In the following year, August 6th, the Warren brought news that peace had been declared and California was now a part of the Union. The citizens of Monterey rejoiced, not only the Americans, but the Mexicans, for the latter had long since learned that under a Federal administration they would have protection and peace, conditions unknown under the Mexican government.

CHAPTER IV.

MONTEREY, THE CAPITAL.

SEVERAL months before it was known in California that peace had been declared an event took place at Coloma—the discovery of gold—which in less than two years caused an immigration of over a hundred thousand young men, nearly depopulating Monterey.

In town the citizens first heard of the discovery May 29, 1848, Colton on that date writing: "Our town was startled out of its quietness today by the announcement that gold was found on the American fork." Two couriers arriving from Coloma declared that gold had been found, and, showing Governor Mason about half an ounce of placer gold, they stated that Captain Sutter desired to pre-empt the land. The governor informed them that he had no authority to grant Mexican lands and the messengers returned to Coloma.

They returned not alone, many following after them, and, says a writer: "The month of May had carried off many of our inhabitants to the gold mines. Some had left secretly; others, bordering on insanity, raved around and, after obtaining pick-ax, shovel and pan, had started off at railroad speed." Carson was an unbeliever until May 10, he that day meeting an old acquaintance. His form was bent, his hair hung out of his hat, his buckskin pants reached only to his knees, and his old flannel shirt was badly torn, but he was rich. He showed Carson a big bag of gold, "the pieces ranging in size from a pea to a hen's egg," and this, he declared, "is what I picked out with a knife in five weeks at Kelsey's Diggings." "I looked at him a moment, a frenzy seized my soul, and one hour after I was affected I was mounted on an old mule, armed with a wash basin, a fire shovel and a piece of square iron, pointed at one end; blankets, a rifle, a few yards of jerked beef and a bag of penula, and going at high-pressure mule speed for the diggings."[a]

In June a courier sent to Coloma returned two weeks later with his pockets filled with gold. July 18th an old sailor brought in a bag of gold, one hundred and thirty-six ounces, that he had taken from the Yuba river, and a month later four citizens, returning, obtained $76,844 in seven weeks, they having employed thirty Indians to assist them.[b] "Bob," a servant of Colton's, returned from the mines with $2,000 in gold and spent it in two months. When reproved by his employer he answered: "The gold

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(a) Notice appeared January 17, 1852, in the San Joaquin *Republican*, that J. H. Carson was publishing a book on the gold mines, dedicating it to "Hon. Andrew Randall, Monterey, Professor of Geology and Botany."

(b) The Indians would dig for gold and give it away for a trifle. John A. Swain said that in his store in Monterey, he had a lot of white and blue beads, and taking them to the mines, the Indians gave him seven ounces of gold dust, $100, for the baubles worth not over twenty-five cents.

came easily by good luck and has gone as easily as it came. I can get plenty more."

By this time the gold fever had become infectious and over one thousand left Monterey, this including the carpenters who were working on Colton hall, and the family who kept house for Colton, packing their goods, left for the mines. The fever reached every servant in Monterey, and "Sambo," Governor Mason's bodyguard, leaving for the mines, Colton presents the picture of "a general in the United States Army (General Mason), the commander of a man-of-war (Commodore Biddle), and the alcalde of Monterey (Colton), in a smoking kitchen, grinding coffee, toasting a herring and pealing onions."

A fear of hardships, even death itself, did not check the exodus. Many of the officers of the navy deserted, although back pay to the amount of $10,000 was coming to them. Company F, "a fine body of men," said Swain, "nearly all deserted, carrying their arms and blankets with them. I don't blame them a whit; $7 a month while others are making $200 or $300 a day." Governor Mason endeavored to stop the wholesale deserting by offering a reward of $200 for each deserter arrested and delivered at Monterey, but the citizens only laughed at him.

The governor believed it his duty to investigate the report that millions of dollars of gold lay hidden in the soil, and if true to send the news to Washington. Visiting the mines in June, accompanied by Lieutenant Sherman, they celebrated July 4th at Sutter's Fort. The close of the war compelled his speedy return to Monterey, and his peace proclamation was published. Preparing a dispatch for the president and congress, Lieutenant Loser started for Washington, August 30th, carrying the dispatch and "an oyster can full of gold."[c]

Early in 1849 discoveries were being made far south of Coloma, and in February a party of the San Miguel Mission Indians came into Monterey bringing gold, which they found on King's river, they said. William L. Gardner, who had been in California some fifteen years, knew some of the Indians, and, believing that they had told the truth, he fitted out a mining expedition of five ox teams, with Indian drivers, and, accompanied by four Spaniards, the party started for the river. When near the Sierras they were met by a band of Indians, who volunteered to guide the party to the gold fields. Leading them into the mountains, the Indians attacked and killed the entire party, one Spaniard escaping.

The second mining expedition that left Monterey consisted of eight residents, including Lovell, Harris, Curtis and Swain. They reached the upper Merced river about March 20 and they found plenty of gold. They also were attacked and driven out, and two of the party severely wounded. The third expedition comprised ninety-two men, well armed, with Carson and Roberson as leaders. Some of the party were discharged dragoons and teamsters who had formerly been in Major Graham's command, and others were soldiers from Colonel Stevenson's regiment. They were not molested by the hostile tribes, and they found large quantities of gold.

The great human tide that rolled into the Golden Gate and down the Sierras created a chaotic condition in governmental affairs, business, society and politics. Awaiting the action of congress, the citizens of Monterey were compelled to adopt some form of government, and they concluded to continue to enforce the Mexican system until such time as a territorial or state government was organized. Commodore Stockton, soon after his arrival, appointed Walter Colton, chaplain of the congress, alcalde of Monterey. Under this appointment he acted as alcalde for several weeks and held almost despotic sway. He immediately prohibited any boisterous or disorderly conduct; closed all the "grog shops";[d] stopped gambling and suppressed all Sun-

(c) To reach the capital he was obliged to sail from Monterey to Peru in a brig, thence to Panama; crossing the isthmus he took a steamer bound for Jamaica, then to New Orleans, and on arrival in the Crescent City he telegraphed his arrival to the president.

(d) Aguardiente, a vile Mexican liquor, rose in price to $5 a bottle (original price fifty cents), and the keeper, when arrested, laughed at the $25 fine and begged hard for the return of the liquor. To evade the law and secret the stuff they had hidden it in all manner of places, in their beds, the chimney, the cellar and holes in the sand.

day amusements. He always carried, as did the Mexican alcaldes, a thick, heavy cane, with a round ball upon the head; this was his official badge, and it was always respected. When the congress returned to the east, in October, 1858, Colton left the coast, and he was superseded by Florencio Serrano. In October, 1849, Philip A. Roach was elected first alcalde and recorder, followed later by Ignacio Ezquer, then Jacinto Roderiguez, with Maria Coverribias and A. Augustin Janssen juces de paz (justices of the peace).

The first civil election in Monterey took place September 15, 1846, and the following officers were elected: Walter Colton, alcalde; Milton Little, alcalde pro tem; David Spence, W. E. P. Hartnell, Jose Diaz and Juan Malarin, alcalde counsellors; Salvator Munras, keeper of funds; and William R. Gardner, sheriff. Three hundred and thirty-eight votes were cast, Colton receiving sixty-eight.

Monterey's first jury trial was held in that year, September 4, Isaac Graham versus Charles Roussillon. Graham was a famous character, a trapper, a fine rifle shot and a manufacturer of aguardiente, with a still at Santa Cruz. He had been in trouble with Juan B. Alvarado, and now he accused the Frenchman of stealing his lumber. The following jurymen were selected: W. E. P. Hartnell, Charles Chase, George Minor, Milton Little, Talbot H. Green, Robert H. Thomas, Manuel Diaz, Florencio Serrano, Juan Malarin, Jose Abregno, Rafael Sanchez and Pedro Narvaez. Hartnell, who was one of the jury, also acted as interpreter, for the defendant could not speak English, the prosecutor knew no French and some of the jurymen could speak neither French nor English. The witnesses spoke one of all three languages, and, although a trivial case, it took the entire day. After an hour's consultation the jury brought in a verdict, acquitting the defendant of any crime, but as he had taken the lumber he was ordered to pay Graham its value and the prosecutor the costs of the court.

Before his departure from Monterey, Colton erected a memorial, Colton hall, a building that is now historic. It was for many years the most useful building in the city, having been used as a constitutional hall, a schoolhouse, court house, public assembly hall and a place for religious worship. "The structure," said the architect, "is built of white stone, quarried from a neighboring hill, which easily takes the shape desired, and the front is ornamented by a portico, from which you enter the hall. The lower apartments are for schools; the hall over them (30x70 feet) is for public assemblies." He wrote, March 4, 1846: "In the meantime I shall set the prisoners quarrying stone for a schoolhouse, and have already laid the foundation," and in March, 1848, he wrote: "The town hall at which I have been at work more than a year is now finished." It had been erected out of the proceeds of town lots, labor of convicts, taxes of liquor shops and fines of gamblers.[e] The walls were lathed and plastered. About ten miles from town Colton discovered a limestone which, when burned, made an excellent lime, and this, mixed with hair and sand, made a good wall finish.

In April, 1846, the alcalde said: "The old prison being too confined and frail for the safe custody of prisoners, I have given orders for the erection of a new one. The custom has been to fine Spaniards and whip Indians, but I have substituted labor and have now eight Indians and three Californians, sentenced for stealing, at work making adobes. Each person is to make fifty adobes a day, and for each additional twenty-five they receive twenty-five cents. They are paid every Saturday night and can purchase anything but rum."

In the following May the prison was complete, all but the door, and the alcalde sent the constable to have made a pair of iron hinges. For his rough work the blacksmith charged an outrageous price, $8, and Colton would not accept them.

(e) One instance of Colton's scheme to build a school house occurred in May. A nest of gamblers arrived and opened a monte bank in the Astor house. With a squad of soldiers the alcalde made a raid and captured the entire fifty; assembling them in the saloon he made them a speech and ended by fining each gambler $20. Some of them complained at the amount, but a doctor, the first to "plank" down, declared: "Come on, good fellows, pay up and no grumbling; this money goes to build a schoolhouse, where I hope our children will be taught better principles than those of their fathers." The fines, with the $100 fine of the hotel, made quite a sum.

CUSTOM HOUSE—Erected 1814—N. S. G. W. HALL

The upper end was erected under the Spanish rule, the center (one story section) was erected during the Mexican period, and the lower end (an exact duplicate of the upper end in style of architecture) was built after the American occupation. The flag pole seen in further end is the original pole on which Commodore Sloat hoisted the American flag in 1846. The base of the upper end of the building is of granite and the lower end of quarried rock. The building is occupied by the N. S. G. W. and this inscription is on a tablet on the building:

"It was over this building that the American flag was raised by Com. John Drake Sloat on July 7, 1846, signalizing the passing of California from Mexican rule. Restored through the efforts of the Native Sons of the Golden West with the assistance of the people of California."

Then the vulcan, storming with anger, called at the office and throwing the hinges at the alcalde's feet, returned to his shop. Immediately the constable followed him, paid the blacksmith his money and received a receipt. Then arresting the foolish fellow he brought him to the alcalde, who said, "Ten dollars or go to jail." The blacksmith hesitated a moment then paid the fine.(f)

Perhaps the custom house may be of more interest than any other one building, for over it floated the flag of three nations, and thousands of dollars in custom house duties were paid into its treasury. Fremont made it his headquarters during the Bear-flag war, and it was occupied by nearly all of the governors, Mexican and American. The foundation of the building was laid by the Spaniards and was unfinished at the time of the independence of Mexico, the Mexicans completing the work in 1842. It is now the property of the state, and under the guardianship of the Native Sons; it is the studio of several artists, who occupy the upper floor.

Another old land-mark famous in history is the building in which was given the first theatrical performance in California. In 1847 a company of soldiers were sent to Monterey from Santa Barbara, and as four of the company had been giving minstrel performances in the last named town, John A. Swain, after much persuasion from soldiers and citizens, fitted up his adobe, a long, narrow building, for dramatic purposes, with stage scenery, seats and oil lamps. The soldiers found other performers and the play of "Putnam, the Lion of '76," was given. In the winter of 1848, a company of strolling comedians had been playing at Los Angeles, assisted by several soldiers, including Charles E. Bingham, an aide-de-camp on the staff of General Taylor. The discovery of gold caused a disbandment of the company and Bingham and his wife came to Monterey. A theatrical company was organized which included Lieutenant Alfred Sully and John Derby, the famous humorist, "Squibob," and with Bingham and his wife in the leading parts, the play of "Box and Cox" was performed. It was the last performance for many years, for in "Life's Drama," the great events were in central California, and Bingham and his wife becoming professionals, the pioneers in their line, traveled over the state playing, "Box and Cox."

Under the general state law regarding cities, Monterey was incorporated April 30, 1851, and Phillip Roach was elected mayor. He was succeeded by William Murdock and later by W. H. McDowell, Charles Herron, however, attending to the duties of the office. The law of incorporation was repealed, the charter amended in 1853 and the town affairs were managed by a board of trustees. The charter was again amended in 1862, as the board of trustees of 1859 ran the town so into debt, they were compelled to sell their pueblo lands. In 1866 the charter was again amended and again repealed in 1889. Then it was reincorporated under the general law of that year.

Nearly all of the early day officials, especially those of cities, were very extravagant and wasteful of city funds and Monterey's extravagance was seen in the gift to Gen. Bennett Riley. The general having been in Monterey two years, returned to the eastern states in July, 1850. The citizens having a high appreciation of the "Hero of Contreras," on the eve of his departure tendered him a farewell banquet in the Pacific hotel. Covers were laid for two hundred persons, the toastmaster of the occasion being Gen. P. H. Bowen. During the evening the general was presented with a solid gold watch chain, and a gold medal valued at $600, a gift from the town council of Monterey. On one side the medal bore the arms of the city and on the reverse side the declaration, "The man who came to do his duty and accomplished his purpose." The medal was presented by Major Phillip A. Roach, and General Riley modestly inquired, "Why am I singled out for this mark of distinction?" "For your war record." "I have only done my duty, I have never done anything for California."(g)

(f) "For once," he exclaimed, "I have been outwitted. That Yankee alcalde has not only got my hinges for nothing, but $2 besides. I would have tried the calaboose but for the infernal fleas."

(g) One present, whispering to a friend, remarked: "Yes, but he has done something for Monterey's citizens, for the old man has appointed nearly the whole town to office, and that is why they are kicking up such a fuss now."

The town council, liberally expending $600 from the city's treasury, believed, no doubt, that "the flourishing city of Monterey," as Carson called it, could easily afford the amount. During thirteen months, sixty-seven vessels anchored in the bay, fifty of the number being merchantmen, and landed their cargoes. The duties of custom alone exceeded $25,000. Great improvements had been made by Lieutenant Ord at the fort on the hill. It was rebuilt with heavy logs, surrounded with a palisade of stakes, and mounted with several heavy cannon taken from the men-of-war. In 1848 twenty-seven houses were built, the famous Dickerson house, the first brick building in California, still standing, having been erected in September, 1847.[h] The Washington hotel, famous as the headquarters of the army and navy, was built in 1840 by Albert Trescony, and it was in use as a hotel until 1880.[i]

As a business point, Monterey was engaged in trade and traffic many years before the interior of the territory was even settled, Yerba Buena being her only rival. Noticing this subject in another chapter, I will here record a few of the pioneer traders of early days, W. E. P. Hartnell and David Spence being the first two. These two men located in the town in 1822, both of them as agents of Begg & Co., England, dealers in hides and tallow. Jacob Primer Leese became a resident in 1833, but soon afterward removed to Yerba Buena, he being a partner with William Hinkley and Nathan Spear. Thomas O. Larkin arrived in 1839 and established quite a large mercantile business. Appointed United States consul in 1844, he transferred to Talbot H. Green for three years his business, warehouse and $10,000 worth of goods. A Frenchman, Albert Trescony, traveling horseback from Mexico, located in Monterey in 1840 and opened a tin store. After the discovery of gold he made a large amount of money making gold pans and he hauled several ox-team loads to the mines. John T. Romie arrived in the following year and began selling goods. Joseph Boston, a druggist, reached Monterey in 1848, in charge of supplies for "Uncle Sam's boys," and two years later, visiting New York, he returned with a $60,000 stock. He opened a branch store with E. L. Williams as a partner in Santa Cruz. Pedro Zabala was a merchant of 1849, continuing in business for eight years. Jose M. Soto, a Peruvian, in 1857 not only sold goods, but delivered merchandise with his mule teams. C. V. Lacey, a wheelwright and blacksmith, in 1858 began making wagons, and in 1863 Michael Hughes, a son of "Old Ireland," established a harness shop.

In 1864 Monterey had among its merchants: Curtis A. Canovan, Lewis Little, William La-Porte and Polinsky & Co.; its clergymen, Juan B. Commellos and A. C. McDougall; its physicians, J. D. Callahan, A. S. Canfield and Y. O. Larte. Thomas G. Lambert, a retired sea captain, settled in Monterey in 1869, and the lumber firm of Lambert & Snively was established. M. E. Gonzales, a native born, in 1868, then twenty years of age, entered into partnership with Polinsky & Co. Herman J. Printz arriving in Monterey in 1872 began the manufacture of the cars of the Monterey & Salinas Railroad. There were a few lawyers, and Colton said in 1847, "We have three lawyers here at this time, and they are as full of legal acuteness as the lancet cup of a phlebotomist." These three lawyers were Charles T. Botts, Pacificus Ord and Louis Dent, and all three represented Monterey in the constitutional convention. Josiah Merritt opened a law office and became the first county judge. Bancroft's hand book gives the following lawyers in 1864: Delos R. Ashley, P. K. Woodside, Josiah Merritt, D. S. Gregory and John B. Phillips. Samuel F. Geil came in 1863 and he practiced in Salinas until his death.

Gen. Bennett Riley arrived at Monterey in

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[h] George D. Dickerson built the little dwelling for his family, consisting of a wife, two daughters and a son. The two girls were the belles of Monterey. Dickerson went to the gold mines and then to Stockton, and in that city the two girls were married, the first marriages in that city. One daughter and the son are now living at Half Moon Bay; the oldest daughter, Mrs. Lawrey, has two children (Mrs. W. D. Hill, of Salinas, and Mrs. Hollenbeck, of Pacific Grove) and is living at the city last named.

[i] The hotel, which is fifty feet in width and over two hundred feet in length, was built of adobe, obtained from the rear of the San Carlos Church, the trees which were cut down to make way for the building being used in the support of the roof. The building would accommodate over a hundred lodgers and after the gold discovery it became the gambling headquarters of the town.

April, 1849, in command of a brigade of six hundred and fifty men, with instructions from the secretary of war "to assume the administration of civil affairs in California, not as military governor, but as the executive of the existing civil government." The citizens of the state strongly opposed his assuming any such authority without their consent, and they finally induced him to call a constitutional convention for the purpose of organizing a state government.

The general divided the territory into ten districts, for the purpose of electing delegates to the constitutional convention, and called an election August 1st for said purpose, Monterey being entitled to five delegates. The district sent as her representatives, Thomas O. Larkin; the United States consul; Henry W. Halleck, Secretary of State under Riley; Charles T. Botts, afterward state printer; Louis Dent, brother-in-law of Gen. U. S. Grant; Henry Hill; Pacificus Ord, who arrived on the first steamer; and Jacinto Roderiguez, a native-born Spaniard. The four delegates first named were among the brightest and most active in the constitutional work, and on the slavery question; Botts strongly favored it, while Halleck as strongly opposed its admission.

In the transportation of delegates, General Riley sent the steamer Edith to bring the Southern members, and on her way up she was wrecked, her passengers landing safely, however. The northern delegates chartered the brig Fremont from San Francisco, and she barely escaped the same fate as the steamer. From the interior the delegates were compelled to ride to Monterey horseback, carrying their blankets with them.

This organic body assembled in Colton Hall[j] September 1st, the only building in the territory large enough for this purpose, and elected Robert Semple, proprietor of the "Californian," as president of the convention, he being opposed to slavery.

The closing hours, October 13, 1849, were, perhaps, among the most interesting and exciting in the history of Monterey. They had been dancing all night in the hall (the first State ball), and tired and sleepy, they assembled at 1 o'clock to finish their work, the signing of their names to the Constitution. On the hill stood Captain Burton, awaiting the signal, and as the first name was signed, the booming cannon announced the birth of California, and the stars and stripes were given to the breeze from the seven ships in the harbor, the custom house and the fort. Captain Sutter, as the first shot was heard, jumped from his seat exclaiming, "Gentlemen, this is the happiest day of my life," and closing his short speech, he sat down his eyes filled with tears. Each delegate signed his name to the constitution and as the thirty-first gun was fired, they all shouted "That's for California"! The convention adjourned, and marching in a body to the headquarters of General Riley, they tendered him their respects for his assistance and co-operation in the work, "and the whole people appreciate the services you have rendered our common country." The general in reply said, "This is a prouder day than when my soldiers cheered me at Contreras. I am satisfied that the people have done right in selecting delegates to frame a constitution. * * * I wish you all happiness and prosperity." Cheers were then given for Riley and Halleck, and the convention became a record of history.

The convention declared that state elections should be held November 13th for an election of state officers and the ratification or rejection of the constitution. There were no political parties and no political meetings; each voter voted for his favorite candidate regardless of his political opinions, and John M. Burnett being the most popular candidate throughout the state as well as in Monterey, was elected governor. The following is the vote of Monterey district; Burnett 181, William Sherwood 152, John M. Sutter 30 votes. They elected Selim E. Woodward (whose father wrote "The Old Oaken Bucket") as senator and John S. Gray assemblyman.

The first legislature assembled in San Jose, December 15, 1849, but the legislators were so dissatisfied with the legislative buildings and their accommodations that Senator Woodward, hoping to make a point for his home town, moved that the building committee report a bill removing the seat of government to some other point. The

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(j) George Bertold, a cobbler, who died July 24, 1909, bequeathed $10,000 to Monterey to beautify the grounds of Colton Hall.

bill passed, and the progressive city of Monterey, through its town council, agreed to give the legislature the free use of all of their public buildings for five years for legislative purposes, stating incidentally that in their capitol all of the rooms contained comfortable fireplaces. Later the citizens tendered them all the land necessary for public buildings, together with one thousand acres for a "botanical garden or model farm." Monterey's native son, General Vallejo, outbid all other competitors, and by a vote of the people, October 7, 1850, they declared Vallejo the capital. There were sixteen bidders, the five highest receiving votes as follows:

Vallejo, 7,747; San Jose, 1,292; Reed's proposition, San Jose, 651; Monterey, 399; Eureka, 301; Sacramento, 160. The legislature, February 18, 1850, created the county of Monterey and they elected as county officials: William Roach sheriff, J. B. Wall treasurer, William Bowen assessor, Charles H. St. John district attorney, and Josiah Merritt county judge.

Monterey time and again has been called a sleeping town, even by her own citizens, and one of them said in early days: "This city still wears the green and yellow of deep-hued dullness. The Spanish don takes his afternoon siesta in peace, and the prowling wolf dog roams through the silent avenues and streets of this ancient capital of the Californias; the whitened skulls of myriads of bullocks speak to the weary traveler of a people that once thrived, and of the good old time when the tangible, in the shape of a circulating medium, was bars of soap and bales of bullocks' hides." Daniel O'Connell, poetically expressing the same thought, declared:

"In a mantle of old traditions,
In the ruin of a vanished day,
The shrouded and silent city
Sits by her crescent bay."
But no longer is she
"Behind in the march of cities,
The last of the eager stride
Of villages later born."

On May 26, 1909, the citizens, by a vote of 506 to 50, voted for a $150,000 bond issue for progress and improvements in streets, bridges, waterways, sewers, fire apparatus and roads.

CHAPTER V.

CRIMINAL EVENTS.

CALIFORNIA in 1849-50 was in some respects very unfortunate, for in the great tide of immigration that swept through the Golden Gate there were hundreds of criminals, some fleeing from justice, others eager to again engage in their criminal careers. They came from every nation of the earth and from every state in the Union, and they were guilty of every grade of crime, from that of forgery to murder. Many of them, assuming false names, became leading officials and prominent citizens, and one of the best known men of Monterey, Talbot H. Green, was later recognized in San Francisco as Paul Geddys, a bank forger, who had fled from Philadelphia.

The great body of criminals, as a rule, carried on their nefarious work in the densely populated and wealthiest districts, but Monterey county was not free from the criminal class. In fact, she had hundreds of disreputable characters, vagabonds and convicts forced upon her long before the interior of the state was settled. The Mexican government for several years made Monterey the dumping ground for her worthless class, and in 1825 the brig Morelos brought eighteen convicts; in 1828 nearly fifty more were sent to penal servitude in Alta California, and in December, 1829, the Maria Ester arrived with seventy-seven convicts. Nearly every governor that came to Monterey brought with him a large number of worthless persons under the name of soldiers, and Micheltorena brought several hundred in his army, many of them being recruits from prisons and jails. The better class of citi-

zens protested time and again against this criminal immigration, but their remonstrances were of no avail.

The crimes which caused the county to run in blood were not confined to the Mexicans alone, but the Indians for several years, led by white men, caused the peaceful citizens loss of property and fear of death. Thefts of horses and cattle were numerous, and for the poor Indian there certainly was some excuse, as the white man had driven him from land and food supply, and he was either compelled to steal or starve.

One of these Indian raids was reported in April, 1850, by Senator Selim E. Woodward, he stating that April 4th the Indians had entered Monterey and stolen every horse from the stables. In other raids of a similar character three ranchers had been killed in San Luis Obispo, and another rancho at Soledad, while trying to save their stock. The ranchers at San Antonio were so alarmed they hastened to the mission and prepared it for a siege, anticipating an attack. Nearly every horse in the county was stolen, and there were not enough animals remaining to pursue the thieves. In the following year, so frequent were these crimes, a military company was organized to bring the criminals to justice.

One of the greatest of these villains was "Three-Fingered Jack," a lieutenant under Joaquin Murietta. Jack was well known in Monterey, and he was one of the worst of desperadoes, having been engaged in the cruel and barbarous mutilation of Cowie and Ford in Sonoma county. Two of the secret retreats or rendezvous of this outlaw band were in Monterey county, one six miles northeast of Soledad, the other some eighteen miles northwest of Jolon.

Their Soledad retreat was a small valley in the hills that cannot be entered except through two very narrow passages, while their Jolon rendezvous was a mountain cave, inaccessible except through a narrow defile. In July, 1853, the band was broken up by the killing of Joaquin and Three-Fingered Jack, and, although there was considerable excitement when the people learned the news, the better class rejoiced, for they had long been a terror to the community.

In September, 1852, a native of Sonora, while traveling along the road from Monterey to the Salinas, was attacked by robbers and his horse and money stolen. Returning as soon as possible to Monterey, he obtained another riding animal, and proceeding to Natividad informed the justice of the peace, Henry Cocks, of the robbery. Cocks immediately organized a company of eight men, and they rode to a house of bad reputation on the Salinas. Reaching the place soon after dark, the barking dogs alarmed the inmates, and immediately all the lights were extinguished and the robbers began shooting. The Cocks party returned the fire and the inmates fled in every direction. The firing continued and three of the robbers were killed and one escaped badly wounded. Later he was captured and imprisoned for ten years. The outlaws belonged to a band of horse and cattle thieves that had rendezvoused in the Gabilan mountains, and a number of the horses recovered belonged to the ranchers of the valley. Another band of horse thieves, eleven in number, were attacked near San Juan by a party of Americans from San Jose; six of the desperadoes were killed during the fight which took place, and the remainder were captured and locked up in the San Jose jail.

The record of the vigilance committees of Monterey was outrageous, for they hung criminals or presumed criminals without even a mock trial, and too often the officers of the law were very easily overpowered, especially if the victim was a Mexican, for the pioneers had no love for the descendants of the Aztecs.

The "vigilantes" first took the law into their own hands August 10, 1850, and hung a hard character named William Otis Hall, who had been tried and convicted of grand larceny by a jury of twelve men in the court of sessions the previous day. Sheriff William Roach thus laconically reported the affair: "Between one and two o'clock this morning a party of unknown armed men broke into prison and gagged the jailer, then proceeded to the cell of Hall by force of arms and there produced death upon the prisoner by strangulation." In the same year nine prisoners escaped from this jail that Colton built, and the

vigilance committee resolved to let no more guilty men escape, and in less than two years, 1854-56, broke into jail and hanged at different dates four prisoners from the rafters.

The story of Anastacio Garcia is but one of the hundred desperadoes of that day. His first crime was committed in 1854, in that year killing Constable Harmont as the latter was about to arrest him for disorderly conduct. In the following year he was in a Monterey fandango creating a disturbance, and as Constable Isaac Wall was about to arrest him, drew a revolver and killed Wall instantly. Immediately jumping upon his horse, he fled towards the Salinas, accompanied by a "compenare." He was immediately followed by a sheriff's posse of ten men and overtaken on the Salinas plains. In the running fight which took place three of the sheriff's party were badly wounded, and Joaquin de la Torre and Charles Layton, the light-house keeper, were killed. Garcia escaped, but later was captured in Los Angeles county and lodged in the Monterey jail. The citizens, fearing that he might escape or his friends rescue him, concluded to forestall the law by hanging the desperado. Assembling in a body on the morning of February 24, 1857, they marched to the jail, and, surrounding it with a guard heavily armed, they broke into the "lockup" and bound the sheriff hand and foot. Then, breaking into Garcia's cell, hanged him to one of the rafters, weighting his body with a heavy log chain.

In the following year, 1858, the deputy sheriff, A. W. Poole, "beat out" the vigilance committee by illegally hanging a prisoner. At that time an Indian named Jose Anastasius was under sentence of death for the murder of a Mexican, he having been sentenced by Judge Rumsey to be executed February 12, 1858. In the meantime the Indian's lawyer had obtained a respite from Governor Weller upon two points, viz., that the sheriff had not complied with the law and sent a transcript of conviction and judgment to the governor, and second that there was a question regarding the guilt of the condemned. The stay of execution was received by the sheriff on the morning of the hanging, but the citizens not understanding the cause of the delay, believed that Jose had been pardoned, and they began making preparations to hang him in accordance with the law of "Judge Lynch." The deputy sheriff, however, was very accommodating, and he hanged the criminal, as he declared, "in order to prevent the people from taking the law into their own hands, if I had not hung him in all probability the citizens would." Governor Weller hearing of the deputy's actions gave him a very severe scoring, he declaring in his letter, "You had no more authority to execute that man than you have to shoot your neighbor without provocation. You are a disgrace to the community in which you live." This case was a subject of legislative investigation; there the matter ended.

In the criminal annals of California I know of no more pitiful or abhorrent event than the hanging of Michael Tarpey on the afternoon of March 17, 1873. by a vigilance committee, pitiful and most outrageous because the wife and mother of Tarpey were present at the jail pleading for his life, but their tears of deep distress found no sympathizer in that brutal mob.

"Matt" Tarpey, it seems who was one of the oldest residents of Monterey, sold a piece of land to one Nicholson, and after the sale Tarpey went upon the land and cut from it cord wood which he sold. This caused trouble between the two men, and Tarpey, nursing his anger, went to the ranch March 14th for the purpose, it was believed, of killing Nicholson. His intended victim was absent, but meeting Mrs. Nicholson, either accidentally or purposely, he killed her, seven large buckshot entering her body, one piercing her heart. She was a woman highly respected and her funeral, two days later, at Watsonville, was attended by carriages and horsemen, over a mile in length.

The citizens were under an intense state of anger and passing resolutions at Watsonville on the evening of March 15th, condemning the murderer, on the following day a large number of citizens began assembling at Monterey. In the meantime Tarpey had been arrested and lodged in the Monterey jail and the purpose of this large assemblage of people was easily anticipated. The sheriff took no extra precautions whatever to protect his prisoner, in fact he was their accom-

plice, for late in the afternoon of March 17th, the vigilantes seized the sheriff upon the street and binding him with ropes, left him under a small guard.

The citizens then hurrying to the prison began breaking in the wooden doors with a sledge hammer, the exact time 4:30 o'clock, as telegraphed to all parts of the state. Three or four of them then entering the jail, they broke down the iron door leading to Tarpey's cell and binding him with ropes they brought him out and placed him upon a wagon. As they brought Tarpey from the jail, the wife and mother stood at the door and with the tears streaming from their eyes, pleaded with the mob not to hurt Tarpey.

Leaving the jail, Tarpey, under an escort of about three hundred heavily armed men in buggies and on horseback, was taken to an oak tree a short distance beyond the present Del Monte grounds. The doomed man was then seated upon a box on the wagon, informed that his time had come, and if he wished, he could make his last speech. Tarpey, who had himself taken part in many early executions, for nearly thirty minutes begged for his life. At the end of that time they placed a new unstretched rope around his neck, one end fastened to the limb overhead, and driving the wagon from under him, he was slowly strangled to death, his knees touching the earth because of the stretching of the rope. Leaving the body hanging the party returned to Monterey. Later Coroner Pardee went after the body and conveying it to the town gave it to his wife. An inquest was held, but no arrests were made and thus ended an illegal execution that is today well remembered.

The year 1874 was a record-breaker for murders, four taking place inside of three months. The first was the killing of John Wilson, February 23rd, in New Republic. Wilson, who was a worthless, quarrelsome fellow, was abusing an old man named Connelly in front of Sam Irvine's store, and Irvine, who was standing by with a small pocket knife in his hand, said, "Wilson, Connolly is a quiet, peaceful man, you ought not to abuse him"; Wilson then turned and began cursing Irvine, and the latter pushed Wilson off the sidewalk, exclaiming, "You shall not abuse me that way." Both men were now very angry and Wilson drawing a revolver threatened to shoot. Irvine then forced Wilson back on the ground with the remark, "I can kill you." Irvine then permitted his opponent to arise, he promising to behave himself, but the moment he was free he fired, the ball grazing Irvine's temple. Again he fired, the ball cutting Irvine's arm. Irvine then picked up his pocket knife, which had fallen in the scuffle, and cutting Wilson several times, finally disembowelled him, the wounds proving fatal.

A few weeks later an "April fool" joke led to a very foolish tragedy, and Mrs. Dennison became a widow. She and her husband were residing at the Diamond hotel, then one of the leading hotels of Salinas. Some of the young ladies of the hotel thinking it would be a good joke sent an unmarried man named Downey to Mrs. Dennison's room with a letter bearing these words, "April fool." Dennison, who was of a very jealous nature, unfortunately saw Downey coming from his wife's room and without asking any explanation of either party, accused his wife of infidelity. She immediately resented the cruel insinuation and matters continued growing worse until they began talking of a divorce. Dennison angry at his wife, bitterly hated Downey, who, he declared, had caused him all this trouble. On the day of the tragedy, April 6, Dennison said to Mrs. Warren, his mother-in-law, "One of us must die before the day is over." Meeting Downey soon afterward in front of Conley's saloon, he called him into the back yard to speak to him and immediately Dennison exclaimed: "You are the — — — that caused me my trouble." Downey then struck his assailant, knocking him down, and Dennison arising drew his revolver. As Downey grappled with his intended murderer the pistol was discharged, the ball striking Downey in the left side and coming out near the spine. Downey then wrested the weapon from Dennison, who fled, running through the saloon and down the street followed by Downey. In front of Winnow's chop-house Dennison stumbled and fell. At the same time Downey fired and the ball struck Dennison in the left temple, causing a mortal wound. He was carried into the chop-

house and a surgeon was immediately called. After examining the wound, he said, "I can do nothing for him, let him die in peace." Dennison was then carried to the coroner's office and soon expired. His wife was present and deep was her sorrow. Downey, badly wounded, was arrested by the sheriff and taken to his room in the hotel, and coolly smoking his cigar, said, "If this wound is fatal I want you all to know that he shot me first."

A rather peculiar murder was that of two land-jumpers, John McArdle and John C. Riordon, September 24, 1887, Newton Azbell being accused of the murder. It seems that the two men squatted upon a piece of property in Indian Valley, taken up by Azbell as a homestead; they claimed that he had perjured himself by proving upon the land without living upon it. The men were camped near the home of Samuel Ferguson. Between daylight and sunrise his wife heard two shots near the camp; believing there was something wrong she went to the camp and repeatedly called, but there was no response. Her husband then went to the camp to investigate and found both men dead in bed, one shot through the forehead, and the other through the breast. Azbell, arrested for the crime, plead self defense. He claimed that in looking for a horse he passed by the two men who were sitting on their wagon and as he approached, Riordon exclaimed "There is the — — —, let's fix him," he at the same time picking up a pistol and McArdle a gun. Azbell then fired, killing both men. The prosecution in two trials, the first in January and the second in September, 1888, failed to prove their case and the jury, after twenty-four hours deliberation, were dismissed, they standing six for murder in the first degree, three for manslaughter and three for acquittal.

Perhaps the most exciting trial of the county was that of the People vs. E. T. M. Simmons, late manager of the Del Monte hotel, he being accused of setting it on fire about 11 o'clock on the night of April 1, 1887. His eastern record was not of the best and as his actions just before and during the fire were very suspicious (he having been discharged as manager) he was arrested April 22 at San Jose and placed in jail. Five days later his preliminary examination took place before Justice Westfall of Monterey and he was bound over to appear before Judge J. K. Alexander of the superior court sitting in Salinas.

The trial which took place in the old court house on Main street was very sensational, as the Pacific Improvement Company, anticipating many damage suits from their guests unless they proved that the hotel was set on fire, tried by every means possible to convict Simmons. The prosecuting attorney was assisted by Harry G. Brown and Harry V. Moorehouse of Salinas, two of the railroad's best attorneys, while D. M. Delmas represented the defendant. The trial cost the county considerable money, for the prosecution put on the stand one hundred and fifty witnesses, employes of the railroad, all of them anxious to hold their jobs, yet so conflicting and inconsistent was their testimony on the fourth day, that Harry Brown, the leading counsel for the Improvement Company, suddenly exclaimed, "We rest." Delmas, without even consulting his client, immediately exclaimed, "We rest also your Honor, and further we submit the case without argument." "We don't," replied Brown. In a speech of one and one-half hours Brown argued the case, followed by Delmas, who easily proved the inconsistency of all of the prosecution's testimony. Harry Moorehouse closed for the People and the jury returned into the court in seven minutes with a verdict of not guilty. Later Simmons sued the company for $100,000 damages, but his get-rich-quick scheme was not a success.

The first and only legal execution in Monterey county took place on December 10, 1884. The unfortunate criminals were two young Mexicans, Solomon Torres about twenty, and Juan Soto about twenty-three years of age. The two young fellows, traveling on foot from Monterey to Salinas on the evening of December 10, 1883, stopped at the cabin of three Chinamen who were chopping wood six miles from Salinas on the Tularcitos rancho. It was just dusk and as the Chinamen were getting their evening meal the fellows asked for some supper. The Chinamen gave them the best they had, but the intruders demanded meat. Ah Chung replied, "No gotee meat." They still insisted on having meat and

as it was not forthcoming they drew revolvers and began a promiscuous shooting, with the Chinamen as targets. Ah Din was instantly killed, shot in the head, and Ah Chung was shot in the shoulder. Mon Son making his escape ran to Mr. Davis' house and told the story of the murder, followed soon afterward by Ah Chung, who told the same story. Mr. Davis brought Ah Chung to Salinas and Sheriff J. E. Graves started out for the young criminals. He found Torres in a disreputable house. Soto was afterwards caught at Gonzales.

The two murderers were tried, convicted of the crime and several times sentenced to be hanged, but their attorney succeeded in obtaining a stay of judgment. Finally he exhausted all the technicalities known to the law and Judge Alexander sentenced Torres and Soto to be executed December 10, 1884. In the meantime a scaffold had been erected in the old jail on Salinas street, and at six o'clock on the day of execution the prisoners were transferred from the new to the old jail.

The sheriff had sent out about five hundred invitations to county officials and about two hundred and fifty were present, coming from all parts of the state. The condemned men had been visited for several months by spiritual advisers, Father Sorrenti giving religious consolation to Torres and Father P. Smith to Soto. At the time appointed for execution the two men were led to the gallows, preceded by the priests, each bearing a small cross, and after a prayer had been said Sheriff Dickens, of Santa Cruz, placed the rope around the neck of Torres, Deputy Sheriff Bennett, of Santa Clara, performing a like service for Soto. Before the trap was sprung Soto fainted and was pushed from the platform; he strangled to death. Torres' neck was broken and he died instantly. This was the last execution in the county, as a few years later the legislature passed a law providing that all executions thereafter should take place in the state's prison.

The following account of the depredations of Tiburcio Vasquez, one of California's most noted bandits, is related by Jacob R. Leese:

I knew Tiburcio Vasquez; everybody knew him, especially the women and children. He never robbed a woman and was always very good to little children, but for all that he was a mighty bad man. It was during the time of the vigilantes that he commenced perpetrating the crimes that brought his name into disfavor. He was born in Monterey county, California, in 1835, of Mexican parents, both of whom were descendants of good families. His father and mother were plain, honest people, with a family of four sons and one daughter, all of whom turned out well with the exception of Tiburcio. A bright boy naturally, when he was sixteen years old he thought he had learned enough at the common schools of the times and set out in life for himself. He did not like to work—not a bit—so he set up a dance house, which was his ruin. The class of women who went to these fandangos were half-breeds, who held a fascinating power peculiar to these cross-breed beauties of human brutes just bordering on civilization. It was plain to be seen what the future held for Vasquez; running such a house and associating with no other class of people, it stands to reason trouble had to follow.

Vasquez' boon companion, many years his senior, was Anastacia Garcia, a robber that was striking terror to Monterey county, and, indeed, to the whole state of California. Tiburcio took him for a leader. He was a regular visitor at Tiburcio's dance house, and between this evil genius and Tiburcio grew a love that snapped only in death. His first crime occurred one evening in 1852. The fandango of the season was at its height; wine and dancing, cutting and slashing were the order of the evening, and Mexican blood flew. High in jealousy and fight, Garcia came in and was soon engaged in a general quarrel with one Jose Iguera, his rival for the hand of a buxom dusky beauty. Vasquez took a hand to help Garcia, and when the mix-up was at its height Hardimont, the constable, put in an appearance, and in trying to quiet things was killed. The dance broke up, and Garcia, Iguera and Vasquez, between whom the murder lay, fled. Iguera was caught by the vigilantes the next morning and hanged. Garcia got away, but later was caught in Los Angeles, brought to

Monterey, and was hung in jail by the vigilantes. Vasquez was hidden by friends until everything quieted down.

Tiburcio Vasquez' life began with this bloody date; his fandango house was shut up. Dead broke, a hunted dog by the law, and with the hatred of the Mexican for the gringo planted in his heart, what could one expect but that this hot-headed boy should go from bad to worse? Soon after this he got in with a desperate cattle thief and spread terror as a leader from the first. For five years they plied their trade, but after the vigilantes got on their track only one or two escaped the grapevine dance. Vasquez got away, boldly formed another company, of which he was made leader, and for several years thereafter stock was not safe in Santa Clara, Monterey, Merced, Fresno and Tulare counties. Until 1857 he kept this state in a constant fever of excitement, but finally he was caught stealing horses and was sent up for five years. Again he escaped, but was caught and returned and served until 1863. His confinement produced no good effect. After his release he began gambling, locating at New Almaden and Emigrant mines. For three years he lived the life of a "sport," as he used to say, but Nature's call of the wild got the better of a gentler voice that at times curbed the restless spirit, and early one morning in 1864 the Italian butcher at the Emigrant mine was found dead, shot to death. Vasquez was selected at the inquest as the Spanish interpreter. The miners were all Mexicans and Vasquez was the only one who could speak English. The testimony given in by Vasquez, taken from the witnesses on the stand, threw no light on the murder, so nobody was arrested. Vasquez suddenly left the diggings and did not come back. It turned out afterward that Vasquez translated the testimony which was damaging to himself to suit his purpose, he and another fellow having done the robbing and killing. It was not long after this before Sonoma, Contra Costa and Mendocino counties were terrorized; a person never knew when he lay down at night whether he would ever seen daylight again, and this state of affairs continued until the fall of 1866. It was then that Vasquez was caught in the very act of driving off a band of fine cattle, for which he was given a term in San Quentin until 1871. He got out just in time to see two of his old pals, Juan Soto and Procopio, get into trouble. Sheriff Harry Morse, of Alameda county, was making things red hot up his way. Soto was killed and Procopio escaped to Mexico. Vasquez decided it was not a comfortable place for him, so he retreated to Cantua Canyon, a wild and almost impassable hidden nest in the Mount Diablo range. The county had a breathing spell for three months, then hot vengeance on wheels came down on us. Vasquez, in the saddle with two pals, Francisco Bassinez and Narciso Rodriguez, began by robbing the Visalia stage, which was driven from the road out into an old field. Thereafter robbing the eight passengers, they tied them hand and foot, laid them by the side of the stage with their faces turned to the boiling sun, after which the robbers rode away and left their victims. It was many hours before they were discovered and released. This unexampled boldness was effective in arousing the spirit of vengeance throughout the community. Getting a posse hurriedly together, we started in hot pursuit and overtook the three near Monterey county. Rodriguez was captured and got ten years in state's prison. (The writer, J. R. Leese, who was under sheriff of Monterey county at the time, took him up). Bassinez was killed and Vasquez was shot through the body, the ball striking the right breast and lodging under the left shoulder; he survived, although he told me afterward he thought he was done for. He stood his ground, firing shot after shot, until he had killed our constable, after which he put spurs to his horse and rode sixty miles before he halted. As soon as he was able to leave his Cantua Cañon hiding place he left for Mexico. After a rest of a month he returned to San Francisco by water. Procopio had got there ahead of him; the two met and were having high jinks when Sheriff Morse, of Alameda county, captured Procopio and barely missed Vasquez. Like a duck to water, he took to Cantua Cañon and there gathered about him the worst band of thieves he ever had. It was formed at Cantua in August, 1873, for the purpose of plunder and mur-

der, and was composed of Vasquez, Leiva, Chavez, Moreno and Gonzales. Abdon Leiva was forced into it by his wife, the remainder of the gang from the very love of lawlessness. The tragedy at Tres Pinos, where Snyder's store was robbed and three men murdered, the first work of this band, aroused the whole state. When the news was flashed over the wires to Sheriff Adams, of Santa Clara, he in turn telegraphed to Sheriff Wasson, of Monterey county, to join in the pusuit. Those were red-hot times; things kept getting darker, and in spite of every effort on the part of the vigilantes these fellows went scot free. Governor Booth offered $15,000 for Vasquez, dead or alive. Did this fact make him afraid of traitors and therefore more cautious? Not a bit. Every day brought with it new robberies. He and Chavez alone held up the stage at Coyote Hole station, on the Owen River road, captured and robbed eighteen passengers and left them in the lurch. It has been truly said that it is a long road that has no turn. Vasquez was traced to Greek George's house near Los Angeles, where he was captured after a severe skirmish. He was taken to San Jose, tried for murder, found guilty and hanged March 19, 1875.

Vasquez' passion was a love for women. Nobody would ever take this well-mannered young fellow, with his low, mellow voice, for the worst bandit, except Murrieta, that ever bulldozed the state. When Vasquez went to Cantua Cañon several months before the raid and murder at Snyder's store he met Leiva's wife, a pretty, plump woman of twenty-five. Leiva was a Chilean, several years older, a fine looking, strapping young fellow, with an honest, open, frank face, but not the ladies' man that Vasquez was. Rosario fell in love with Vasquez, and it was through her persuasions that her husband joined the latter's band of murderers. Leiva's first wrong-doing was at Tres Pinos; after that crime he joined the two men in their daily life and travels. Rosario was with them. The close attention to Vasquez had ripened into intimacy; at last the truth dawned upon Leiva, arousing all his vengeful passions, but not until they were camping at Rock Creek Cañon did the crash come. By a ruse he managed it so he could play detective on them. He had given his wife all the love of a strong soul, had even committed crime to please her, and his heart was broken. He lay down on the ground, and, shaking with sobs, cried in dumb agony the whole night through.

When day broke the strength of the man came back to him. He got up, quietly dressed himself, then went to his chief, Vasquez, and told him all that he had seen and that he dissolved partnership. It is said that Vasquez made no reply; with the parting words, "You are my enemy forever," Leiva took his wife and children to Elizabeth Lake. There he left his family and on horseback started back to have his revenge, his first step toward the capture and death of the betrayer of his home and happiness. He knew Vasquez's plans, his hiding places and the ones who always spied for him. The most complete vengeance that he could make would be when he delivered himself up, betray Vasquez to the authorities, turn state evidence and send Vasquez to the gallows. With this plan laid out in his mind he rode to Delano's station and gave himself up to Deputy Sheriff Johnson, of Los Angeles county. Vasquez secretly followed them to Elizabeth Lake and got there just after Leiva had gone. He persuaded the woman to leave her two children and go with him, and in the San Bernardino mountains they managed to evade the officers for several months. At last the officers got so close on Vasquez's trail he had to leave the woman and flee; but it was of no use to run. Leiva, like a wolf after blood, had arranged a decoy at Greek George's house near Los Angeles, where after being riddled with shots Vasquez was finally captured. At first it was thought he was killed, but no; he had been born to be hanged. After Leiva gave himself up and his workings leaked out, Vasquez's friends were so bitter that they swore that they would kill Leiva, but he was sent to jail for protection. The trial of Vasquez was the most exciting of the times. He was tried in San Jose; Judge Collins of San Jose and Tully were for the prisoner. Attorney Briggs made a telling speech against the prisoner, followed by Judge Collins.

Judge Collins' speech was the finest I ever listened to, says Mr. Leese, and there was not a dry eye in the court room, packed from cellar to ceiling. Even the judge himself broke down. All was to no purpose, however; Leiva's testimony proved that Vasquez killed two of those slaughtered at Tres Pinos. Convicted of murder, he was sentenced to be hanged at one o'clock P. M., March 19, 1875. There is not much more to tell except that Vasquez ate his salt like a man. His neck was broken on the drop, and all that is left of one of the most desperate murderers of the Pacific coast is a handful of ashes in the Santa Clara cemetery.

Another chapter on the darker side of Monterey's history is told by Edward McGowan as follows:

About ten o'clock at night, on the 18th of June, 1856, at the city of Monterey, California, in the Washington Hotel, Mr. Lewis Belcher was shot while talking to a friend at the bar. The shot was fired by an assassin from behind a pillar in the corridor. At the time the bar-room was full of people. The shot was no doubt fired from a revolver, and took effect in the abdomen, making a large hole and tearing the intestines fearfully. Mr. Belcher lingered until two o'clock the next day when he died from the effects of his wound. He was a man of enterprise and courage, and at the time of his death was acting as receiver of the estate of the orphan heirs of Jose Maria Sanchez, about which so much bad blood had been engendered for several years previous, growing out of the transactions of William Roach, Sheriff of Monterey county, who administered on the estate of Sanchez. The killing of Belcher made the seventh violent death up to that period, growing out of this affair, for a beggarly sum of $70,000, which seemed to do no one else any good except the "ancient fraternity of constables, scribes and lawyers." On his death bed Belcher accused William Roach, Anastacia Garcia and Franklin Foote, one or the other, as his murderer. He also made affidavit that Aaron Lyons and John Robinson were concerned in the assassination. They were both arrested and examined on the charge, but there being no kind of proof against them they were at once discharged as guiltless, as they proved by a number of witnesses they were nearly half a mile distant at the Shades tavern at the time of the occurrence, and the citizens of the town acquitted them of any complicity in the matter, although they were among the bitter enemies of Belcher, whose names were legion in Monterey and adjoining counties.

Jose Maria Sanchez, a native Californian, resided in the county of Monterey. He was married and had a family of children, and was considered at that time one of the richest men in California, for he owned landed estates in Monterey and Santa Clara counties and large bands of cattle, and it was also known that he possessed in gold coin $60,000 or $70,000. He was accidentally drowned near his house in 1852. A short time after his death his widow married a man named Gordon Williams. Lewis Belcher became one of the bondsmen of William Roach who administered on the estate of Sanchez, and Roach got possession of all the money and property belonging to the estate. Belcher, his friend and bondsmen, imagined that he had a right to handle some of the money, but Roach would not allow this or concede that he has any right, title or interest in the matter, and this caused a bitter feeling to spring up between the parties, and in which the friends of each took a prominent part. Gordon Williams, the husband of the widow Sanchez, was killed by the blowing up of the Jenny Lind steamboat on the 12th of April, 1853, and his widow a short time after married a Doctor Sanford who took sides with Belcher, and the feud, if possible, became bitterer between the parties. Belcher now commenced legal proceedings against Roach, and by process of law had him arrested and taken to Stockton, and lodged in jail. The jailer was friendly to Roach, and he and the jailer fled from prison, went to Monterey county, and bid defiance to Belcher and the law. Roach had friends in Monterey, Santa Clara and Santa Cruz counties, who harbored him and the jailer. Belcher and Dr. Sanford were not idle. They commenced organizing their friends in these three counties. Belcher had around him a number of desperate men as a body guard. Bill Burns, a brave but

desperate man, of great influence among his familiars, was the leader of them, and a Spaniard, Anastacia Garcia, who was also noted as being a desperado, when wanted, came to the front. Belcher then with his men began a chase after Roach, determined to take him, dead or alive, and his friends were as fully determined to protect him, and had the parties met, no quarter would have been shown or asked by either side.

I fled from San Francisco on the 27th of June. The hunt was up for Roach at this time. One day at noon I rode up to the gate of a house in the county of Santa Cruz and asked for a drink of water, giving as an excuse for not dismounting, that I had hurt my back by being thrown from my horse, which was a fact. Three men were putting wheat into sacks. They eyed me closely. Only one of them came forward, he that gave me the water. I heard one of the other men say: "That is him." I thought I had been identified, and, after drinking the water, joined my companions, Dennison and the guide Ramon Valencia, who were a short distance in advance. I informed Jim what had happened. He scolded a little, as I had acted against the programme adopted when we began our journey. I was not to stop to talk to any one on the road unless Dennison was with me. We left the ranch several miles behind. I subsequently learned that the man had mistaken me for Roach.

Dr. Sanford, the husband of the widow Sanchez, took a leading part in favor of Belcher, and he and a brother-in-law of Roach met in a barroom in the town of Monterey. A dispute rose between them, when Sanford drew a pistol, and would have shot McMahon, Roach's brother-in-law, but was prevented by a bystander in the room. McMahon then went out and obtained a pistol, came back and confronting Sanford, gave him notice to defend himself. Both fired at the same time, and both fell dead! This left the former Mrs. Sanchez a widow for the third time. A brother-in-law of Dr. Sanford's named Atwood, and a warm friend of the doctor's during the excitement and trouble put an end to his life by blowing out his brains with a pistol. After the death of Sanford and McMahon things became still hotter for the interested parties. There were two gentlemen in Monterey, Isaac Wall (Speaker of the House of Representatives of California in 1853) and the other named Williams—both strong friends of Roach's. They started on a Monterey tour with arms and ammunition and a pack mule to carry their blankets and camp utensils. The Belcher men supposed they were going to meet Roach, and that they had a large sum of money packed on the mule. Wall and Williams were waylaid on the Salinas plains and both were shot and killed, and Wall was also slit down the back in several places with a knife.

When the news of this murder got to the city of Monterey, it spread rapidly through the county and produced universal consternation. The act was instantly placed to the account of the Belcher party, and that Anastacia Garcia had been paid to commit the deed. This made another pretext for revenge, when more than likely the assassination was for robbery. The Sheriff summoned a posse of six men to go to the Mission of Carmel, outside of Monterey, where Garcia resided, and arrest him. It was dark before they arrived at the dwelling, and the house being closed and the doors fastened, the Sheriff demanded admittance; and Garcia replied by firing a volley out of his house at the Sheriff and deputies, and succeeded in killing three of them, and finally making good his escape. When this news reached Monterey the people were worked up to a still higher state of excitement. Nothing was heard of Garcia for some time, and it was supposed he had fled the country and gone to the State of Sonora, Mexico. Still the chase after Roach continued, who deemed it prudent to keep out of the way of Belcher and his body guard. Belcher now began to maneuver to find the oft-made widow a new husband, and made a match between her and one of his friends, George Crane, who, after his marriage, was called George IV, being the lady's fourth husband within four years. I knew Crane. He was a fine looking young fellow, and before the ceremony was performed the widow deeded to him all of her immense property, which he managed to squander by spending

it among his friends, and in being elected to the Legislature from his county. The last time I met Crane was in New York at the close of the rebellion. He is dead. Crane did not come up to the expectations of Belcher and they disagreed upon family matters in settling up the Sanchez estate.

The Belcher and Roach feud was still raging at fever heat. It was understood, if they met, there would be "war to the knife and knife to the hilt." Belcher had greatly the advantage over Roach, as he owned large tracts of land and immense herds of cattle, and was free to go where he pleased so long as Roach did not get the "drop" on him. The Vigilance Committee of 1856 was fully organized in San Francisco, and Belcher at once came to the city and became a member of that body, pledging them his influence in the counties of Santa Clara, Santa Cruz and Monterey, and boasted of the large number of men he would bring to his aid and assistance in those three counties. He was going to adopt the Vigilance Committee dodge of ridding himself of his political and personal enemies. He repaired with five or six of "his men" to the city of Monterey, where he was killed, and by his death the organization of the "cow county" vigilantes was abandoned. Well it may be said that "man proposes, but God disposes." At his death Belcher was supposed to be a very rich man. He left an amiable wife and one child to mourn his untimely end. Mrs. Belcher had great confidence in the friends of her late husband, who administered on his estate, of which, when wound up, I am informed the widow and her daughter did not receive one dollar. Belcher was an illiterate man, and after his death several notes of hand for large sums were brought against the estate, in every case signed Lewis Belcher, his mark, with attesting witnesses.

After the death of Belcher, Roach considered himself free from personal danger, and he traveled around the country as usual in all his accustomed haunts and places. His greatest foe was dead, and the bloody scenes and angry feuds appeared to be buried in the past, and finally Anastacia Garcia was known to be at the Mission of Carmel unmolested. After awhile he became emboldened and ventured into the city of Monterey, where he was arrested on suspicion of being concerned in several of those terrible assassinations and cast into prison in that city. Several of his old friends and associates met in secret conclave after his arrest and came to the conclusion that he knew too much about them and their diabolical acts, and foreseeing that he might be induced to make a clean breast of it to the authorities, which would consign them to a long term in the State Prison or the hangman's noose, went to the jail and hanged him, which they considered a master stroke of policy. Under the pretext of wishing to see him, or being in collusion with the prison authorities, they gained admittance to the jail, and when Garcia saw them he was overjoyed to meet his old friends, as he supposed they had come to release him from prison; but his joy was of momentary duration, for they bound him with a lasso, throwing one end of it around his neck, and hanged him to a wooden beam in the prison and left him dead—still hanging—adopting the desperate noble's motto, that "dead men tell no tales." The jailer found him and cut him down. After the death of George Crane his widow had but a small portion of her first husband's (Sanchez) immense estate left, and she bought a piece of land near San Juan in Monterey county. She married again for the fifth time, and is still living on the place near San Juan. William Roach retired to the farm he owned in Santa Cruz county, and by his industry and labor in cultivating the ground, supported his family. Everything appeared to have been forgotten, and he was seemingly happy in the bosom of his family. At times he would speak freely of past events, in which he had been a prominent actor. This indiscretion spread an alarm of fear among some of those who had acted with him, and they plotted his death. He was in Watsonville transacting some business that kept him rather late in the night. He mounted his horse, perfectly sober, and journeyed toward home. During the night the horse, without its rider, returned home. About three miles from Watsonville there was a stopping place,

and nearby the house a well. One of the people on the ranch went to the well in the morning to draw water and discovered the body of a man in it. He gave the alarm, and when the body was drawn out it was identified as that of William Roach, the last victim of the Belcher-Roach vendetta murders, which cost ten or more citizens their lives—many useful, and some of them good men, nearly all of whom were personally known to myself. I have narrated the tale as gathered from the mouths of acquaintances. I "nothing extenuate, nor aught set down in malice."

In the olden time the Corsicans adopted the vendetta mode of revenge upon those who had killed their relatives. We read of Italian bravos hired to kill by the stiletto the enemies of the rich men and nobles of their country; and also in modern times, that the Esquimaux of the Mackenzie river urge the vendetta, but do not consider it manly to kill a relative's murderer in fair fight. The avenger steals upon him at night when he is asleep, and, having slain his victim, draws two or three lines across his face, and is recognized as a hero! A roving band of these Esquimaux would have been quite an addition to the Executive Committee of Vigilance of 1856, to have been added to the list of their hired braves, of their whiter brethren and "purest and best citizens."

I subjoin some extracts from the San Francisco Herald of June 21st, 1856, in relation to the Belcher murder:

DYING DECLARATION OF LEWIS BELCHER.

I, Lewis Belcher, being under apprehension of immediate death in consequence of a pistol shot I received last night, do hereby state that I believe that one William Roach, Aaron Lyons, John Robertson, Franklin Foote, Anastacia Garcia and George Bushton are my assassins, and my reasons for believing this are as follows: The said Lyons, Foote, Roach and Robertson threatened to take my life about two months ago, and I know that all of said men had the most deadly animosity existing against me, and I know they were watching me last night to see when I started home. And the said George Bushton was watching my horse. I am confident in my own mind that they are my assassins. I was the principal witness in a prosecution against Foote upon a charge of grand larceny, and the case was to be examined the day after I was shot.

(Signed) LEWIS BELCHER.

Mr. Belcher stated before he died that he was the son of John Belcher, formerly of Orange Co., New York. At the time of his death he was about 32 years old, and was in the full possession of his faculties up to within a few minutes of his death. He was a stout, well built, handsome man, had seen much of frontier life, both in California and Missouri; but possessed of little of the advantages of education, and as he was a true friend to the backbone, so he hated his enemies with an abiding and consuming hatred; this is not to say that he was not ready to forgive and forget.

So the Big Eagle of Monterey is dead. It is not often we shall look on the like of Lewis Belcher again. His bitter and hating enemies can produce no beginning of a man of his manly and courageous character. He died like a lion, saying to his friends: "They didn't give me a chance, but shot me down like a dog. They were afraid to meet me face to face. My poor wife and child, God knows how they will fare in this country so full of lawyers and laws and such bad justice." A few minutes before he expired he said: "I can't see the light. I feel I am dying—I am going." He died as quietly as a child. It is to be hoped his enemies are now satisfied with the seventh death and five wounded.

His body was taken to San Jose this morning, accompanied by a guard of six citizens of Monterey—Messrs. W. Curtis, M. Keating, L. Little, D. Jacks, H. DeGraw and T. Cole; besides Messrs. Burns, Williams and Jefferson, young men in his employ.

No clue has as yet been found to any circumstances fixing the guilt on the party who committed the deed. Franklin Foote, who was examined before Justice Richards, proved an alibi and was discharged, as nothing could be

proved against him. Foote is the man who was brought up before the Justice at Stockton some months ago on a charge of aiding William Roach in his escape from Stockton jail, but was acquitted of the charge. It is proper to state here that the District Attorney states that, from what appeared on the examination of Foote on the charge of killing Belcher, Foote was not the man who committed the deed.

T. Beeman sworn—I was standing by the counter in the barroom of the Washington Hotel, by the side of Mr. Belcher, talking with him; Mr. Belcher stood facing the street, and I stood leaning on the counter, facing the billiard room; I heard the discharge of firearms of some kind; think it was a pistol; immediately Mr. Belcher gave a convulsive motion of his body and said he was shot; my first impression was that it was fired in order to frighten him, and I said, "you are not"; he replied, "I am killed"; he then changed his position and passed around by the dining room door, still repeating "I am killed, or shot"; I then drew my pistol and left the barroom; I looked up and down the street, but saw no one on this side of the street; I should judge the pistol was fired from the porch, or very near it; I think Dr. Callaghan was the last person that came into the house that I noticed previous to the firing—from a half to two minutes before, more or less, just before firing. I saw some men standing across the street by Taboas' store; I passed over to them and asked if any of them had seen a man run from the hotel; this was on the 18th day of June, 1856, in the city and county of Monterey, State of California, between 9 and 10 o'clock P. M.

T. Beeman.

CHAPTER VI.

TRADE AND TRANSPORTATION.

BETWEEN trade and transportation there is an inseparable connection, and the expansion of the one depends upon the growth of the other. Previous to 1872 the limited means of transportation to Monterey, a twelve hours steamer ride or a long, tiresome journey by stage, prevented a large immigration of settlers and a slow development of the county.

There was also another obstacle to its rapid growth, the possession in the hands of a few persons, of all the grain and pasture lands, these lands having been granted in early days by the Spanish and Mexican governments to native born[a] and naturalized citizens. Used at that time as pasture lands, only their cattle and horses roamed over the grants, and from San Diego to Sonoma not an inclosure to impede the driven herd or the stampeding band. "To illustrate," said P. E. Zabala in an agricultural-fair address, "from the lot on which this hall stands to the town of Soledad, twenty-six miles distant, there are 75,000 acres of land, seven grants, and not counting the three little towns, only 75 houses."

After the territory came into the possession of the United States, Thomas O. Larkin, Walter Colton and others claimed the Carmelo Valley by right of purchase from the Indians, for rum, red shirts and tobacco. The same authority states, "The whole site of the then town, containing about three leagues, was granted away for dinners for governors and fandangoes for generals or majors, or sold for a nominal amount to the old settlers, as they were called, who had pretty daughters to smile on the officials and full barrels to wet their palates." The proceeds of this sale or as much of it as "His Reverence" could spare was applied to building an edifice named after "His Holiness" himself "Colton Hall." Colton was also accused of selling the government reservation to settlers and appropriating the money to his own use. Later these purchasers were dispossessed by the government and lost all their purchase money.

[a] The first land grant was given as early as 1814, the Spanish government granting to Antonio Maria Castro, the grant known as Verga del Rio de Pajaro, containing about four thousand acres.

Lagunita Rancho, for twenty-five years the home of J. R. Hebbron, and in the foreground he plowed up iron bullets, bayonets and other implements of war. This was part of the scene of the battle of Natividad, where Fremont's forces met and had a fight with the native Californians. The residence shown is constructed of adobe and stone, and after it was remodeled by Mr. Hebbron, lost some of its original looks. The wounded in the battle of Natividad were cared for in this house by the family, who were living there at that early day. This is one of the picturesque places in the county, and is reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. Hebbron.

When the overland immigration reached California in 1849 many who came by the southern route found their way to Monterey with the intention of locating, but the "Lords of the Soil" asked such enormous prices for their lands that the people went elsewhere. Some remained, however, and in 1852 stated, "Our farming interests are beginning to look up. On the Salinas several farms have been purchased by enterprising Americans who intend to fence and plant large fields of grain. The rich valley of the Pajaro is being rapidly filled up with squatters." Four years later the number of acres under cultivation did not exceed 5,450, and 30,000 bushels of wheat, 86,000 bushels of barley and 8,500 bushels of oats were raised. McGarvey, the assessor, reported in 1866, "7,000 acres have been enclosed and 11,000 acres are now under cultivation." He reported in 1872, "Our country is in a prosperous condition, and our valleys are filling up with good practical farmers." In 1887 the country produced the splendid crop of wheat, 2,175,960 bushels; barley, 610,250 bushels; oats, 33,510; corn, 36,500; hay 14,500 tons; and pototoes 726,000 tons.

The first of these practical farmers, it seems, were the Campbell Brothers, and so large was their first grain harvest from two hundred and thirty acres that they realized money sufficient to pay in advance, seven years rental. The time of this heavy crop or the exact locality, we know not, but it must have been from what is known as the bottom lands, however, for it is also written that the first grain upon the "table lands" was raised in 1862 by J. M. Soto, at Santa Rita, he purchasing the rancho from J. M. Hall for $13,000. He was the first to enclose his entire tract. Hall bought the land in the year 1855 and the same year James Bardin located on the Salinas river and bought 12,000 acres near Blanco. Pedro Zabala bought a large acreage in 1857, and six years later Michael Riordon began stock raising. Albert Trescony purchased the San Lucas grant of 8,000 acres in 1862 of James McKinley, and later owned one hundred and sixty acres where Salinas City now stands. Immigrating from Marin county, Carr S. Abbott purchased 4,000 acres where now stands the Spreckels beet sugar factory and began the dairying business with his five hundred cows driven from their former pastures. Five years later he had all the conveniences of first-class dairies, was milking fifteen hundred cows and manufacturing tons of butter yearly. John J. Joy was a farmer with one hundred and sixty acres, now Salinas, and soon afterwards increased his acreage to 4,000 acres of wheat and pasture land.

W. E. P. Hartnell was the owner of the Alisal and David Spence had at least two grants, the one known as the Buena Esperanza (containing 12,000 acres), the other the Llano Buena Vista. The land at that time was of little value, for David Jacks in 1864 offering the Chualar rancho for sale, could not get $1 an acre, while ten years previous the land within three miles of Monterey was selling at from $3 to $10 an acre.

The Salinas valley, which takes its name from the river Salinas, so called by the Spaniards because of its salt marshes or lagoons,[b] is about fifteen miles in width and one hundred miles in length. It is perhaps one of the most fertile valleys in the world, and it bears the world's record for wheat growing, 105 bushels per acre being grown near Castroville in 1852.

For several years not much attention was given to wheat; horses, cattle and sheep comprising the wealth of the county. The missions were the first stock raisers, reaching the highest point in 1831; the father reported that year to the Mexican government 3,000 horses, 20,719 cattle and 27,775 sheep, but old settlers declared that the missions had four times the amount of stock reported, and they reported incorrectly fearing that the government would tax them heavily.

The raising of stock was not confined to the missions, for private citizens, mostly retired soldiers, engaged in the business; after obtaining a few horses and cattle, their herds rapidly increased in number.

The cattle were raised for the hides and tallow and this was the principal source of revenue of the ranchos and missions. Each year the owner would have a "matanzos" or cattle slaugh-

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[b] It was there that the Spaniards obtained all their salt for domestic uses, and driving down in their carretas they would carry it away by the ton.

ter, usually in the month of August, the cattle then being in the best condition. From 500 to 2,000 cattle were killed each year, the number varying according to the demand. The hides were stretched upon the earth to dry, the tallow was tried out and poured into ditches in the earth for future disposal or made into soap, and the lean meat was cut into long thin strips and dried for jerked beef.

Although the stock was raised it had no value whatever until 1822. In that year two young men, W. E. P. Hartnell and David Spence, landed in Monterey as agents of Begg & Co., Lima, Peru, for the purchase of hides and tallow. They not only bought up all the hides and tallow they could find, but they made a contract with Father Mariano Payeras to take all of his hides, tallow and other products for three years. This was California's first mercantile transaction.

About the same time, 1823, J. B. R. Cooper arrived from Boston in the schooner Rover with a cargo of general merchandise. With Governor Arguello's permission he began trading with the people, exchanging goods for hides and tallow. This was the first of a long line of Yankee traders that sailed up and down the coast, trading at every port, until their business was destroyed by the coming of the clipper ships and steamers.

There was quite an extensive business carried on in those days, according to the Frenchman De Mofras, and in the year 1840 there were twenty-four American, ten Mexican, six English and three unknown vessels in the harbor engaged in trade. These ships landed $150,000 worth of merchandise and took out $280,000 worth of hides, tallow and furs. "The average annual exports," says Wilkes, referring to the state, "were 150,000 hides at $2; 200,000 arrobas of tallow, twenty-five pounds each, at $1.50 per arroba; 2,000 beaver skins at $2.50; 3,000 elk and deer skins at fifty cents to $1.00; and 12,000 bushels of wheat."

The annexation of California to the United States, and the large increase of population changed the course and the condition of trade entirely. The exportation of hides and tallow ceased, for cattle were now of value for food and horses were in great demand. The days of Monterey's pastoral life were no more. Commercialism now held sway, and the American ranchers purchasing the soil, cut out the sweet, fragrant hill-side pines for fire-wood, [c] and erected a saw mill [d] for the sawing of lumber for bridges, streets and dwellings. The earth which had produced an abundance of vegetation and brought forth beautiful flowers, [e] was now upturned by the plow, later to yield thousands of tons of wheat, oats, barley and sugar beets.

Monterey in the year 1872 was the largest stock county in the state, excepting Fresno and Kern counties. It had 29,218 cattle and 263,120 sheep. Her cattle had decreased in number but increased in value since 1859, particular attention being given that year to an improved breed of stock. Jesse D. Carr in 1863 imported some very fine breeds of stock and in 1858 the county had 74,330 sheep and in the following year she exported 350,000 pounds of wool. In 1899 her sheep had been reduced to 8,800. In 1891 she exported 700,000 pounds of butter, 300,000 pounds of cheese, 15,000 chickens, 480,000 dozen eggs, 100,000 pounds green fruit and 1,500 tons of sugar beets. Four years later, 1894, she raised 85,000 tons of beets and shipped 112,000 pounds of poultry, 188,400 dozen eggs, 250,200 pounds of cheese and 1,403,000 pounds of butter. In 1899 she had 52,000 cattle of a very superior breed, manufactured 712,845 pounds of butter and 559,993 pounds of cheese and raised 112,317 tons of beets, 467,484 bushels of oats, 762,143 bushels of wheat and 1,563,450 bushels of barley.

(c) There was a brisk trade in fire-wood, and in the year 1858, 15,000 cords were cut and exported.

(d) A saw mill, forty-horse-steam-power, was erected on Point Pinosby by Jacob Leese in February, 1853. Two writers speak of this mill as being put up March 28th and completed May 10th, 1853. It would saw 10,000 feet of lumber every twenty-four hours. In 1857 it was valued at $10,000 and assessed to Gregory & De Graw.

(e) E. J. Williams said, in regard to the luxuriant growth of these flowers, "In the spring of 1849 Salinas valley was one mass of wild flowers from Monterey to San Juan. In the moist soil of the coast they are ever blooming, each month producing a different shade of yellow, red and blue."

Now there is an abundance of all kinds of fruit, but as late as 1860 the people of Monterey obtained all of their fruit from the San Juan Bautista Mission which had a very fine orchard, including oranges, guava and olives. (f)

The rainfall varies from fourteen to forty inches. It is the heaviest along the coast and greater along the northern part of the valley than in the southern portion. There have been times when there was scarcely rainfall sufficient to produce average crops, only once, however, has there been a dry year, 1863. In that year, cattle and horses throughout the state died by the thousands, and in Monterey, Leigh & Winter, taking advantage of the hard times purchased thousands of head of cattle, paying from $1.50 to $2 a head and slaughtered them for their hides and tallow. They killed from sixty to one hundred a day. Albert Trescony that year, lost about 3,000 head of sheep, but he was a shrewd man, and saving the pelts, he stored them in the old Soledad Mission. The following year he sold them for over $7,000, and he would have sold the sheep for the same price. 1872 was another dry year, and in 1889, George A. Daugherty said, "The scarcity of rain last winter almost caused a total crop failure and when the farmers' crops fail in a community like ours, all branches of trade are crippled."

One of the important industries of Monterey for many years was that of whale catching and the trying out of "blubber." As high as fifty-two men have been engaged in the business at one time and thousands of dollars have been made from the sale of oil and whalebone. The town has been a whaling station since 1840; in 1846 a school of whales entered the bay, one was located, and a whaleboat from a whaler put out after him, and he was struck by the harpoon, but soon afterward escaped, the harpoon pulling out.

The business was established in 1854 by two Portuguese companies and in 1857 they did a good season's business, capturing thirty-one California gray and humpback whales, which yielded 31,936 gallons of oil then worth $22,500. In 1858 there were three whaling companies, Captain Davenport employing twelve men with two boats, and the Portuguese companies twenty-four men with four boats. Ten men were employed in trying out the fat and in other shore work. It is stated that for several years an average of fifty-six whales were captured, the fattest of these leviathans yielding ninety barrels of oil. The greatest catch of any year was in 1862, the companies that year obtaining 2,600 barrels of oil. The only revenue from this dangerous but exciting occupation was oil and whale bone, and as in later years, better and cheaper substitutes were found, the business gradually decreased until it is now an occupation of the past.

A business that is constantly increasing is that of salmon catching and packing, 210,000 pounds of salmon having been caught in June, 1909, representing $7,000, a pretty fair month's work. The occupation was established in 1853 by Chinamen, about three hundred of them locating at Monterey; they rented six or seven houses at $20 per month each, "which would have been the homes of spiders and bats were it not for this enterprise," said Kooser, and began catching fish and pearl oysters. They were cured in lime water and dried and shipped to their San Francisco countrymen. They now have quite a village on Carmel Bay, and in 1887 $220,000 worth of dried fish were exported. There they raised their families, and in October, 1888, a native son voted for Cleveland for president. The boy could speak Spanish and English fluently.

The manufacturing interests do not or did not cut much of a figure in the wealth of Monterey county until 1897, at which time Claus Spreckels, on the Salinas river, erected at a cost of $2,700,000, the largest beet sugar manufactory in the world. The building is immense, 582 feet in length, 162 feet in width and five stories high, its two great steel chimneys towering 216 feet in air. The power for the machinery is supplied by several steam engines and 1500 barrels of petroleum are used every twenty-four hours for fuel. This immense factory, contain-

(f) Beyond the Thomas Watson Home, in the Corral-de-Tierra, there stands a pear tree, at least one hundred and twenty-five years old, from which, in the years 1907-08 one hundred and fifty boxes of pears were picked.

ing the latest and best known beet sugar machinery, gives employment to five hundred persons during the busy season and slices up 3,000 tons of beets a day, this producing 450 tons of sugar. The mill has consumed as high as 3,600 tons of beets per day and turns out, as a season's run, from 45,000 to 60,000 tons of sugar. It requires 30,000 acres of land to supply beets sufficient for a season's output, and Claus Spreckels very wisely refused to lay a brick for the mill until farmers, owning at least 25,000 acres of land had contracted to plant them to sugar beets for a term of years. Now the land is practically sown to beets annually from Kings City to Pajaro, and the profit per acre is far in excess of hay or grain, in fact the yield is larger each year, for there are chemicals in the beets which reinvigorate the soil.

The establishment of a beet saccharine factory dates back to 1877, when Spreckels started an experimental factory on the Potrero, San Francisco. Success followed in the footsteps of the far-sighted German, who had previously gone to his native soil and learned the business, and in Watsonville in 1888 he built a much larger factory, first contracting with farmers for beets. Again the gods smiled upon his enterprise, and returning to Germany, he obtained the best machinery, learned the latest secrets of the trade and erected the Spreckels mill. A narrow gauge railroad connects the Watsonville and Spreckels mill, and a second road runs to the mountain Gabilan, where lime rock is obtained. Claus Spreckels has now crossed the "great river," but the little town by the factory, aye, the valley itself, will long remember his name, for he that planted two seeds where but one grew, is a world benefactor.

It is recorded that in 1836 Nathan Spear ran a little vessel called the Nicholas on Monterey Bay, carrying produce between Santa Cruz and Monterey, but transferred her to San Francisco, when Governor Arguello demanded a foreigner's license. William Hardy, a boat builder, who deserted from a whaler, built a small schooner called the Santa Cruz, which was afterward lost at sea. Judge Blackman of Santa Cruz built the schooner Zack Taylor and commanded by Captain Vincent; she was used as the government boat. When the military post at Monterey was abandoned she was run on the Sacramento river. About 1860 the Pacific Coast Steamship Company was organized, and their first boat, says Capt. Marcus Harloe, was the steamer Salinas. The material for the steamer was brought from the east on the Wild Pigeon by Captain Harloe and the steamer ran between Moss Landing, Monterey and San Francisco. She was running as late as January, 1875, and a companion steamer, the Monterey, was running about the same time.

Overland, the Spaniards always rode on horseback or in a clumsy two-wheeled cart called a carreta. This was reserved, however, for the transportation of freight, the children and the aged. The entire vehicle was made of wood, the wheels being two feet in thickness. It was drawn by oxen, and the Indian driver always carried a large pot of soap to constantly grease the squeaking wheels. George Romie tells of riding in one of these "speed wagons" in his boyhood, 1854, from Monterey to San Jose and it took six days to make the journey. When in a hurry they could make it in three days.

It was surprising the distance they could travel in a day on horseback. The animals were tough, of no value, and if they died from hard riding it was no matter. By riding at a gallop and using four or five horses they thought nothing of covering 150 miles a day, the tired horse being left by the wayside. Carson relates that by taking two horses from the pasture he rode 140 miles in ten hours and forty minutes. Equally remarkable for both horses and men was the journey of John C. Fremont during the Mexican War; he rode from Los Angeles to Monterey and returned, a distance of 800 miles, in eight and one half days, ninety-six hours in the saddle. He was accompanied by Jesus Pico and a body of servants, they riding seventeen different horses.

With the introduction of the American came the stage coach, and in 1850 the Pacific Coast Stage Company established a line of stages from San Francisco to Los Angeles, a distance of 450 miles, making the distance in three and one-

half days. The stages ran through San Jose, Gilroy, San Juan and Monterey, crossing the Salinas river over a ferry at Milltown. Up to 1860 the stage was obliged to ford the Pajaro river, but in that year, at a cost of $4,000, a toll bridge was constructed. In April, 1851, Selim E. Woodward, senator from Monterey district, rode from Monterey to attend the Legislature at San Jose. The stage driver made the trip in twelve hours, and it was considered as very fast time. Henry S. Johnson, of Salinas, as late as April, 1869, could reach Salinas by stage. The steam cars then ran to Gilroy and from that town he traveled over the mountain to Watsonville and Salinas.

At this time the Southern Pacific Railroad were undecided as to their future route from Gilroy to Los Angeles. They concluded to run through Pacheco Pass into the San Joaquin Valley, but a money consideration caused them to change to a direct southern route. Then came the question of one of two lines over the low marsh lands of Salinas or the high sandy table lands of Santa Rita. It was a question of great importance to the residents of Salinas. The company preferred the Santa Rita route, but Jose M. Soto, who owned all the land, in fact the entire town, set his price so high for right of way that the company concluded to take the Salinas route.

The *Index* said on September 1st, 1872, "The question is settled at last; the railroad will come to Salinas and the depot will be located just west of the Diamond Hotel." Ground was broken September 3rd for the location of the depot and a large number of teams began removing the Plaza Hill. The road was rapidly built and September 30th, amidst the cheering of the large crowd and the salute of 100 guns, the first freight train of thirty-four cars rolled into the depot. The first passenger train arrived November 7th and Salinas was in rapid communication with the outside world. The road was extended to Soledad by December 20th and there it rested until 1886.

The anticipations of the farmers and citizens were not realized, for freight and fares ate up the profits and a proposition was made and endorsed to build a narrow gauge railroad from Salinas to Monterey and ship wheat by sailing vessel to foreign ports. The estimated cost of the road was $250,000 and for the purpose of building said road a meeting was held in Granger's Hall, Salinas, February 26th, 1874; $20,000 was subscribed and the following directors elected, Alfred Gonzales, Robert McKee, Monterey; Carr S. Abbott, William Robertson, Salinas; and A. L. Boggs, Thomas Hildreth, San Jose. Grading was begun at Monterey and on that day a number of people visited the old town anticipating a celebration. The following day, one of Abbott's friends meeting him, inquired, "Well, what kind of a time did they have?" "Oh, nothing unusual," replied the president, "people expected me to lie idle with ten or twelve men, for a useless ceremony. I haven't time for such damn foolishness, I am a worker and mean business."

The road, eighteen miles in length, cost $362,450, this including 1,100 feet of trestle and a 300 foot bridge over the Salinas river. The road was completed September 4th, 1874, and it was a financial failure from the start, earning in the year ending June 30th, 1876, only $10,037. The cause of its failure was due to the short-sighted policy of the farmers in whose interests the road had been built. As soon as the Salinas and Monterey Railroad was ready for business, the Southern Pacific Railroad lowered their prices for passengers and freight. The farmers continued to patronize the monopoly and the narrow gauge immediately saw its finish with Carr S. Abbott and William Robertson heavy losers. Years after it passed into the hands of the Southern Pacific, and they laid a track from Castroville to Monterey and made use of the bridge and roadbed from the Salinas river. The road was finished to Monterey in January, 1880.

CHAPTER VII.

ALONG EDUCATIONAL LINES.

THE King of Spain in 1793 sent orders to California that schools be established, but his commands were not obeyed, for there were no teachers nor revenue for school support. There was urgent need of schools, for Governor Borico, on arrival, found both the inhabitants and soldiers very illiterate, only a few of the soldiers or officers being able to either read or write.

The governor established a school system throughout the territory, and he persuaded some of the soldiers, merchants and tradesmen who could read and write to engage in school teaching. Some of the soldiers proved to be excellent teachers and Sargeant Manuel Vargas' services were in demand throughout the territory. He was so well qualified to teach children that the pueblo of San Diego offered him $250 a year to instruct their children. On the other hand the San Jose colonists refused to send their children to school and the governor ordered the alcalde to compel them to attend.

After the departure of Governor Borico, no attention was given to education, and when Governor Sola arrived in 1815 he found but one school in the territory. This was at Monterey. The teacher, Corporal Archileta, had been educated by a Spanish padre. The governor, an educated man, immediately established schools and gave them every possible encouragement. Frequently while in the capital he visited the Monterey school and addressed the pupils on the value of a good education, and he presented the girls sweetmeats for good behavior and good lessons.

Two of the brightest scholars of this school were Marino Guadalupe Vallejo and Juan Baptiste Alvarado, and one day they informed the governor that they could sing a mass, the teacher believing that a pupil who could sing a mass and repeat a catechism was highly educated. "This is all very well," replied the governor, "but children bright enough to sing a mass ought to be taught something else." Alvarado was the governor's favorite, and on one occasion he presented the boy with a copy of Don Quixote, with the remark, "For the present, read this. It is good Castilian."

When Governor Sola returned to Mexico the schools were again neglected and Governor Figueroa soon after his arrival called the attention of the Mexican Legislature to the fact that only three schools were in existence, one at Monterey, and they were being taught by incompetent and ill-paid teachers. At his suggestion, six more territorial schools were established and higher salaries paid. The Monterey school was then placed in charge of W. E. P. Hartnell, a highly educated Englishman, and a fluent speaker and writer of the Spanish language.

Alvarado, appointed governor in 1836, took great interest in the educational welfare of the children and he caused teachers to be brought from Mexico. Beside the rudimentary branches, he commanded that typesetting and printing be taught. Later Governor Micheltorena ordered a school for both sexes to be opened in every town in the department. He also issued an order that reading, writing, the four rules in arithmetic and the catechism should be taught in every school, and in addition thereto, sewing and needlework for the girls. Every person having children from six to eleven years of age was required to send them to school daily, except Sundays and holidays, the school hours being from eight to eleven in the morning and from two to five during the afternoon.

We have a description of an average Mexican school room and some of their customs and punishments and from this record we learn that the school room was in a long, narrow adobe building, dimly lighted by a few small windows. The floor was the hard beaten earth and the walls were dirty and often covered by grease, soot and

fly-specks. At one end of the room was a platform upon which stood a table, covered by a dirty cloth; there sat the teacher, a soldier, dressed in his fantastic uniform, filthy with dirt, with ferule in hand, ready to punish any pupil who violated the rules of the school.

The teacher had two instruments for the punishment of disobedient pupils, a ferule and a scourge. The scourge, which was used only in serious offenses, was a hempen whip of many lashes, iron pointed, and frequently the child was whipped upon his bare back, he lying upon a bench, with a handkerchief stuffed in his mouth to stifle his cries. The child imperfect in his recital of the catechism was the most severely punished, as that was considered the most important of all studies. Such, in brief, was the school life of the Mexican under his native system of education, and the boy who was ten years of age during Micheltorena's rule, had the opportunity, a few years later, of comparing the two systems, Mexican and American.

Early in the history of the state the legislature gave its attention to the subject of education, and in 1852 passed a law providing for a public school revenue, but each school organized must be maintained three months before it could receive state aid.

Monterey county could not take advantage of this law because of its limited population, 2,724, nearly one-half Indians, and its large land surface, 4,370 square miles, two-thirds of it being scarcely inhabited. There were but 322 families in the county, and no efforts were being made to educate the children, who numbered 632, for the census marshal reported no schools in the county. Two years later, 1852, Kooser stated that the only school in Monterey county was a girls' high school taught by the sisters of the convent.

Several years before this time the educational interests of the children of the town had been considered and as early as 1847, three of Monterey's most prominent citizens, Thomas O. Larkin, Milton Little and Talbot H. Green, engaged Mrs. I. C. Isabell at a salary of $200 a month to open a public school. A school room was fitted up with desk and benches, in the second story of the custom house and assisted by Walter Colton, Mrs. Isabell taught a school of 56 scholars for a term of three months. Their only text books were such as they could obtain from the whaling vessels that touched at Monterey, and Thomas O. Larkin provided the writing paper from his store. No school was taught under greater difficulties, for the teachers could not speak the Spanish language, and none of the pupils could speak English, except the Abrego boys, they having been taught English by W. E. P. Hartnell.

At the end of three months Mrs. Isabell declined to teach longer, and the youth of Monterey had no further schooling until March, 1849. In that year the Rev. Samuel D. Willey arriving in California located at Monterey and opened a public school in Colton Hall. He had about fifty pupils, but speaking no Spanish, he had as much difficulty in teaching as Mrs. Isabell. This school was continued six months and it was then closed as the reverend gentleman concluded to remove to San Francisco.

In 1856 Monterey is credited with a public English school of fifteen children and two private schools taught in the Spanish language. The public school was probably taught in the custom house, but in 1872, the county seat being removed to Salinas, the county supervisors rented Colton Hall to the town trustees for a schoolhouse, at a yearly rental of $5.

The public schools of the town struggled along as best they could until the coming of the railroad, then the old capital took on a new life. The population rapidly increased with an energetic wide-awake people, an excellent system of schools was established and early in the '90s they erected a fine school building.

It cannot be assumed that the railroad has any connection with the Monterey public schools, yet they made no material progress until the Southern Pacific railroad opened up the vast territory and made cheap and rapid transportation possible. It also increased the wealth and revenue of the territory, and the taxes gave revenue sufficient to organize new districts, build substantial schoolhouses and employ a better grade of teachers.

Before this time the county could not afford

to elect as superintendent a man who could give his entire time to school work, and for several years the office of county superintendent of schools and of county clerk were consolidated. This was bad for the clerk, but worse for the schools, for the superintendent could not give them that close attention necessary, especially in a county as large as Monterey, some of the schoolhouses being sixty miles distant, with no means of communication except by horse and buggy or horseback. Later the two offices were separated, but the superintendent's salary was so small that he was compelled to teach school to make a living, and the conditions were no better than before. Finally a living salary was given the superintendent, and being elected for a term of four years, he received an annual salary of $1,650 and his traveling expenses. It is now $1,800 a year.

Regarding the number of school children in the county and those attending school, Superintendent J. H. Gleason, in 1854, reported 506 boys and girls and only 70 were attending school. The number in 1864 was increased to 1,599, only one in four at school. Many of these children were born of Mexican and foreign parents and they would not send their children to a Protestant school. The report of Superintendent Job Wood, Jr., in 1874, clearly shows what effect the railroad had upon school progress, for he said: "The school conditions are rapidly improving, due to the immigration of eastern people. The schools are greatly benefited and rapidly filling up with intelligent, hard-working children, who appreciate the benefits to be derived from a public school system." Of the children in the territory, 1,710 were enrolled in the public schools, while 1,832 were not in school. The number of children in 1884 had decreased to 3,353 because of the organization of San Benito county, but the school attendance was much improved, as 2,504 were on the school roll and only 904 out of school.

Six years later, 1890, the native born youth were 3,695 and the foreign born 1,204. The county and city schools had enrolled 3,650 scholars, and 1,152 were non-attendants. There were eighty-five school districts, ninety school buildings, one of brick, and seventy-eight primary and thirty-one grammar schools. During that year four new districts were organized and Pacific Grove, Monterey, Salinas and Santa Rita had each engaged one new teacher, making a total of 115, an increase of thirty-three teachers in four years.

The progression or retrogression of any school depends much upon the ability and the enthusiasm of its teachers, and Monterey, limited for many years in funds, could not employ the best teachers, and was compelled to take what she could get, thus but little advancement was made in school work. In the early '70s a state normal school was established and the graduating classes sought employment throughout the state. About the same time the legislature passed a law organizing county boards of education and empowering them to grant county certificates on examination. The normal schools and the graded teachers had a tendency to raise the grade of the Monterey schools, as no teachers could draw a county salary without a certificate to teach. Another law was passed that each county should annually hold a teachers' institute, and early as September, 1872, an institute was held in Monterey, the first in the county, fifty teachers responding to the roll call.

In 1884 the county schools kept "the even tenor of their way," as Superintendent Smetzler expressed it, and there was more than usual enthusiasm and greater results than ever before, "as we have first-grade and normal teachers." As the number of schools increased only normal teachers were employed, and in 1904, of the 140 teachers, nearly the entire number were normal graduates, over sixty graduates coming from the San Jose Normal School. The present corps of county teachers numbers 150; the least salary paid is $600 per year, and the average salary for ungraded schools is $70 a month for an average term of ten months.

Another important feature in school work is the buildings, the furniture and the surroundings. No one understands this better than the teacher educated in school work, and so far as possible the endeavor has been to better the conditions. Many of the buildings were unpainted, cold,

cheerless, uninviting and unsuitably furnished. When Mrs. J. B. Chope became county superintendent she endeavored to remedy these conditions. Thirty of the schools for the first time employed janitors, the children previously being compelled to sweep out the schoolhouse in turn. In fifty school buildings they bought shades for the windows, nine of the school districts were provided with cabinet organs and 101 districts purchased pictures of an educational value and hung them upon the school room walls.

These improvements were made in 1900 and since then splendid improvements have been made in some districts, notably Spreckels and Soledad. In the former district the Spreckels grammar school is a splendid two-story four-room building with high basement and containing all the modern improvements of school work in the county. The Soledad building, of the Mission style of architecture, built in 1908, is the best arranged and finest school building. It has four large school rooms, class and teachers' rooms, library, patent closet and toilet rooms, with basement, furnace and all the modern appliances for heating, lighting and ventilating. In many of the districts the old schoolhouses have been torn down and excellent school buildings erected, many others have been made over and modernized and their surroundings made attractive and sanitary.

Perhaps something should be said about the school studies which are and have been regulated and enforced by the state. The law prescribes the studies that may be taught and the text-books that must be used. The law passed a few years ago that all text-books must be printed by the state, and sold to the children at actual cost, has been an improvement very beneficial to parents, by reducing the cost of school books to the minimum. The study course now occupies eight years, four years in the primary (first, second, third and fourth) grades, and an equal length of time in the grammar (fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth) grades, with a provisional two years post-graduate course which equals the first two years of the high school.

In 1909 the schools were taught by 150 teachers, most of the districts employing only one teacher, and eight employing two teachers. Gonzales, King City and Soledad each employed three, Castroville four, Monterey ten and Salinas City twelve teachers in the primary and grammar grades. The average attendance of the pupils is 3,000; the census children (five to seventeen years of age) numbering 5,000. From the eighth grade of the county schools 140 children have graduated and many of them will enter high schools. The total revenue for the graded schools was $168,832.43 and only $126,665.81 was expended, this leaving a balance of over $42,000 on hand for the incoming school year to be used for improvements.

Salinas, the growing and prosperous county seat, has always been proud of her public schools, and many of her citizens, some of them holding high official positions, are graduates of the city schools.

The eight lower schools had their inception in a little building on the corner of Front and Alisal streets, the teacher, Miss Harvey, having about a dozen pupils; shortly after this the so-called East End school was erected, a two-story, four-room lath and plaster building, an excellent school building for that day. In a few years the schools were over-crowded, and a two-story, four-room building was erected in the West End, the stairs extending outside of the building. In this building the high school was organized, and the first graduate (1889) was Mr. McCandless, now the cashier in Spreckels Bank. In the following year there were three graduates, two additional rooms were built, forming an L, and there the high school was carried on until 1900, when at a cost of $30,000 the board of education erected, at the corner of Alisal and Church streets, a handsome two-story steel and brick building, the lot having previously been occupied by the primary "baby school."

The county is well supplied with high schools, there being one each in Salinas, Monterey and Pacific Grove with a Union School in Gonzales. These four schools have an enrollment of nearly 300, and a corps of fifteen teachers. They all stand upon the accredited list of the State University and this year (1909) nearly fifty scholars received certificates of graduation. The Mon-

terey school in 1905 employed five teachers with thirty-six pupils in attendance. The Pacific Grove school employed four teachers with eighty-three scholars and the Salinas city high school with five instructors and 119 pupils. The total valuation of the high school property in the three towns is $60,000.

An excellent help to a public school pupil is a good library, the first in the state being established in Monterey in 1849. The founder of this library, Samuel H. Willey, said, "Before I became too busy, I proposed the subject of a library to the people and they entered heartily into my plans and $1,500 was subscribed, the soldiers donating liberally. Having in my possession some catalogues of a New York house, which I had brought out from the east, I made selections, sent on for the books and in due time they arrived. Various additions were made from time to time from the ships that came into port and soon the library contained some 2,500 volumes. A reading room was connected with the library.

The city now has a neat little library of 2325 volumes in the second story of the Rowe building on Main street. It was established in 1907, the outgrowth of an association organized for the purpose of forming a library, and it was supported by means of entertainments, concerts, lectures, parties, etc. The present librarian is Etta Eckhart.

Pacific Grove now has a public library of 4,250 volumes with a monthly circulation of nearly 3,000 volumes.

Near the Jim Bardin Hospital, Salinas, there stands a handsome building, the pride of the ladies of the city. It is the climax of a little library established several years ago on the corner of Alisal and Salinas streets by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The library and reading room were in the second story of the building, and they loaned the books at fifty cents a month. The project was not successful in their hands, and the Native Daughters taking hold of the enterprise induced each secret organization in Salinas to subscribe $5 a month, this giving the daughters an income of $100 a month, and the library was fairly successful. In 1907 the city purchased the library and took full charge, leaving the books free to citizens.

When the Salinas Civic Club was formed for the betterment of the city, the ladies resolved to found a library worthy of the Queen City, by purchasing a lot and then applying to the great library giver, Andrew Carnegie, for money with which to build a library. They obtained $4,000 by lectures and other means, purchased the lot at the corner of San Lucia and Main streets and in due time they asked Carnegie for $10,000 for a library building. The money was received and a very handsome library building was erected. Their largest stock of books at present is a library donated by the I. O. O. F. Association. Jesse D. Carr some years ago gave the Odd Fellows $5,000 for the purchase of books for an Odd Fellows Library, and the order has now donated the books to the Carnegie Library, conditionally that they be kept in an alcove set apart with the donor's name inscribed.

The first newspaper in the state was the *Californian* published August 15, 1846, in Monterey by Colton & Semple in the upper story of the Custom House. In less than a year the plant was removed to Yerba Buena, and later the paper was merged into the *Alta California*. Monterey was then without any paper, until the publishing, in 1855, of the *Gazette* by John McElroy. In less than a year he removed to Santa Cruz, and June 14, 1856, issued the *Pacific Sentinel*. I find it on record that a second *Gazette* was issued by F. W. Casswell in February, 1865.

The *Democrat* was established in 1866 by an association of business men with Rasey Biven as editor. In 1868 J. W. Leigh became the editor, he having worked for Biven on the Stockton *Gazette* ten years previous. Later, Leigh bought the paper and in 1872, removed it to the rising city of Salinas.

The *Republican* was in existence in 1868 and continued until 1874. The *Herald*, another paper, was launched in June, 1874, and owned by Manuel Merritt and Ed Curtis, the former having learned the trade in the *Republican* office. Another *Californian* was published in 1876 by William La Rose, and after his death his widow continued the paper until 1880, when it was sold

to the Monterey Publishing Company. Within the last two years a paper called the Monterey *Cypress* has been published, and in June, 1909, the Monterey *Herald* was issued by the Herald Publishing Company.

The Salinas *Press* was first established by the publication of the *Standard* issued in 1868 by J. S. Brittain, who sold it two years later to Jesse D. Carr and E. M. Reading, the latter being the editor. Again changing hands in 1871, Harry V. Morehouse became the owner and in 1872 he removed the *Standard* to Santa Rita and called the paper the *New Republican.*

The *Index* was first issued by Melville Byerly in 1871 and published until his death, January 30, 1876. It was then published by his brother-in-law, Samuel M. Shearer, until sold April 5, 1876, to William J. Hill, a newspaper man from Idaho. Mr. Hill was a very successful manager and he retired July 1, 1909, after thirty years' service, having disposed of the *Index* for $30,000 to a syndicate of Monterey capitalists.

The *Democrat,* which in 1872 was removed from Monterey to Salinas, still continues its publication, having recently been sold by its proprietor, Joseph W. Bell, to a syndicate.

The Monterey *Journal* also continues publication; all three papers now issuing daily and weekly editions.

The Castroville *Argus* was first started in 1869 by Manuel Merritt, who continued its publication until 1878, when he sold it to J. E. Rubell as editor and proprietor.

The *New Republican,* formerly the *Standard,* was removed from Salinas in 1872 to Santa Rita by its new owner, Harry V. Morehouse, and published one half in English and the other half in Spanish. Morehouse, becoming a school teacher, sold the paper to Jose M. Soto, with Jose Azago as editor. This paper was the first to advocate a railroad through the valley and the organization of the Grangers' Union.

The Gonzales *Tribune* was issued in 1884, by Thomas Renison, who published the paper for two years and then sold it.

The Salinas Valley Rustler, published at King City, is a prosperous four-page publication, and its special issue of July, 1909, is worthy of considerable praise.

The Soledad *Bee,* another four-page paper, made its bow to the public October 22, 1909.

The first Protestant church service south of Drake's Bay was held August 2, 1846, by Walter Colton, a Congregational minister, on board the Congress, he being the chaplain of the man-of-war. He remained in Monterey nearly two years, but there is no record of his having held service "on shore." On the steamer California in February, 1848, arrived the young Presbyterian divine, Samuel H. Willey, who located in Monterey. He preached to a congregation of nearly three hundred, mostly soldiers and marines, and established a Sunday school, David Jacks being one of the teachers. Rev. Mr. Willey remained some eighteen months and then removed to San Francisco, as a larger field of labor.

The Methodist Episcopal Church North held their first services as early as 1847, Eli Anthony, a young local pastor from Santa Cruz, conducting the services. The Rev. Henry Cole, three years later, organized a Methodist Church and services were held in the old Cuartel building, he being the pastor. During the Civil war, 1860-64, the Rev. A. C. McDougall was stationed there and pastors were there supplied until 1872.

The third church organization in the county was that of the Methodist Episcopal Church North, the Rev. W. C. Curry, a pioneer pastor, organizing the church in Salinas in October, 1870. A church was built and dedicated in February, 1875, by F. F. Jewell of San Francisco. The present edifice in Lincoln avenue was built in 1896. The next Methodist church was organized by the Rev. Spurlock at Gonzales, in October, 1882. September 1, 1885, the Rev. J. W. Cheynoweth organized a Methodist church in Pacific Grove. Soon after their organization a lot was given them by the Pacific Improvement Company and a large assembly hall was built at a cost of $25,000. It was built for the Chautauqua and other national assemblies and seats some 1,600 people; it was remodeled in 1890 at a total cost of $35,000.

The oldest Protestant denomination in point of

time is the Methodist Episcopal South, a camp meeting having been held on the Salinas river, near the James Bardin place, as early as 1861. One of the preachers at that time was the Rev. J. C. Simmons, who for fifty-six years preached the gospel, and who died in Salinas in April, 1909. That camp meeting led to services being held in the Blanco and in the Spring schoolhouses until 1868, at which time the church was organized in the schoolhouse last named. The church was then removed to Salinas and services held in a little house at the corner of San Luis and Main streets, and later, on Castroville street, where the present building was erected in 1871 and dedicated the following year. It is said that all denominations contributed liberally to the building fund, and for a season, the walls resounded to the doctrines of several different denominations.

The Methodists have a church in San Lucas, organized in 1882 by the Rev. M. J. Gough in the Long Valley schoolhouse. When San Lucas was laid off in 1886, the members removed to town, and in 1888, conjointly with the Baptists, they built a church. The Methodists sold their half to the Baptists in 1890 and erected a new house of worship for themselves.

The second oldest religious denomination in Monterey is that of the United Presbyterians, organized December 7, 1869. The Rev. M. M. Gibson of San Francisco arrived in November, 1868, and on Sunday morning preached in the Santa Rita schoolhouse, and held services that afternoon in the Spring schoolhouse. The congregation there resolved to organize a denomination of their creed and in Salinas and Castroville they obtained pledges to the amount of $1,000 for a pastor's support. The Home Mission Board sent the Rev. W. H. Wilson to take charge, he arriving in June, 1869, and the following December, in a little dwelling on Pajaro street, the church came into existence. Services were held in Myers' Hall, Main street, and everything moved along smoothly until November, 1872, when the members "agreed to disagree," and Wilson, with some fifteen members, started what they called the Central Avenue Presbyterian church.

At this time the Rev. George McCormick, a young divine from Pennsylvania, was visiting the beautiful valley of Salinas. Early in the spring, March, he occupied the pulpit of the Lincoln Avenue Methodist Church, and as the United Presbyterians were without any shepherd and he without a flock, they naturally met, with the result that March 17, 1873, the pastor went back to the east for the purpose of returning with his family as pastor of the church. Four months later he returned, and on August 10, 1873, in Pacific Hall, he preached his first sermon to a congregation of thirty-five persons. Since that Sunday he has remained pastor of the church and he is today one of the oldest pastors in California. Their church on Pajaro street, a very neat little house of worship, was first occupied January 9, 1876, and originally cost $6,500.

A young rector named J. S. McGowan visiting Monterey in 1873, preached his first sermon in Castroville July 27th to a congregation of seven; he preached in the Methodist Church South in Salinas on the afternoon of August 10th. Subscriptions were obtained for a house of worship, and a building on East Gabilan and California streets was erected at a cost of $2,150; July 4, 1875, it was consecrated by Bishop Kip. Mr. McGowan held his first service in Monterey March 14, 1875, in the old dance hall of the Washington Hotel, kept by Mr. Lockwood. From that time onward he held services in the town, the Methodist Episcopal Church North, worshipping with them, and in 1878 a little wooden building, costing $1,300, was erected and consecrated July 14, by Bishop Leonidas Kip. In 1888 the handsome little chapel, St. Mary-by-the-Sea, was built in the Del Monte Grove free from debt, and was consecrated August 27, 1890. In the meantime the Rev. J. S. McGowan, in poor health, had gone to Jolon, and the Salinas work continuing, in 1897 the beautiful edifice at the corner of Alisal and Lincoln avenues was consecrated, the building fund being derived from the sale of lots, a syndicate having previously purchased the entire block. The present rector is B. F. Weighle.

The Catholics were on hand early in the hostory of the county and the Right Rev. Thaddeus Amat in May, 1869, founded a church at Castro-

ville, the priest from Watsonville celebrating mass. Hugh Curran was their Father celebrant in 1869 and a chapel was erected in 1875.

The Rev. Hugh Curran also celebrated mass at Salinas as early as 1868 and years later George Graves deeding them land on Castroville street, a church was built there, and a home for the sisters, who conducted a school. The earthquake demolished the building, but in its place there now stands a large handsome structure, one of the prominent landmarks of Salinas.

The Salinas Baptist Church was organized April 14, 1874, by Rev. C. B. Post and a church organization formed October 28, 1888, by Rev. E. B. Hatch at San Lucas; in 1889 they jointly built a church with the Methodists. At Kings City a church organization was effected in 1892 and they worship in a $1,500 building erected in 1894.

The Congregational denomination is scarcely represented. The Rev. Mr. Haliday preaching in Salinas in 1874, tried to effect a church organization, but no such organization appears until 1892, when a Congregational Church was organized in Pacific Grove January 26, by E. S. Williams. It is stated that through the efforts of the Civic Society of this church, the road guide boards were erected.

CHAPTER VIII.

SALINAS, THE QUEEN CITY.

SALINAS City is the outgrowth of a little two-story building erected in 1856 by Deacon Elias Howe, who bought the land from Jacob P. Leese. At the intersection of the cross-roads, the one leading from Monterey to San Juan Bautista, the other from Los Angeles to Watsonville, both stage roads, the deacon built his tavern, opened a country store, was appointed postmaster, and finally succeeded in having the stage station removed from Natividad. It became known through the valley as "The Halfway House," taking its name from a small adobe (the ruins of which may yet be seen) about three miles north of Salinas, and it became the assembly place of political and other meetings, and the general headquarters of the surrounding country.

Howe sold out in 1865 to Albert Trescony, the Monterey tinsmith, for $800, but he soon tired of his bargain, and sold the place two years later to A. Ricker, a merchant, at a very low figure. Ricker and William Jackson, his partner, believing it a good location for a prosperous city, interested Eugene Sherwood in the matter, as he owned the adjacent tract of land; a fence separated the two grants; taking this down they laid off the site of a future city a half mile square. Sherwood, who owned the larger part of the site, was very liberal in his donations to public enterprises and he deeded blocks of land for schools, churches and other projects.

The locality looked to the citizens of that vicinity as a good business location, as the Southern Pacific Railroad, already at Gilroy, was contemplating an extension down the valley, and indications pointed to Salinas as a railroad terminus. The first merchants to locate there were A. Ricker and Smith & McFadden, Bancroft's hand-book crediting them with being there in 1864. Then came Samuel W. Conklin, for many years the senior member of the firm of Conklin & Samuels. Vanderhurst & Sanborn was the third firm; the partner first named moved from Watsonville in 1868 and erected a two-story brick building at the corner of Main and Gabilan streets, which was completely destroyed by the earthquake of April 18, 1906. George W. Hatch, their clerk, later married Jane Vanderhurst. In the same year, 1868, Michael Hughes moved his harness shop from Monterey to Salinas, and J. V. Lacey removing from the sea-port town, established his blacksmith and wheelwright shop. J. B. Iverson and his brother arrived that year and opened an agricultural implement and blacksmith shop on Gabilan street. J. B. Scott, locating in the new town in June, 1868, obtained a position

as postal clerk and J. H. McDougall, the banker, began life there as a vender of groceries, at the same time being postmaster. Henry Johnson opened his barber shop in 1869 and J. H. Menke arriving the same year, saved his money and a few years later purchased a half interest in the Lurtz brewery; in 1889 the partner died, and Menke purchased the heirs' interest and erected the large brewery which is now a land mark on the race track road. James Jeffries opened the first restaurant, and in 1885 he built the three-story brick house called Jeffries House at the corner of Main and Alisal streets. The first brick hotel was the Abbott House erected in 1873. It stands on the site of the "Halfway House," and in the rear of the hotel the pioneer tavern still has its use. The Diamond Hotel was then in existence, 1873, and also the Salinas Hotel, owned by Michael Tynan, who later built the Commercial Hotel. Attorney Samuel F. Geil removed from the old capitol town in 1873, and the following year Judge J. K. Alexander came from Sacramento.

Monterey, twenty miles distant, was then the county seat; the Salinas residents claimed that it was an injustice to compel them to cross the Santa Lucia mountains to transact legal business and to attend the county court. If, as they asserted, it was a loss of time and money to Salinas, it was a much greater loss for those who lived in the northeastern part of the county, as they were obliged to travel to the county seat by way of Gilroy because of the Gabilan mountains. So the leading citizens, meeting at the "Halfway House," planned to remove the county seat to Salinas, the Hollister residents promising to vote unanimously for the scheme, the Salinas citizens agreeing later on to support Hollister in their petition for a new county with Hollister as the county seat. "The fight waged pretty hotly for two or three years," says Preston, "between Monterey and Salinas, the leaders being William Vanderhurst, Judge J. K. Alexander, S. M. Shearer, ex-county superintendent of schools, and Carr S. Abbott, president of the Monterey & Salinas Railroad. There was a hard struggle before the court house was moved, and when it was finally moved it was due to the efforts of the supporters of San Benito county."

The scheme was well planned, and September 17, 1872, the supervisors declared Salinas an incorporated city, the petitioners asserting that the town contained a population of 700, 150 of whom were voters. The same day the officials ordered an election, the voters of the county to vote November 6, 1872, for or against the removal of the county seat from Monterey to Salinas. Castroville was very anxious to have the county seat and as an inducement to the citizens to vote for that town, they promised to erect a $2,500 schoolhouse. The result of the vote stood as follows: Castroville, 265; Monterey, 448; Salinas, 1,436. The citizens of Castroville voted as follows: For Monterey, 7; Salinas, 55; Castroville, 199; while those of Salinas voted, Monterey, 15; Castroville, 55; Salinas, 554. The voting took place on the same day as the presidential election, and the county went Democratic, giving U. S. Grant 580 votes, and Horace Greeley 976 votes, but so strong was the county seat fight, that the combined vote for president exceeded the county seat vote by four votes only. Christmas day, the supervisors, counting the votes, declared that on and after December 25, 1872, Salinas would be the county seat.

Next in order for the supervisors was the renting or purchasing of a new court house for the county books, offices and courts, and February 8, 1873, at a cost of $7,500, they purchased the two-story wooden building on Main street, owned by Henry Myers, where now stands the Agricultural pavilion. It was an old rattle-trap of a building, which on January 7, 1877, was set on fire and the structure was destroyed and some of the records lost. The county then leased the old Pacific Hall, corner of Main and Alisal streets, and the court was held there for two years.

Immediately after the fire, shrewd real estate dealers saw their opportunity to advance the price of real estate in West Salinas, and they offered the county, block number 5 in the "Ricker" tract for $100 for a new court house. There was considerable quarreling over the se-

lection of a site, but in February, by a vote of three to two, the supervisors accepted the offer, the supervisors being Edward St. John, J. B. H. Cooper, M. C. Ireland, J. H. Blankenship and Daniel Monroe. Three months later, bids were called for a splendid two-story brick court house with centre cupola, Jacob Lanjen's bid being accepted for $50,425. L. Goodrich was the architect and James Waters, now of Watsonville, the superintendent. The building was accepted March 13, 1879, the total cost being about $80,000.

On the southwest corner of the same block, at a cost of $25,000, a handsome jail built of red and gray granite was erected in 1904, the old jail on Salinas street, convenient to the court house, having been built in October, 1874, at a cost of $6,350.

The city had no fine building until 1908. The city offices were in rented buildings and the council had been assembling in the second story of the engine house on Gabilan street, but the earthquake of 1906 completely demolished the upper story and the city then planned, and at a cost of $20,000 erected, a handsome City Hall, a building that would be a credit to a city of much larger size. It was first occupied December 5, 1908.

The first city election was held October 5, 1872. The town was incorporated by a special Act of the Legislature March 4, 1874, and the following officers were elected: J. J. Harvey, mayor; William Vanderhurst, J. B. Iverson, Dr. Tuttle, Burbeck Hughes and William Wilcoxon, councilmen. These officials, very progressive in spirit, during their first term of office, performed a very creditable and lasting piece of work by macadamizing Main street its entire length, the work costing some $30,000. The street is eighty-seven feet in width and the macadam is laid in a good foundation.

The city charter of 1874 was later repealed and the city re-incorporated in 1876; it was again repealed and re-incorporated under the free-holders charter of 1903. The present city officers, Francis S. Abbott, mayor; D. G. Kallar, C. C. Rounds, M. R. Keaí, W. A. Anderson, James Skidmore, R. F. Fairley, J. W. Tholke and Ed. T. Griffin, councilmen; J. J. Kelley, clerk; J. H. Andrews, attorney; and William Vanderhurst collector and treasurer, were elected June 7, 1909, under rather peculiar conditions. Politics cut no figure whatever and the only issue was for a "wet or dry" city.

The prohibition party, led by Frank S. Clark, the retiring mayor, was ably supported by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the Salinas *Democrat* advocated the closing of the thirty-eight saloons. It was an exceedingly radical measure for a city depending upon "cowboys" for considerable of its trade, and the business men declaring that a dry town hurts business, organized a Business Men's Municipal League, with Francis S. Abbott as candidate for mayor. The result was, as might have been anticipated, a complete victory for the business men, Abbott winning by 261 votes.

Once previous to this the little town was deeply agitated over the liquor question, the legislature at that time, 1871, having passed what was known as the "No License Law." It permitted the city or township to maintain or close liquor saloons if a majority of the voters so declared. Two organizations then existing in Salinas, the Good Templars and the Champions of the Red Cross, advocated no license, and obtaining the signatures of 315 voters in city and township, they petitioned the supervisors to call an election. They refused because the whiskey party, presenting the names of 211 voters from the city alone, petitioned that they do not call an election.

The saloon element loyal to "John Barleycorn" were very indifferent regarding the nation's natal day, and Salinas' first 4th of July, 1873, would have passed unobserved were it not for the Good Templars. The press, however, declared it was a perfect success, although without military or fire department. At 9 o'clock the Good Templars in their regalia marched to the depot to receive their brethren, who arrived on a special train from Watsonville and Castroville. An hour later, a procession formed in front of the court house with A. B. Horey as grand marshal and Dr. Tuttle chief aid. The procession, comprising the Castroville brass band, carriages with girls dressed in red, white and blue, the Philharmonic Society and Temperance societies, paraded the

streets, the sidewalks being crowded with people. The exercises of the day were held in Raymond's warehouse, 2,000 people being present. The president of the day was Carr S. Abbott; reader of the Declaration of Independence, Nellie Bergrens; orator, W. E. Lovett, of San Juan, afterward Prohibition candidate for Lieutenant Governor, and prayers by Rev. W. H. Wilson. Patriotic songs were sung by the Philharmonic Society.

In a very creditable manner they celebrated the one hundredth anniversary, July 4, 1876. From flag staff and house top the stars and stripes floated to the breeze and as the first sun beams kissed Gabilan's lofty peak, 2,870 feet in the air, 100 cannon salutes greeted the new-born day, the six-pound cannon having been shipped from Benicia.

The people from all the surrounding country crowded the walks and hundreds of Mexican vaqueros and cowboys rode their prancing horses along the streets. At 10 o'clock the procession was formed with R. S. Robbins as grand marshal and Jacob R. Leese chief aid. The procession, which was over a mile in length, was formed in two divisions, Tynan's celebrated band leading the first and the Castroville band the second division. In line marched the fire department, the school children, Gabilan Tribe No. 44, Red Men, Alisal Lodge No. 163 and Compromise Encampment No. 37, I. O. O. F., a triumphal car bearing the Goddess of Liberty and hundreds of citizens on horseback and in carriages. The exercises of the day were held in the skating rink; the president, Carr S. Abbott, made a short address, then prayer, reading of the Declaration of Independence, oration by Senator E. S. Lippitt, patriotic songs by the Glee Club and a poem by Charles H. Shinn, the well-known author. The day ended with the firing of a national salute and a grand ball in Myers' Hall.

One of the neatest features of the procession was the fire department, the Excelsior hose company in their black pants, red shirts and white caps and belts, and the Alert hook and ladder company in blue shirts, black pants and glazed caps and belts. The department was organized in 1873; the citizens assembling in Pacific Hall, August 1st, formed the Excelsior hose company with sixty-five members and elected J. B. Iverson chief engineer and George Wood foreman. Soon after this the Alert hook and ladder was formed. The hose company gave their first annual ball February 22, 1875, and May Wilson presented the Alerts with a beautiful banner, a like banner being presented to the Excelsior company by Edward St. John.

The Salinas engine company was organized March 2, 1875, with thirty-nine members, the city purchasing an engine at a cost of $1,260, and housing it in a two-story brick building at a cost of $3,149. A tower and a fire bell surmount the building. The engine arrived March 18th, and the boys for a test of their beauty, threw water fourteen feet above the Abbott House, the highest building in the city. The hand engine was disposed of in 1882, as it was found that quicker and more effective work could be done with the hose, and the Salinas hose company was then organized. Early in 1894 the three companies purchased a third-class La France steam engine and hose wagon, together with three horses, and employed two drivers and an engineer.

Before the engine had been in use a month it proved its great value, and more than paid for itself in the great fire of May 1, 1894, that involved a loss of over $30,000. The fire, of incendiary origin, started about eight o'clock in the evening in a barn, back of Martella's saloon on Main near Castroville street, and Harry Hudson, a member of the Alert company, hearing the cry of fire, quickly ran to the engine house and rang the bell. The flames spread rapidly and before they could be checked, destroyed six buildings, this including the Salinas Journal office and the Capitol Hotel. The *Journal* succeeded in saving the press and enough material to publish as usual the following morning. For a time it seemed as though the entire town was doomed, but the two powerful streams of the steamer soon conquered the fire. The Capitol Hotel property owned by David Jacks was then exchanged for other property owned by the Bardins and in 1896 was erected the present handsome three-story brick Bardin House.

An event to which the hose companies look

with considerable pleasure is their annual firemen's tournament, which usually takes place on the afternoon of July 4th. In their various race contests there is great rivalry between the companies of Hollister, San Juan, Gilroy, Salinas, Watsonville, and Monterey, and in ladder work the San Juan hook and ladder holds the world's record, that company having run 300 yards with their truck and sent a member to the top of their fifty-foot ladder in forty-seven seconds. A state tournament was held in Salinas on May 10, 1888, hose companies coming from as far distant points as Santa Rosa and Alameda.

In October, 1872, Rawlings & Allsop, while boring a well on the Cervante place, discovered gas, and in December a heavier flow was found on the Ricker lot; it was not sufficient for practical use, however, and in the following year James Hogan established a gas plant and water works; Saturday evening, November 22, the city was first lighted with gas. The plant was sold to a Los Angeles syndicate in 1902 and they made great improvements by sinking wells 150 feet in depth, erecting two 100,000 gallon water tanks 75 feet in height and laying five miles of gas pipe. A 130 horse-power Corliss engine was installed, running dynamos capable of generating 3,000 sixteen-candle-power lights.

The military spirit in Monterey is below par, so to speak, and its only military company, organized in 1864, was the Conner Guard, under Captain Wheeler. One of the three cavalry companies in the state today is Troop C, organized at Salinas August 5, 1895. It is a company of young men, sixty-one members, under the command of Captain Fulee, a discharged regular, who was eight years in the service of the United States. The company have a fine two-story building, using the first floor for a drill room and social hall. The company was in service in San Francisco, cavalry and on foot, for two weeks during the earthquake of 1906; they were called to assemble at 10:30 of the night of April 18th, by fire-bell taps, and at 1 o'clock P. M. they were on their way.

He who endeavors to relieve suffering is a benefactor to mankind, and because of such endeavor the name of "Jim" Bardin, as he persists in being called, is a household word in Salinas. Jim was sick some time since in a little sanitarium on San Lucia street, in which the accommodations were not very good, and realizing that fact, he said to his physician, Dr. T. C. Edwards, "Why can't we have a better place than this?" "We can, Jim, but it costs money," replied the physician. "How much would it cost?" "You cannot put up a good sanitarium for less than $25,000." "Well," said Jim, "I will give you and Dr. S. B. Gordon $25,000, but mind it must not cost a cent more." A board of directors was organized, a lot procured, and a three-story brick building erected and fitted up with the very latest improvements known to medicine and surgery, but at a cost complete of $52,000. The hospital will accommodate twenty-two patients, and so perfect is the system of ventilation, the foul, hot or cold air may be changed in three minutes. When the time arrived for naming the sanitarium, the board intended naming it "The 'James' Bardin Sanitarium." "No," said the generous donor, "'Jim' Bardin Hospital, or it don't go," so the visitor notices at the head of Main street a handsome building bearing the name "Jim Bardin Hospital."

Salinas has its full quota of secret, benevolent, temperance and lesser organizations, including the Masons, Odd Fellows, Foresters, Red Men, Druids, Knights of Pythias, Woodmen of the World, United Workmen, Grand Army of the Republic, Elks, Eagles, Native Sons and Native Daughters, Good Templars, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Young Men's Institute, Women's Civic Club and labor unions, and as their history is well known to their members, I will briefly refer to a few of the number only.

The oldest organization in the county is that of Masonry, Texas Lodge No. 46 being instituted May 3, 1854, at San Juan. A Masonic lodge was instituted in Salinas soon after the incorporation of the city, they assembling in the hall over Ford & Sanborn's warehouse, northwest corner of Main and Gabilan streets. Years later they purchased a lot on Main street near Alisal, laid the corner stone of their present building June 10, 1897, and soon afterward dedicated the hall. In 1909 they added an annex to the build-

ing, thus covering their entire frontage with modern buildings.

The Odd Fellows were instituted as early as 1874, Alisal Lodge No. 163 that year celebrating the anniversary day, April 26th, with a parade, an oration by C. L. Thomas of Santa Cruz, a banquet in the Abbott House, and a ball in the skating rink. In September of the following year they purchased a lot and erected a handsome two-story brick building surmounted with a clock tower, at a cost of $20,000; they dedicated their hall April 26, 1888. The tower was erected by an arrangement made with the city council, who placed a clock there and a bell to toll the hours. One of the members, Jesse D. Carr, whose painting hangs in the hall, donated the lodge $5,000 for a library, and these books have since been placed in the new Carnegie library building.

The Native Sons of the Golden West was instituted in 1883, and July 4, 1887, Santa Lucia parlor, in Agricultural Hall, was presented with a beautiful banner by a native daughter, Mrs. William J. Hill. Salinas had the honor of welcoming the Grand Parlor June 11, 1906, they assembling in the Druids' Hall. The Grand Parlor of the Native Daughters also assembled there.

Salinas Grove No. 101, United Ancient Order of Druids, instituted April 4, 1904, entertained the Grand Grove in June, 1908, the State Grove assembling in a four-days' session. The social features comprised a parade, fireworks, address of welcome by Mayor F. S. Clark, a minstrel performance, excursion to Spreckels, a confetti and a full dress ball, and concerts by the Salinas and the Twentieth Infantry U. S. bands.

The James B. Steadman Post No. 57, G. A. R., was organized in January, 1884, and that year they observed Decoration Day. The procession over two miles in length, was the largest ever seen in the town. The first division was led by the Salinas city band, John Tynan leader; the second division led by the Monterey band, Jabez Harris, leader. It included the fire department, Good Templars, school children carrying banners and flowers, Steadman Post, G. A. R., carriages and horsemen. Marching to the Odd Fellows' cemetery, the following program was carried out: Dirge, Salinas band; decoration hymn, choir; prayer, Rev. George McCormick; address, William J. Hill; strewing of flowers; firing salute; hymn, "Nearer, My God, to Thee," choir; oration, Hamilton Wallace; anthem, "America," choir; benediction.

The Labor Unions, well represented in Salinas, held their first parade and picnic September 8, 1902. Over three hundred were in line, this including the Federal union or carpenters, railroad employes; retail clerks and cigar makers; also the mayor and council, firemen and citizens. Forming in line early in the day, in front of the Native Sons' hall, they marched down Main street and over the San Juan road to Sherwood Park, where the exercises and picnic were held.

The great earthquake of April 18, 1906, is of so recent a date that it is unnecessary to refer to it. It will, however, be long remembered, because of its horror and the destruction of property. No business was done in Salinas that morning, for many persons were almost wild with fear, believing that their loved ones had been swallowed up in San Francisco, while hundreds were so excited over the ruined buildings of the city that business was out of the question. Every business house was more or less wrecked, including the Abbott Hotel, Masonic and Odd Fellows' building, Salinas Hotel, and the high school building. The Ford & Sanborn place was completely demolished, and the Catholic church so badly injured they were compelled to tear it down. The beet-sugar factory was badly damaged and the machinery thrown out of line. Moss Landing was entirely demolished and along the Salinas river the earth sank in many places.

Carmel Mission as it looked before it was rebuilt. It is a rare picture, as time has made many changes in the surroundings, and the rebuilding of the mission has changed its original looks. This view is taken from the north side and shows the old grave yard, where are buried many of the early residents of Monterey County, many of whom may have been instrumental in making history. The picture from which this was reproduced is the property of Manuel Wolter, of Monterey.

CHAPTER IX.

MISCELLANEOUS EVENTS.

FATHER Junipero Serra, the founder of Catholicism in Alta California, is deserving of the highest honor of a grateful people for his wonderful work in the development of the territory. Dying at Carmel Mission, August 28, 1774, he was buried, so reads the record, "In the Sanctuary, fronting the altar of Our Lady Dolores on the gospel side." His place of burial was unknown to the present generation until Father Cassova succeeded in finding the old records which described the exact location.

In honor of this faithful father, the one hundredth anniversary of his death was celebrated at San Carlos Mission, and it was attended by thousands from all parts of the state, who reached Monterey on foot, in wagons, horseback and in the cars, and the Monterey hotels were filled to overflowing. Father Cassova's house was crowded with fathers, among whom was Bishop Alemany and Archbishop Riordan. At the hour appointed, the priests, fifty in number, wearing their rich and costly vestments of gilt, purple and white, preceded by acolytes, bearing a gilt crucifix, marched up the centre aisle to the altar where lay a catafalque draped in black; then turning, they marched out of the mission, and facing the front wall, prayer was intoned, followed by the singing of the Gregorian chant. Then the bishop sprinkled the wall with holy water and the priests marched around the building, singing and consecrating anew this sacred shrine. The priests and the people then entered the mission, and a pontifical requiem mass was celebrated by Father Alemany.

The religious services ending, civil honors were given the honored saint outside the church. After music by the Third Regimental band of San Francisco an oration was delivered by R. F. Del Valle, and a poem, by Harriet Skidmore, was read by James McDonald.

March 31, 1887, the splendid hotel Del Monte that cost $350,000 was destroyed by fire. The building, 385 feet long, 199 feet wide and three stories high, was built by the Pacific Improvement Company and first opened in June, 1880. The fire started in the barber shop near the main office, about 11 o'clock at night and the flames, shooting out in every direction, enveloped the building, which was soon burning like a tinder box. Twelve streams of water were soon playing upon the flames, but they were ineffective, for the water pressure had evidently been tampered with and the water could be thrown only twelve feet. There were 350 guests in the hotel, mostly eastern tourists; some leaped from the windows, others let themselves to the ground by ropes; half clad and shivering with cold, they passed the night. The complete loss was over $1,500,000 and the tourists lost all of the baggage, many of them losing thousands of dollars worth of jewelry. Several lawsuits were instituted against the company, and as an offset they had the discharged manager, E. T. M. Simmons, arrested for setting fire to the building. Their strongest evidence against him was that during the fire he looked clean and neat, was not excited, and when asked to help, he replied, "No, I am done with this company," meaning the Pacific Improvement Company.

The Hotel Del Monte was immediately rebuilt and among its first distinguished visitors was President Harrison and party, April 30, 1891. In honor of the president Monterey was handsomely decorated with flags, evergreens and flowers, and the schoolhouse was literally covered with national colors, and beautiful floral arches crowned the principal entrance. Enjoying a good night's rest in the hotel, early the following morning they rode over the seventeen-mile drive and later returning to the hotel, the president was escorted to Monterey by a large delegation of citizens from the towns of Monterey, Pacific Grove and Salinas. On arrival at the city's gates he was greeted by the pioneers,

the Mexican war veterans and the school children, the latter strewing the pathway with flowers as the president walked to the schoolhouse where the exercises were held. Mayor W. J. Hill of Salinas delivered the address of welcome in behalf of the three cities, Monterey, Pacific Grove and Salinas, and presented the president with a solid silver card, having upon one side an engraving of the old custom house, "Where the first American flag was raised, 1846," and on the reverse side, "Greeting to our President, April 30, 1891." The president, Secretary Rusk and the Postmaster-General John Wanamaker then made short addresses, and soon afterward the entire party were driven to Cypress Point, where they were served with lunch and remained all the afternoon. That evening the citizens tendered the president a banquet in the Del Monte, after which he held a reception and was serenaded by the Monterey band.

While at Cypress Point the president visited the lighthouse, one of the most interesting attractions at Monterey. Built of solid cut stone (granite) quarried within a hundred yards of the building, it was completed in February, 1853, and Charles Layton, a member of Co. F, Stevenson's Regiment, was appointed lighthouse keeper, with a salary of $1,000 per annum. He was killed in 1855, and for over thirty years his widow, Charlotte A. Layton, kept the lighthouse. The lantern tower stands fifty feet above sea level and the light which shines from sunset to sunrise, may be seen fourteen miles at sea by a lookout standing fifteen feet above the water.

A second lighthouse in this county was established in 1888 on a high bluff at Point Sur, thirty miles south of Monterey, and stands upon an isolated and barren promontory, four hundred feet above sea level. From the water to the top, five hundred steps are cut in the solid rock, and steamers pass within hailing distance.

On the hill, in the government reservation there stands the foundation upon which will be placed, about January 1, 1910, a monument for which Congress appropriated $10,000, to the memory of Commodore John D. Sloat, who raised the flag in 1846 over the Custom House. This foundation is constructed of granite blocks contributed one from each county in the state, and with imposing ceremony, July 4, 1902, the corner stone was laid. On the morning of the 4th, the "jackies" from the U. S. sloop of war Alert landed upon the beach, and marching up to the Custom House, the same old flag was raised as on that memorable occasion, fifty-six years previous. A procession was then formed, consisting of the pioneers, Mexican war veterans and marines, and marching up the hill they formed in a semi-circle around the monument. Major Edward E. Sherman called the assemblage to order and introduced the first speaker, Capt. J. G. Lambert, a pioneer of 1847 and custom house guardian for twenty-five years, who had taken a very prominent part in the formation of the Sloat Monument Association. Addresses were then delivered by Col. Joseph Stewart, the second oldest West Point graduate, and by Captain McAllister, J. B. Whittmore, George Bromley and Col. Thomas E. Ketcham, a captain of Stevenson's Regiment still active, August, 1909, who landed at Monterey from the Susan Drew in 1847. The corner stone was laid by Lieutenant-Governor Neff. The exercises closed with the audience singing "America." At high noon the Alert fired a national salute of twenty-one guns. Commodore Sloat was one of the naval heroes of his day and his flagship, The Savannah, 54 guns, one of the largest battle ships of the nation. But sixty-two years later, May 1, 1908, there steamed into Monterey bay, not one, but sixteen battle ships of the Atlantic fleet, iron clads, any one of which could have destroyed the nation's navy of 1846. It was the second anchorage in a home port, since leaving New York, in their wonderful voyage around the world. Arriving from San Diego on schedule time, 6 A. M., even at that early hour, an immense crowd from the surrounding counties gathered along the shore line to catch the first sight of the iron monsters. The fog was so heavy that the flagship Minnesota, in command of Admiral Thomas, was well past Point Pinos before the fleet was seen from the shore. Anchoring in the bay in four divisions, led by the flagship of each squadron, Mayor Jacks immediately stepped on board the

Minnesota and tendered Admiral Thomas an official welcome to the old capital.

The crowd was immense, such as Monterey had never seen before; the regular and special trains were overflowing, and from all parts of the state they came by cars and automobiles. The first squadron, the Connecticut, Kentucky, Vermont, Louisiana, Georgia, New Jersey, Rhode Island and Virginia remained at anchor two days, then sailed for Santa Cruz. The second squadron, the Minnesota, Ohio, Missouri, Alabama, Illinois, Kersarge and Wisconsin, remained until May 4th and an extensive programme of field sports, boxing matches, base ball and other features were provided for the officers and marines. Mayor Jacks gave the officers a dinner, Governor Gillett and staff being present; they were also taken over the seventeen-mile drive and tendered a ball at Del Monte. Early in the morning of May 5th, the Connecticut returned to Monterey to receive her commander, Admiral "Bob" Evans, who had left the fleet at Santa Barbara to recuperate at Paso Robles Hot Springs. "Fighting Bob" had been badly crippled by the enemy, rheumatism, but he swore that "alive or dead, he would enter the Golden Gate as Commander of the American Navy." A special train brought the admiral from the springs to Monterey and stepping aboard the Connecticut from his launch, immediately the flag of Admiral Thomas was lowered from the foretop of the Minnesota and Commodore Evans' flag "broke" out over the Connecticut. They immediately steamed from the harbor, Evans' flagship leading.

Pacific Grove, an incorporated city of the sixth class since 1889, with a population of perhaps 5,000, is the result of a Methodist Church North camp meeting, held at that point as early as 1874. The movement for a permanent camp meeting ground was started by the Rev. H. B. Heacock, a pioneer in state Methodism. State meetings were held and campers were charged fifty cents a week for ground rent. A grocery store, butcher shop, hay and feed stable were started and so successful was the undertaking, that the Methodists, purchasing 100 acres of land from David Jacks at $10 an acre, resolved to permanently hold meetings there.

It was, however, an isolated locality, and the only way of reaching the grove was by steamer from San Francisco, stage or wagon from Gilroy. The steamer fare was $2.50, the boats leaving San Francisco at nine o'clock in the morning. On arrival at Monterey a stage conveyed the travelers to the grove, fare twenty-five cents. From 1877 the visitor could reach the grove by way of the Salinas & Monterey narrow gauge and in 1880 the Southern Pacific was landing passengers at Del Monte. The future looked bright, and about this time the Methodists began selling lots from $20 to $40 each, the deed stipulating that no liquor, tobacco, noisy or immoral amusements should be permitted upon the grounds. This made it an ideal living place for families, and it grew rapidly. The increase of population compelled a change of ownership, as the Methodists were unable to provide a water supply. The Pacific Improvement Company then took charge of the grounds and later supplied Pacific Grove with water from their million-dollar plant, the Carmel river being the source of supply. They agreed to keep the place free from liquor and immoral amusements and have kept inviolate their agreement. The El Carmelo Hotel was built in 1887, and no liquor has ever been sold there. Methodist people now began living at Pacific Grove the year round, and the price of lots rapidly advanced, a real estate dealer telling me that lots purchased in 1894 for $600 sold ten years later for $7,000. The State Chautauqua Club holds their annual conventions there and for their use the Pacific Improvement Company gave a lot and erected a $10,000 church. A splendid $5,000 organ has just been installed.

Pacific Grove is now a city, with its street cars, all kinds of societies, banks, churches, schools and amusements. Its usefulness as a quiet, religious spot, however, is destroyed, and those who developed the town are seeking another ideal family locality.

Pacific Grove is the youngest and Castroville the oldest town of the county, save Monterey. It was founded in 1864 by Juan B. Castro, who freely gave lots to those who would locate there and build substantial residences. The land owner's dreams were not realized until the railroad

passed that way, and even then it did not become of great importance. The town lies at the parting of the ways, the main line passing down the Salinas Valley and the branch running to Monterey and Pacific Grove.

The only street of the town runs to Moss Landing, at the mouth of the Salinas river. The point was established in 1866 by Charles Moss, but its history dates back to 1860, when an endeavor was made to found a city, St. Paul, at the mouth of the river. It became a good shipping point, however, and a wharf was built and warehouses erected, and it is now a narrow gauge railroad station between Salinas and Watsonville.

Santa Rita, near where now stands the county hospital, is the third oldest town in the county. The Santa Rita rancho, purchased by Richard F. Hall in 1855, was sold in 1860 for $13,000 to J. M. Soto, for the purpose of founding a town. Holding out inducements to residents he succeeded in getting Dr. Archer to locate there in 1869, together with quite a number of Mexican families. A newspaper was published there and a little Catholic chapel erected on top of the hill, which later burned down. The high table-land made an ideal spot for a town, and the railroad demanded rights of way, but Soto asked such high prices for his lands, that the company changed their route to Salinas.

Along the line of the Southern Pacific, towns quickly sprang up, one of the first being Gonzales. It was laid out in 1874 by Dr. M. E. Gonzales, Charles C. Healey being the surveyor. It is now a town of some five hundred population with banks, schools, churches and a race track.

Just beyond lies Soledad, in the center of the rich and fertile plain known as Llano del Reija. Here lies, in ruins, the old Mission "Our Lady of Solitude," and when the Mission lands were sold by order of the Mexican government, Feleciano Soberanes bought the land, comprising 8,900 acres, for $800. The railroad reached that point in December, 1872, and it was the last station until 1886. At this point the traveler was compelled to take stages for all southern points, the Pacific Stage Company owning the line.

Near Soledad lies Fort Romie, the Salvation Army headquarters for "God's Poor" willing to work without money to buy land. The tract, consisting of 600 acres is divided into twenty-acre lots, and any willing worker may rent the land by making yearly payments. The Army furnish him tools, seed, a house and even food installments and water for irrigation. There are now about 150 on the tract. Some have families, and each man is independent, and in no way bound to the Army except as to land rents. So far the project is a success, although there have been many changes in the past eleven years; some were told to leave, others got tired, and again others were too lazy to work, but the honest and industrious are prospering.

Within the county limits there are two famous springs, Paraiso, near Soledad, and Tassajara Hot Springs, forty-five miles from Monterey, south. Both of these springs are famous for their curative properties, especially rheumatism and kidney complaints. The Indians, it is said, considered these waters a cure for all diseases.

CHAPTER X.

MONTEREY COUNTY LAND TITLES.

BY G. A. DAUGHERTY.

THOSE who are fortunate enough to own lands in Monterey county are interested in knowing that their titles are clear. They usually are of the idea that when the United States had once issued a patent to the lands, that the title is good, and this is generally true, if they are properly connected by mesne conveyance with the grantee of the United States. We have in this county what may be termed two classes of lands: first, lands which had been originally granted by the Mexican government to its citizens and afterwards confirmed by the

United States, and which consist of what is known today as Spanish grants, besides several pueblo lots in the city of Monterey, which had been granted prior to the American occupation; and second, what is now termed government lands and designated by section, township and range and title to which comes directly from the United States. This article will relate to the first class mentioned, the Spanish Grants.

One hundred twenty-five years ago the public domain of the United States was quite limited in extent as compared to our domain today; consisting originally of the thirteen (not unlucky in this instance) colonies, with the territory west of the Alleghany mountains in doubt; it has grown by reason of the Florida purchase, the Louisiana purchase, the treaty with Great Britain defining one northern boundary, the annexation of Texas, the conquest of Mexico, the Gadsen purchase, the Alaska purchase, and later by the acquisition of its island provinces, so that with Great Britain we may say, the sun never sets on our domain.

Our beloved California, originally, was a part of Mexico, governed by Mexican laws, and inhabited by Mexicans. As a result of the Mexican war in 1845, the United States acquired, by conquest and treaty, a great and valuable addition to her domain, of whose richness in minerals, fertility of soil and equality of temperature, little at that time was known. However, many adventurers "followed the flag" (as they have done in recent years to the islands), to become proprietors of a portion of the newly acquired territory.

During the Mexican reign, many of its citizens had acquired property rights granted by the Mexican authorities. The records of these early grants of property under Mexican authority were mostly recorded in a book called "Solares" (town lots), kept in the city of Monterey at that time, and which is still preserved, the purpose of this record being set forth on the first page, a translation of which is as follows:

BOOK OF SOLARES OF MONTEREY

In which entry is made of the building sites granted by former Governor and Ayuntamientos of this Capital; and where record is made of such as this Ayuntamiento and succeeding ones will grant.

Thus ordered—there being no document in existence in these Archives—which accredits the ownership of each resident by the Il. Ayuntamiento of this Capital in the year 1835.

In Monterey on the 7th day of February in the year 1835, at a regular session of this Illustrious Ayuntamiento, it was proposed by the Honorable the First Alcalde—citizen David E. Spence—that a book be purchased wherein the grants (concessions) of Solares by this Illustrious Ayuntamiento made, may be duly entered; and a record made of all those already granted—from the establishment of this Presidio to this date; as there does not exist a single document among the Archives of the Ayuntamiento whereby the ownership of each one of those in possession can be known and confirmed.

The adoption of this measure is indispensable, so that in time every proprietor can make known the true foundation (of title) for the purposes he may desire. And the other members having heard the weighty reasons advanced therefor, approved the purchase of this book—there being none other "in folio" more "a propo."

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand with the Hon. Alcalde, the same day and year (above written).

Dav. E. Spence. Sec.

Fco del Castillo,

Negrete.

This book of "Solares" contains a record of grants of "town lots" and in addition thereto, tracts of land designated as ranchos, made by the Illustrious Ayuntamiento or other Mexican authorities to various persons, and which grants form the basis of title to nearly all of the valuable farming lands of Monterey county. The grants did not vest absolute title in the grantees, except as to the town lots. The agricultural lands were granted under conditions which had to be performed before an absolute title would be given, and these were afterwards confirmed by the United States.

These grants were generally very crude in form, and indefinite as to location or boundaries, leaving plenty of room for disputes and expansion of boundaries, which furnished opportunity for litigation in later years.

To give the reader an idea of the form in indefinite character of these grants of town lots, translations of a few are here given:

SENOBA

On the fifth day of September in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five, the Il. Ayuntamiento granted to Da Seferino Senoba a lot of fifty varas frontage and of fifty varas in depth, situated a little ahead of Jose Pacomios' house; and having duly made record of same, the original document (of title) is returned to grantee, to whom belongs the lot (herein granted.)

DAV. E. SPENCE.

JOSE MARIA MALDONADO.
Sec.

MANZANELI.

On the 16th day of March (in the year) '39 (*i. e.* 1839) there was granted to Dona Antonia Manzaneli a lot of twenty varas frontage on line with the left side of the mud wall of Cooper towards the south.

SIMEON CASTRO.

ESTRADA.

On the twenty-second day of December, 1841, there was granted to Rafael Estrada, a citizen, a lot of one hundred varas square (situated) towards the rear of Mr. Jorge Kinlock's house.

Witness my hand.

MANUEL CASTRO,
Sec.

While the word "solares" signifies a "town lot" as distinguished from a rancho or larger tract of land, yet this book of Solares contains many grants of applications for settlement of agricultural and grazing lands, which are about as definite as the grants of town lots, above given, as will appear by the following translation of record from this book of Solares:

JOSE JOAQUIN DE LA TORRE.

His Excellency the Governor: I, Don Jose Joaquin de la Torre, a cadet in the cavalry company of this Imperial Presidio of Monterey, come before your Excellency and with all due respect and subjection requisite, show that I have served the nation twenty-one years and some months in the capacities of a distinguished cadet and corporal; and having a large family, consisting of a wife and seven male children—the eldest being 16 years of age and the youngest (as yet) less that two years, and being the owner of a certain number of cattle and horses as the only means of support for his numerous family—the supplies to them furnished on account of his salary being inadequate.

I find myself under the necessity of appealing by means of this petition to your well-known kindness that you may, in your goodness of heart to me grant as my property, for me and my successor, the place (site) that your Excellency had the condescension of lending to me in the interim for the purpose of keeping (thereon) the said cattle; which place is the "Bolsas del Potrero y Moro Cojo" for raising said cattle and farming the same, and to build houses and fences (thereon) in order that in this manner, there may remain something for my family wherewith they can supply their wants.

For, finding myself severely attacked with paralysis on my left side, I believe that my life will not be long (in this world), but should God spare it for many years, I wish to have something with which to help my family.

It is not without hope, your Excellency, that I appeal to your well-known charity, since it is as well known to me as to all the other inhabitants of this province; and this encourages me to make application (therefor), believing this place to be vacant, without property belonging to the Government thereon and of no need to it.

Your Excellency can make myself and family happy with it, and therefore I ask of, and appeal to you, that my request may be granted, which I shall regard as a favor, and be thankful therefor.

Monterey, June 20th, 1822, and the 2nd year of our Glorious Independence.

JOSE JOAQUIN DE LA TORRE.

Don Pablo Vicente de Sola, Colonel of Provincial Militas, Military and Civil Governor of this New California and Inspector of its Troops.

In consideration of the applicant's services and of the said family he has, consisting of his wife and seven male children, I do grant unto him in the name of his Imperial Majesty, the favor he asks for in his petition for himself and his successors, that it, the "Bolsas del Potrero y Moro Cojo," that he may raise cattle, farm products, erect buildings and make such other improvements thereon as he may need for the support of his said family.

It was so provided and ordered by said Governor at the Presidio of Monterey, on the 22nd day of the month of June, in the year eighteen hundred and twenty-two.

PABLO VICENTE DE SOLA.

(*Note.* It may be of interest to the readers of this article to know that the above grant to de la Torre was afterwards confirmed by the United

States for 6,915.99 acres of land and is worth about $2,000,000 today.)

These are illustrations of the form of grants to many of the town lots of Monterey and the vast tracts of lands in different portions of Monterey county, which lands have since become of great value, but at the time these grants were made and even as late as their confirmation in the early '50s, were of little value. As late as the year 1867, the Santa Rita Rancho of 4,424 acres, lying in the Salinas Valley and within four or five miles of Salinas City, was offered for sale for $5,000. At one time, in the early '50s, 500 acres of the Nacional Rancho, on a portion of which grant the town of Salinas City was laid out, was sold for a yoke of oxen and a wagon. This grant is today one of the most valuable in the county. At the time these original grants were made, but little attention was given to boundaries of lands, but at the time of the confirmation by the United States, most of the rights of the Mexican grantees to the more valuable ranchos had been acquired by Americans who were prompt in seeing the importance of having the definite boundaries include as much land as possible.

The methods of measuring and marking boundaries of lands in the early Mexican days in California would hardly be recognized in these days, when the description of lands by courses and distances and the placing of monuments to mark corners and boundaries make the location of lands mathematically certain.

The old Dutch mariner who because of his constant and regular puffs of smoke from his pipe all day long, is said to have calculated his distance of travel thereby, and who from time to time reported his vessel as having traveled so many "pipes," is equaled by the Mexican surveyor who measured land by what is termed the "cigarette survey," that is, so many cigarettes north, so many cigarettes east, etc.

However, during the early Mexican rule in California, and to the time of American occupation, the "riata survey" was the universal method of measuring land. It can readily be seen that such a method would result in many inaccuracies, as the length of the rope used would undoubtedly vary at times, but in some instances these measurements were made with considerable care. As the form of making applications for and the granting of lands under Mexican rule and their measurements of lands are a matter of historical interest to many persons, the writer will include in this article a complete transcript of the translation of the record as shown in the Book of Solares, of the application, grant, measurement and occupation of the lands of the Buena Esperanza Rancho, this particular grant being selected because the record is the most complete and the applicant seems to have technically followed the requirements of the law, and then filed a complete transcript of it for record.

The record is as follows:

DAVID ESTEVAN SPENCE.

First Seal. Six Dollars. Furnished provisionally by the Administration of the Maritime Custom House of Monterey, Upper California, for the years one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four and one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five.

Figueroa A. RAMIREZ.

Jose Figueroa, Brigadier Gen'l of the Mexican Republic, Gen'l Commanding Inspector and Chief Executive (officer) of Upper California.

(In margin) Seal "(Civil) Gov't of Upper California."

WHEREAS, Don David Estevan Spence, naturalized in the United States of Mexico, has applied for the personal benefit of himself and family for the tract of land known by the name of "Rincon de Buena Esperanza" adjoining the Rancho Buenavista the Rancho Alizal and "Ojo de Agua del Encinal," the five sycamore trees and the Monterey River; and having first taken the proper steps, and made the necessary investigations, as required by the laws and regulations.

Now, therefore, by the powers on me conferred, and in the name of the Mexican Nation, by this (day's) decree, I have granted unto the said Don David Estevan Spence the aforesaid land "del Rincon de Buena Esperanza," hereby declaring the same to be his own property. Said grant being made in entire conformity with, and as is prescribed by the laws, and subject to the approval or disapproval of the Hon. Territorial Diputation, and of the (Supreme) Government and under the following conditions:

1st. That he shall submit to the conditions established by the regulations which must be framed for the distribution of vacant lands, and meanwhile, neither the petitioner nor his heirs

can divide, or alienate the (tract of) land to him decreed, nor in any manner encumber or transfer the same for any purpose.

2nd. He may fence it, without obstructing the roads, cross roads, or servitudes, and he may enjoy it freely and exclusively, cultivating it or making such use of it as may seem most advantageous to him; but within a year at the latest he shall build a house (thereon) and it must be inhabited.

3rd. Whenever the property is confirmed to him, he must apply to the respective Judge for the Judicial possession in virtue of this decree, according to which must be marked the boundaries, at the corners of which, besides the land marks, he shall set out some fruit trees, or wild ones—though of some utility.

4th. The (tract of) land of which grant is hereby made, consists of two "grown cattle sites" more or less, according to the plot annexed to the "espediente." The Judge giving the possession shall order that the land be measured according to ordinance so that the boundaries be marked—the residue remaining for the (convenient) uses of the nation.

5th. Any violation of these conditions will cause him to forfeit his right to the land, which will then be open to entry (by another).

Holding this document as valid and effectual, serving to him the purposes of title, I therefore order that record of same be made in the proper book and (that) this (original) be delivered to the petitioner for his protection and other purposes.

Given in Monterey on the 29th of November, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four.

JOSE FIGUEROA.

AGUSTIN V. ZAMORANO,
Sec.

Record of this decree duly made in the Register of Titles to lands granted, on pages 58, No. 56, kept in the office under my charge.

Monterey, November 29th, 1834.

ZAMORANO.

The undersigned, Gov't Secretary for the Departments of the Californias, do hereby certify that the plot (diceno) hereto annexed is a faithful copy of the original which is annexed to the "expediente" of Don. David Spence.

Monterey, January 2nd, 1844.

MANL. JIMENO.

There is no paper with "Seal" corresponding for the above certificate.

Note by Recorder. The plan (plot) referred to was omitted from record by request of Mr. Spence.

P. K. WOODSIDE, Recorder.
by W. S. JOHNSON, Deputy.

Seal 3rd. 25cts. (Seal) for the years 1826 and 1827—(in margin) Stamps four in number. "Good for the years 1828 and 1829"—"Good for the years 1830 and 1831"—"Good for the years 1832 and 1833" and "Good for the years 1834 and 1835" (in margin)

"Proposition of the Commissioner on vacant lands named by the Hon. Diputation."

TESTIMONY report.

The concession (*i. e.* grant) made to the citizen David Estevan Spence of the (tract of) land called "Encinal," granted on the 29th day of November, 1834, is approved.

Monterey, August 28th, 1835.

JOSE CASTRO.

(In margin.)

(Dicision of the Hon. Diputation.)

Monterey, August 29th, 1835.

At to-day's session the Hon. Diputation approved the proposition contained in the foregoing report of the commission and it was ordered that this "espediente" be returned to the Chief Executive for final action.

JOSE CASTRO, President.
JOSE MARIA MALDONADO, Secty.

(In margin)

Decree of Chief Executive.

Monterey, August 29th, 1835.

In view of the Approbation by the Hon. Territorial Diputation declared at to-day's session let attestation of same be made, as well as of this decree, on the part of the citizen David E. Spence, in confirmation of the grant of the (tract of) land named "Encinal" which he obtained on November 29th, 1834.

HIS EXCELLENCY. Jose Figueroa, Chief Executive of the Territory of Alta California, did thus order, decree and sign; to which I attest.

JOSE FIGUEROA.

FCO DEL CASTILLO NEGRETE, Secty.

Agrees verbatim with its original, which is of record in this office of the (Civil) Government, in the package of "Espedientes" concerning lands approved by the Hon. Diputation and marked No. 1, to which I refer.

Monterey, August 29th, 1835.

FCO DEL CASTILLO NEGRETE,
Sec.

Dues $1.50. Paid by him.

Seal 3rd. 25 cts. Furnished provisionally by the administration of the maritime custom house of Monterey, Upper California, for the years one thousand and eight hundred and thirty-four and one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five.

Figueroa. A. RAMIREZ.

HON. CONSTITUTIONAL ALCALDE: David E. Spence, a Mexican citizen (*i. e.*, grant) of the

land known as Rincon de Buena Esperanza, he applies (to you) that you may give to him the Judicial possession as provided in Article 3rd of the Title to said tract of land, which (title) was issued to him on the 29th of November, 1834, and is attached hereto and the confirmation of same, also that they may accomplish the desired result.

WHEREFORE, he prays that your Hon. place him in the desired possession, which is his due, &c.

Monterey, September 17th, 1835.

DAVID E. SPENCE.

Monterey, September 17th, 1835.

(The foregoing) having been presented and admitted (by order of mine) the present Alcalde proceeded to the measurement, marking off the boundaries, and the Judicial possession, as prayed for by petitioner in this application hereby designating the 24th day of the present month as the day set for that purpose, and for which time written notice must be given citing the adjoining owners to appear.

Thus I, the Constitutional Alcalde (of 2nd nomination) did order, decree and sign, with the assistants,

(in margin) "Y"

JOSE RAFAEL GONZALES.
PEDRO ZEPEDA, Ass't.
GUILLO EDO HARTNELL, Ass't.

On this date notice of the foregoing decree was given to the citizen David Spence, and understanding (it) said, that he is aware of it and accepts the citation, signing with me and assistants.

(in margin) "M" GONZALES.

DAVID E. SPENCE.
EDO HARTNELL, Ass't. PEDRO ZEPEDA, Ass't.

On same day (date) the notices were written as ordered in the foregoing decree. In Witness Whereof, I note it and sign.

(in margin) "R" T. R. G.

On the Rancho Rincon de Buena Esperanza on the twenty-fourth day of September one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five, in compliance with the (act) decree of the 17th inst., there being present the citizens, Mariano Estrada, Guillermo E. Hartnell and Jose Antonio and Joaquin Estrada, owners adjoining this rancho cited (to be present) for the measurement, marking of the boundaries and the possession—I appointed (as such) measures the citizens Vicente Feliz and Vicente Garibay, who after their acceptance and oath, will proceed to the discharge of their commission.

Thus I, the Alcalde (of 2nd nomination) did decree and sign with the assistance.

(in margin) "Y".

JOSE RAFAEL GONZALES.
PEDRO ZEPEDA, Ass't.
GUILLO EDO HARTNELL, Ass't.

On same (day and) date notice of the foregoing (act) was given to the adjoining owners, and understanding (it) said that they hear it, and sign (it) with me and the assistants.

(in margin) "M" GONZALES.

GUILLO E. HARTNELL. JOSE MA. ESTRADA.
GUILLO EDO HARTNELL, Ass't.
PEDRO ZEPEDA, Ass't.

On the same day, month and year, notice (of the act) of their appointment was given to the citizens Vicente Feliz and Vicente Garibay, who said that they accepted and did accept said charge and swore by the Lord our God and the sign of the Cross to perform the task legally and faithfully to the best of their ability (and without fraud to anyone. And they did not sign because they did not know how, so they said,) but I did, as well as those of assistance.

(In margin) "M" GONZALES.

GUILLO EDO HARTNELL, Ass't.
PEDRO ZEPEDA, Ass't.

I, the said Alcalde, immediately ordered that the line with which the land is to be measured—be brought before me, and that the (individual) measures do measure off (of it) fifty varas, and I signed with the assistants.

(in margin) "M" GONZALES.

GUILLO EDO HARTNELL, Ass't.
PEDRO ZEPEDA, Ass't.

Instantly in the presence of myself, the said Judge, did the said measurers take the hair rope, and with the ordinary Mexican vara measure, mark off fifty varas to make the measurement with, as witness my hand.

(in margin) "R"

On the same place, same day, month and year, at 11 o'clock A. M., I the present second Constitutional Alcalde, ordered the appointed measures to be ready for the measurement of the land about to be measured for the citizen David E. Spence, and (they) being placed on the northeast edge of the river, one quarter to the east, said measurement was commenced (towards and) up to the five sycamore trees (152), one hundred and fifty-two lines of 50 varas each. From said sycamore trees (on same rancho) towards the hills up to the Canada Grande twenty (20) lines — the spring of water that is situated near the sycamore trees remaining within the boundaries of said Spence's land; thence from the Canada to the boundaries of Don Guillermo Hartnell in the Oak Grove (encinal) to the west (one quar-

ter to the north, ninety-six (96) lines, and thence following the same course to the land marks (*i. e.*, corner) of the Buena Vista and Hartnell ranchos) one hundred and twenty (120) lines, (thence) from said landmark southward to the river one hundred (100) lines, and from the oak tree (the Buena Vista boundary) southeasterly one quarter to the east—to the Estrada's boundary (the point of commencement) one hundred (100) lines. And at the corners (of said tract) I ordered the making of proper (mounds) landmarks, besides the planting of fruit trees and wild ones of some utility, so that the latter as well as the former might mark the boundaries that belong to him. The tract of land measured consists of two sites for grown cattle, and the petitioner, myself and the adjoining owners signed (it with the assistant. Witnesses, which I attest.
(In margin) "Y".

JOHN RAFAEL GONZALES.
DAVID E. SPENCE.
GUILLO EDO HARTNELL.
JOSE MA. ESTRADA.

GUILLO EDO HARTNELL, Ass't.
PEDRO ZEPEDA, Ass't.

On the Rancho Buena Esperanza. On the 24th day of September one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five. I, the second Constitutional Alcalde of Monterey (the) citizen Jose Rafael Gonzales, after the measurement of the said rancho was completed, the result being that the tract (measured) consists of two "sites for grown cattle (2.1)" and the adjoining owners, being present, also the citizens Mariano Estrada, Guillermo Hartnell, Jose, Anto Estrada and Joaquin Estrada (and) being satisfied with all (the rest) as appears from the foregoing proceedings, I ordered that the said citizen, David E. Spence, enter into peaceable possession of said rancho as per the aforesaid measurement and with the accustomed formalities in such cases.

All of which he accomplished immediately by pulling up weeds and making demonstrations as owner of the land, the possession of which has been given him (and) the validity of which possession, I hereby authorize and sign on the Rancho Buena Esperanza—signing with the adjoining owners, the interested party and the assisting witnesses, according to law.
(In margin) "Y"

JOSE RAFAEL GONZALES.
DAVID E. SPENCE.
GUILLO EDO HARTNELL.
JOSE MA. ESTRADA.
PEDRO ZEPEDA, Ass't.

GUILLO EDO HARTNELL, Ass't.

Monterey, September 25th, 1835.

Let entry of the same be made in the Book of Lands that exists in the Archives of the First Tribunal of this capital, and return this original "expediente" to the petitioner that it may serve as his title.

Thus I, the Alcalde of the Second Nomination did order, decree and sign, with the assistants.
(In margin) "Y".

JOSE RAFAEL GONZALES.
PEDRO ZEPEDA, Ass't.

GUILLO EDO HARTNELL, Ass't.

On the same date entry (hereof) was made on page 3rd of the respective book, as ordered in the foregoing, and the original "expediente" was returned to the citizen David E. Spence written on 7 "legal" pages. In Witness Whereof, I note it and sign.
(In margin) "R".

SEAL OF THE (CIVIL) GOVERNMENT OF UPPER CALIFORNIA.

Monterey, April 15th, 1839.

WHEREAS, Don David Spence as per (his) petition of the 13th inst., has requested that there be adjudged to him—for the benefit of himself and family—the portion of that (tract) of land applied for by the citizen Francisco Lugo known by the name of "Aguaje del Encinal" by virtue of the latter having abandoned all (his pretensions thereto, as is confirmed in the respective) document, and which place (*i. e.*, tract) will serve as an extension of (& to) the one he actually possesses with proper title. And this place (*i. e.*, tract) no longer belonging to the lands of the Pueblo de San Carlos, which it adjoins, and being absolutely vacant.

Now, therefore, in the exercise of the powers on me conferred by the law of August 18th, 1824, and the regulations of the 21st of November, 1828, in the name of the Mexican Nation by this decree, I have granted the said petition of Mr. Spence, granting to him the said property as his own, for which purpose he will apply to the respective Judge, requesting the corresponding possession (thereof).

Let the interested party have an attested copy of this concession that it may serve him as title (to the same) and make entry thereof in the corresponding book, and attach the "expediente" to the one (title) belonging to said Spence, referring to the (tract) called el Encinal:—subject, however, to the stipulated conditions—for the occupation of that tract of land as per the title (thereto) issued on the 29th day of November, 1834.

Thus I, Juan B. Alvarado, Governor, ad inter-

im of the Department of the Californias, did so order and sign.

JUAN B. ALVARADO.

MANUEL JIMENO, Secretary of State.

Note.—The tract of land mentioned consists of one "site for grown cattle."

Record of this title is made in the respective book, on page 4 as witness my hand.

MANUEL JIMENO.

His Excellency, the Governor of the Department, has ordered the same to be recorded in the Prefecture of the first District.

JIMENO.

Duly recorded on pages 6 and fol. of the respective book, kept in the Archives of the office of the Prefecture of the first district.

Pueblo of San Juan de Castro. April 26th, 1839.

JOSE MA. CAVARRUBIAS, Secty.

The foregoing, commencing on line 19 of page 56, was received for record 8th Nov., 1851, at 11:15 A. D., and recorded at the request of David Spence.

Under Article VIII of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, it was stipulated that "Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain for the future within the limits of the United States, as defined by the present treaty, shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove at any time to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in said territories."

Prior to the adoption of this treaty many grants of farming and grazing lands had been made by the Mexican authorities to various persons, the boundaries of which grants were indefinite and the title to which lands still remained in the Mexican Republic at the time of the treaty. These lands had been granted under condition that they should be improved and occupied and their grantees who had complied with these conditions had an equitable title at least to these lands, something like a homestead settler on our public domain.

It was therefore the duty of the United States on assuming control of this territory and its people, to protect them in their equitable rights to these lands. Many of these rights were purchased by Americans, and in some instances the same rights were sold to different people, so that there arose different claimants for the same land, also disputes as to boundaries between claimants for different tracts, so that it became necessary for the United States to determine the rightful claimant and the definite boundaries of his land before these equitable rights could be confirmed and a patent issued for them.

To this end Congress passed an act in March, 1851, entitled "An Act to Ascertain and Settle the Private Land Claims in the State of California," which provided for the creation of a Board of Commissioners, who were authorized to receive petitions for the confirmation of private land claims and to hear and examine documentary evidence and testimony of witnesses and who were empowered to decide as to the validity or invalidity of such claims.

From the decision of the Commissioners, appeals could be taken to the U. S. District Court, and, in most cases affecting land claims in this county, such appeals were taken, but were afterwards, in many cases, dismissed.

On the final decision of the District Court in favor of the claimant, the United States granted a Patent to the claimant and in this manner the title to practically all of the valuable lands in Monterey county was founded.

A tabulated list of the grants, embracing lands in Monterey county, is here given, and will show a brief history of every rancho in the county:

Name of Rancho	Date of Grant by Mexico	To Whom Granted by Mexico	Action by Federal Commission	Date of Confirmation by Dist. Crt.	To Whom Confirmed by U. S.	No. of Acres
Alisal	1834	G. E. Hartnell	Confirmed	1854	W. E. P. Hartnell	2971.26
Alisal	1834	F. Soberanes	Confirmed	1855	Bruno Bernal	5941.12
Aguajito	1835	G. Tapia	Rejected	1858	G. Tapia	3322.56
Arroyo Seco	1840	J. de la Torre	Rejected	1856	J. de la Torre	16523.35
Buena Esperanza	1834	D. S. Spence	Confirmed	1855	D. S. Spence	13351.64
Bolsa de las Escarpinas	1837	S. Espinosa	"	1855	S. Espinosa	6415.96
Bolsa de San Cayetano	1824	Ig. Vallejo	"	1856	Jose de J. Vallejo	8866.43
Bolsa del Potrero y Moro Cojo	1822	J. J. de la Torre	"	1856	J. B. R. Cooper	6915.97
Bolsa Nueva y Moro Cojo	1825	Heirs of Simeon Castro	"	1857	Heirs of Simeon Castro	28827.78
Buena Vista	1822	J. S. Estrada	"	1854	J. S. Estrada	7725.56
Chualar	1839	Juan Malarin	"	1856	M. Malarin, Executor	8889.68
Cocks Tract	1840	E. Espinosa	"	1857	Henry Cocks	1106.03
Canada de la Segunda	1839	L. Soto	"	1858	Andrew Randall et als	4366.80
Corral de Tierra	1836	G. Figueroa	"	1859	Henry D. McCobb	4434.77
Cholame	1844	M. Gonzales	Rejected	1858	Ellen E. White	26627.16
Carneros	1839	D. Littlejohn	Confirmed	1855	D. Littlejohn	4482.38
Carneros	1842	Maria A. Linares	"	1856	Maria A. Castro de Anzar	1628.70
Cienega del Gabilan	1843	Antonio Chavis	Rejected	1858	J. D. Carr	48780.72
Canada de la Carpenteria	1845	Joaquin Soto	Confirmed	1855	Joaquin Soto	2236.13
El Potrero de San Carlos	1837	Fructuoso	"	1855	J. Guiterrez	4306.98
El Pescadero	1836	F. Barretto	Rejected	1856	J. C. Gore	1695.04
El sur	1834	J. B. Alvarado	Confirmed	1855	J. B. R. Cooper	8949.06
El Piojo	1842	Joaquin Soto	"	1857	Heirs of Joaquin Soto	13329.28
El Toro	1835	J. R. Estrada	"	1855	Charles Wolter	5668.11
Ex Mission Soledad	1846	F. Soberanes	"	1855	F. Soberanes	8899.82
Guadalupe	1833	Juan Malarin	"	1856	M. Malarin, Exe	8858.44
Los Vergeles	1835	Jose J. Gomez	Rejected	1855	James Stokes	8759.82
Llano de Buena Vista	1823	Jose M. Estrada	Confirmed	1856	David Spence	8446.23
Los Laureles	1844	Jose Agricia	Rejected	1857	L. Rawson	718.23
Los Laureles	1839	J. M. Boronda	Confirmed	1856	J. M. Boronda	6624.99
Laguna Seca	1834	Catalina M. deMunras	"	1856	Catalina M. de Munras	2179.50
Los Tularcitos	1834	Rafael Gomez	"	1855	Heirs of Rafael Gomez	26581.34
Los Salinas	1836	G. Espinosa	"	1857	" " G. Espinosa	4413.81
Los Ojitos	1842	M. Soberanes	"	1856	M. Soberanes	8900.17
Los Coches	1841	Maria J. Soberanes	Rejected	1855	Maria J. Soberanes	8794.09
Las Milpitas	1838	Ygnacio Pastor	Confirmed	1860	Ygnacio Pastor	43280.90
Mission San Antonio	1771	.....	....		.....	33.19
Mission La Soledad	1791	.....	....		.....	34.47
Mission El Carmel	1770	.....	....		.....	9.00
Natividad	1837	M. Butron et als	Confirmed	1857	Ramona Butron et als	8642.21
Meadows Tract	1840	A. Romero	"	1856	James Meadows	4591.71
Monterey City Lands		City of Monterey	"	1856	City of Monterey	29698.53
Nacional	1839	Vicente Cantua	"	1855	Vicente Cantua	6633.19
Noche Buena	1835	Juan Anto Munoz	"	1857	Jose & Jaime de Puig	4411.56
Pilarcitos	1835	F. Vasquez	Rejected	....	Monmany	2737.44
Posa de los Ositos	1839	Carlos C. Espinosa	"	1855	Carlos C. Espinosa	16938.98
Punta Pinos	1833	Jose Maria Armenta	Confirmed	1854	Jacob P. Leese	2666.51
Paraje de Sanchez	1839	F. Lugo	"	1857	Juana Briones de Lugo	6584.32
Pleyto	1845	Anto Chavis	Rejected	1857	W. S. Johnson	13299.12
Rinconada del Sanjon	1840	E. Boronda	Confirmed	1856	E. Boronda	2229.70
Rincon de las Salinas	1833	Christina Delgado	"	1856	Rafael Estrada	2220.02
Rincon de la Puenta del Monte	1836	Teodoro Gonzales	"	1855	Teodoro Gonzales	15218.02
San Vicente	1835	F. Soto & S. Munras	"	1856	Heirs of S. Munras	19979.01
Sausal	1834	Jose T. Castro	"	1856	Jacob P. Leese	10241.88
Saucito	1833	Craciano Manjares	"	1857	John Wilson et als	2211.65
Santa Rita	1837	Jose T. Espinosa	"	1857	Domingo Perez et als	4424.46
San Francisquito	1835	Catalina M. de Munros	"	1856	Jose Abrego	8813.50
San Miguelito	1841	Jose R. Gonzales	"	1855	Jose R. Gonzales et als	22135.89
San Lorenzo	1842	F. Rico	"	1857	F. Rico	22264.47
San Lorenzo	1841	F. Soberanes	"	1857	F. Soberanes	21884.38
San Lorenzo	1846	R. Sanchez	"	1857	R. Sanchez	48285.95
San Bernabe	1841	Jesue Molina	"	1855	Henry Cocks	13296.98
San Bentio	1842	F. Garcia	"	1857	James Watson	6671.08
San Lucas	1842	Rafael Estrada	Rejected	1856	James McKinlay	8874.72
San Bernardo	1841	M. Soberanes	Confirmed	1856	M. Soberanes	13345.65
San Jose y Sur Chiquito	1839	Marcelino Escobar	Rejected	1882	Jos. S. Emery et als	8818.56
Vega del Rio del Pajaro	1820	Anto M. Castro	Confirmed	1850	Juan M. Anzar	4310.29
Zanjones	1839	G. de la Torre	Confirmed	1856	M. Malarin, Executor	6714.49

As shown in the foregoing table about one-third in area of the entire country was confirmed as what is commonly termed "Spanish Grants" aggregating nearly three-fourths of a million acres, but in value about three-fourths of the value of the entire lands in the county.

Much litigation has arisen in past years respecting portions of these lands, but generally speaking the titles to these lands are settled, and except in instances which resulted from carelessness of the purchaser in not having an examination of title made at time of purchase, there is very little defect found today in titles to lands, and these defects are the result of acts of recent years.

We wonder, as we go over the past sixty-five years of our history, if the next sixty-five years will show as much change in conditions. We leave the reader to ponder on this query.

Salinas, Cal., Dec. 8, 1909.

CHAPTER XI.

THE STORY OF SAN BENITO COUNTY.

BY GEORGE H. TINKHAM.

AS the bells of San Juan rang out their call to evening prayer, their silvery notes floated far out of the rolling plain, the sheep lifting their heads, listened, and the Mexican shepherd kneeling upon the earth, crossed his breast and muttered his orison. Today as of old, the mission bells ring out, linking together the pastoral life of a century past and the nerve-racking days of 1909.

Founded by the Franciscan Fathers, the good padres were instructing the Indians in the life beyond and the civilizing influences of the intelligent race, long before the American foot touched California soil. Selecting a fertile spot at the foot of the Gabilan mountains, in the beautiful San Juan valley, Father Lasuen in 1897, June 24th, founded the Mission of San Juan Bautista. Fifteen years were the Indians engaged in the building of the Mission and not until 1812 was it finished. Within its walls thousands of Indians have worshipped and been baptized, and today six bodies deep they lie buried in the Mission burial ground, 5,467 neophytes.

In this Mission we find not only the coast pioneers in religious teaching, but in manufactures, agricultural and stock raising, and the fine orchard they left behind proved that they well understood agriculture. They raised thousands of bushels of grain, and at different periods they owned 11,000 cattle; 1,528 horses and mules and 13,000 sheep. The secularization of the Missions in 1834 destroyed their priestly power and the glory of San Juan Bautista departed forever.

The old Mission was somewhat famous as the headquarters of the Revolutionary leader, Juan B. Alvarado, during his quarrel with Governor Gutterez, and later as the home of General Castro, after whom it was sometimes called, San Juan de Castro. There assembled in 1846 the Mexican junta to discuss the question of a protectorate government for Mexico. Governor Pico favored England, but General M. G. Vallejo, in an eloquent speech won a majority of votes in favor of the United States. During the Civil war the United States established a military headquarters at San Juan, naming it Camp Low, in honor of California's loyal governor. Major John C. Cremony was there stationed in command of the Second cavalry, and they occupied the National Hotel as barracks.

Around the Mission grew the little town of San Juan, which comprised Mexican and Spanish families only until 1848. In that year Patrick Breen located in the town with his family, just from his starvation experience at Donner Lake. Breen was the father of Judge James F. Breen, the first county judge of San Benito county. In 1849 Breen opened the first hotel, "The Inn,"

and during the gold discovery he made plenty of money. San Juan was just a day's travel from Monterey, the old capital, and as he was the only English-speaking landlord of the town he was well patronized. His rates were $5 a day, sleep on the floor in your blankets.

The travel to and fro between Monterey and the mines caused quite a settlement to be made at San Juan, consisting of mechanics and store keepers, and business was rapidly increased by the discovery and working of the New Idria Quicksilver mine. Teams from the mines would unload their quicksilver in San Juan and return to the mines with supplies, transported by other teams from San Jose or Alviso, the teams last named hauling the metal to the shipping point. Until the whistle of the locomotive down the valley, San Juan controlled the entire trade of the southern country. At one time seven lines of stages daily left the town from Monterey and other points, this including the Pacific Coast line owned by Benjamin P. Flint & Co., which ran from San Jose to Los Angeles.

The town in 1864 had a population of about 500 and among the earlier residents we name Judge Beebe; the merchants, Daniel Harris and McMahon & Griffith; notaries public, Joseph S. Bowie and Walter S. Thorn; justices of the peace, John Birmingham and R. W. Brotherton; and attorneys, George E. Crane and W. E. Lovett.

The trade at San Juan with the southern part of the valley was immediately cut off by the railroads in 1870, but the town continued to grow because of the prosperity of the surrounding country. San Juan Valley is one of the largest fruit-raising valleys in the world, especially in French prunes. Apples and apricots are also extensively grown, besides thousands of pounds of various seeds. The town now has a population of 1,000, with good schools, church organizations and secret societies. The Masonic order is one of the oldest in the state, Texas Lodge No. 46 having been instituted May 3rd, 1854.

Their great festal day is the 4th of March, Fremont's day, and each year they celebrate it with considerable enthusiasm. It is an historical event in honor of Fremont's victory over General Castro and the raising of the first American flag on California soil.

Fremont, it will be remembered, asked permission of General Castro (which was granted) to pasture his horses in the valley. Fremont had just crossed the plains in command of some sixty-two well-armed frontiersmen, among them Kit Carson, the well-known scout and guide. Two days later Fremont was ordered to leave the valley, but as his animals were poor and very tired from their long march from St. Louis, he resolved to stand his ground. Fearing an attack, however, he rode up to Gabilan Peak, threw up a strong breastwork, and raising aloft the stars and stripes, awaited the appearance of Castro. The general rode into the valley the following day in command of some 200 horsemen, armed with rifles and lances. For three days Castro and his soldiers rode to and fro over the valley, believing that they could intimidate Fremont and cause him to surrender. Several times they charged up the mountain half way, but when they observed in the underbrush a line of gleaming rifles, each good for one dead Mexican, they rapidly rode down the hill. Castro finally retired and the fourth day Fremont started for Oregon.

In honor of this event San Juan celebrates. On the appointed day the men and women formed a horseback procession and rode from the town along the trail to the peak; a flag staff had there been permanently planted and on arrival they first raised the old flag. As it broke to the breeze it was greeted by twenty-one cannon salutes from the valley below and the loud huzzas of the assembled patriots. Bonfires were then built, speeches were made, and national songs sung, the ceremony ending with a picnic. During the entire week the town presented a scene of festivities, the celebration ending in a supper and ball.

Among the first settlers of the present San Benito county was Thomas Flint, who located in San Juan in 1851. Finding that it would be a profitable sheep country, he having been engaged in sheep raising in his eastern home, Vermont, he returned to the east and in 1853 he and Llewellyn Bixby crossed the plains with a fine grade of Spanish Merino sheep. They imported

the finest breed of bucks and in 1859 one of their sheep, a French Merino buck, only fourteen months old, produced forty-two pounds of unwashed wool, the heaviest on record.

In 1855 Col. W. W. Hollister located in San Juan Valley and in looking for sheep land he discovered that a colony of Mormons who were located in the valley could easily be dispossessed of their property as they believed they were on government land, when as a matter of fact it was a Mexican grant given to Gen. Jose Castro by the Mexican government and sold by him to Francisco Perez Pacheco. As the Mormons had no money to purchase the land, Hollister and Flint bought it, some 34,618 acres.

The business relations between the two men were not particularly friendly and in a short time the partnership was dissolved, Hollister taking an equal share of the sheep and the sheep range on the west side of the river. Flint erected a home near the river bank, east side, but in a short time Hollister came to the conclusion that he had got the worst of the trade; complaining considerably to Flint, the latter one day exclaimed, "Well, Hollister, how much do you think I have got the best of you?" "$10,000," he replied. "Will you take that amount and swap?" said Flint. Hollister replied that he would, and the transfers of property were made. Some years later, 1862, Hollister built a large two-story house on the south side of Sally Hill, and along what is now Third street, he built about 500 feet of sheep water-troughs. Hollister lived in the house, his sheep herders living in a few tents where now stands "Hotel Hollister."

Some six years later Hollister disposed of some 21,000 acres of his holdings to a corporation known as the San Justo Homestead Association, which was organized October 10, 1868, in Gilroy. The association purchased the land at the rate of $17.50 an acre, they paying $100,000 down, and the balance, $270,000, on time. Subdividing the land into 172 equal acre lots, they reserved Lot 51 for a townsite, and November 19th the lots were put up at auction, the highest bidder to take his choice. The sale was started with John Wright's bid of $500, but he was quickly outbid, and the first choice was knocked down to Thomas S. Hawkins for $4,500. Mr. Hawkins selected what is now known as Hawkins' addition. Many other lots were sold and the association realized, that day, $87,352.

So successful were they in their plans that they immediately laid off the townsite and named it Hollister, in honor of the previous owner; the blocks were 300 feet on each side, with an east and west twenty-foot alley. The streets running north and south were given proper names, such as San Benito, Monterey, San Lucas, while the streets running east and west were designated by number, First, Second, Third, etc. The lots were then sold by auction, inside lots at $100 each, and corner lots at $200 each, with a premium for choice. John Owens, the first purchaser, selected Lots 23 and 24 on Fourth street between Monterey and San Benito.

Shortly afterward he established a merchandise store, the first in Hollister. C. W. Wentworth, the first postmaster, then opened a store, followed in 1869 by Goldsmith & Farish, T. L. Baldwin and A. P. Boyd, the latter establishing a lumber yard, the site of the present proposed park. G. H. Graves in 1870 opened a grocery store and J. M. Black was the pioneer furniture dealer. The first frame building, a blacksmith shop, was erected at the corner of San Benito and Third streets, by the Burnett Brothers, and the first brick building, two stories, was built by M. Resonburg, corner of San Benito and Fourth streets. The town at this time had about 400 inhabitants and the population rapidly increased.

One of the causes of the rapid growth of Hollister was the quick transportation afforded by the railroad, the Southern Pacific running their trains as far south as Tres Pinos in 1870. It was their intention to continue their line further down the valley, but changing their route in 1872, Hollister was left as a branch line only. A small depot was erected, but soon afterwards, January 5, 1876, it was destroyed by fire with a loss of some $14,000. A large quantity of lime, wool and general merchandise was destroyed, together with considerable furniture of parties moving into the town.

This, the first fire of Hollister, was followed by another disastrous fire August 28, 1878, the work

of an incendiary. The Exchange Building, occupied by Rosenbaum & Jacobs, the harness store of H. Falkenburg, and the variety store of Isaac Means, were destroyed, and for a time it seemed as though the entire block was doomed; but the volunteer fire department succeeded in checking the flames, the property destroyed not exceeding $10,000.

The fire department, which at present consists of three hose companies and a hook and ladder company, 105 men all told, with John F. Douglas as chief engineer, was organized in December, 1875, in San Benito Hall, and R. M. Shackford was elected chief engineer. The town trustees appropriated $1,000 for the purchase of a fire apparatus and hose, and three hose companies were formed, Alert No. 1, Wide Awake No. 2 and Vigilant No. 3, together with Protection No. 1 hook and ladder. Alexander Eaton, the second chief engineer, built the third hose cart, which was used in their tournament races. The department has at all times been called into action by an alarm bell, and at present in case of fire, the telephone is used. As fires seldom occur the "boys" keep themselves in first-class condition by continuous training for the firemen's tournament, which annually takes place at Hollister or other nearby coast points. There is great rivalry between the different towns in speed, skill and endurance, and so excellent is the Hollister department that on one occasion they took one-half the prizes, including the diamond belt.

The hosemen gave their first ball February 22, 1876, in San Benito Hall. Over fifty couple merrily danced through the fleeting hours, to the music of Trumbell's quadrille band of Gilroy, and at midnight they sat down to supper furnished by the Rector Brothers of the Western Hotel. On the evening of July 3 of that year the department was honored by the ladies of Hollister. Marching in full uniform to the same hall, they were presented with a beautiful silk flag by the ladies and proudly behind it they marched on the following day.

In the centennial celebration of July 4, 1876, Hollister did herself full credit. At early dawn the popping of fire crackers proclaimed the patriotism of the younger generation, the old flag floated from every flag staff, and at an early dawn the farmers from the surrounding country began assembling upon San Benito street. At 10 o'clock the procession, comprised principally of the fire department, formed at the corner of San Benito and Fifth streets; the firemen's uniforms were clean and neat, their hose-carts handsomely decorated, and led by the Centennial cornet band they paraded the principal streets, then out Monterey street to Stroube's Grove, near the San Juan bridge, the dusty road having been well sprinkled by the water carts. On arrival the following program was carried out: Music, band; prayer, W. H. Cross; "Hail Columbia," American Jubilee singers; address of welcome, Judge James F. Breen; music, band; reading of the Declaration of Independence, J. T. May; poem written by Thomas Connolly, read by H. Z. Morris; oration, W. E. Lovett; benediction, Rev. George B. Ash.

This was their first 4th of July as an independent county, San Benito having been created from Monterey county February 12, 1874. The citizens of Monterey, San Juan and Gilroy had strongly opposed this change because of political and commercial reasons, but the San Benito citizens saw no good reasons why they, at considerable loss of time and expense, should be compelled to travel over the steep grade of the Gabilan mountains to transact legal and official business in Salinas, the county seat. The "people across the mountains," as they were called, possessed one-third of the territory of Monterey county, paid one-third of the taxes and numbered one-third of the population, hence they had certain rights that should be considered. They had assisted Salinas in its successful fight for the county seat of Monterey and according to the agreement that city promised to assist them in their new county fight.

The new county could only be created by legislative action and in the election of that year, September 6, 1871, for senator and assemblyman, all political issues were laid aside and the only issue was "Division or no division." The result was a draw, the anti-divisionists electing their senator, Thomas Beck (four years later he was elected secretary of state), and the divisionists elected

Assemblyman H. M. Hayes. December 16 he introduced a bill into the assembly creating the county of San Benito, but the committee to whom it was referred "recommended that it do not pass." A similar report came from the senate committee, the opponents of the bill opposing it in both houses, and that ended the matter for two years. In the meantime there had been a strong sentiment at work in favor of the new county, and in the election of September, 1873, the divisionists elected both of their representatives, Senator Thomas Flint and Assemblyman Carlisle S. Abbott. The bill was introduced into the assembly January 7 by a friend, and two weeks later it passed the house. The senate approved the bill February 4th and although its opponents endeavored to have Governor Booth veto the measure, they were unsuccessful, and February 12, 1874, he signed it, thus making it a law. The good news was immediately telegraphed to Hollister and there was great rejoicing. Guns were fired, corks were popping, and there was a general handshaking over the result.

Under the provisions of the act, the governor appointed John Breen, Mark Pomeroy, J. W. Whittier, H. M. Hayes and Thomas S. Hawkins as commissioners to organize the county and call the first county election. In the performance of their duty they assembled in the Baldwin House and first elected Judge Breen as president. They divided the county into four townships, San Juan, Hollister, San Benito and Paicines, and designated the officers and the polling places of the election.

The election was held March 26, 1874, and the highest vote cast was for treasurer, 1,036; the second highest vote being for sheriff, 1,030. Politics cut no figure; seven Democrats and four Republicans receiving a majority vote. The following county officers were elected: B. F. Ross, sheriff; H. M. Hayes, clerk; Thomas McMahon, treasurer; F. P. McCray, treasurer; H. Z. Morris, school superintendent; J. M. Black, coroner; H. Dowdy, assessor; Supervisors, M. Pomeroy, Thomas Flint and D. J. Watson.

In Hodges Hall the supervisors assembled for the first time April 6th, and in obtaining a court house, F. I. Hodges leased them his two-story wooden building, then standing upon Monterey and Fourth streets, for three years at a rental of $1 a year and taxes. The old building was used until May, 1888, when it was removed to its present location on San Benito street and is now a Japanese lodging house.

The great crowd that was in attendance at the John T. Prewett trial for murder convinced the supervisors "that a new court house is an absolute and pressing necessity," and they called an election April 12, 1887, for the purpose of bonding the county for $30,000. The proposition was defeated, as the voters believed the amount called for was too small. Again, June 7, 1887, the supervisors called for a vote on a $40,000 bonding proposition and it carried by a splendid majority, 781 to 130. Four lots were then purchased from J. J. Berg and Thomas McMahon for $4,500 and plans for a two-story brick court house were drawn. The successful architect was J. Gosh, and Knowles & Whitmore's bid of $35,987 for the erection of the building was accepted. The work was rapidly carried on and May 7, 1888, it was completed. The contractor did honest work and in the great earthquake that severely shook Hollister, $17,000 repaired all damage to the Hall of Justice.

Judge Breen, who had been the former judge of Monterey county, was appointed by the governor as the judge of San Benito county and he was still in office when the famous murder case of The People vs. John T. Prewett and Andrew Irwin came up for trial. Through that event Judge Breen proved himself an honest, impartial justice and he was followed by an equally worthy judicial officer, the present Judge M. J. Dooling, who had received high praise from the honest state press. The Prewett murder trial continued for nearly a month because of the well-known standing of the parties and their long residence in the county, Dr. Powers, the murdered man, having been the first settler in Bear Valley.

About noon September 18, 1885, two young men hunting in Bear Valley suddenly came across the body of Dr. Powers hanging to the limb of a tree near the roadside with two gun-shot wounds in his body, and the many footprints and horse tracks indicated that several parties had been en-

gaged in the murder. Powers and Prewett were known to be bitter enemies, and suspicion pointing to Prewett, he and Andrew Irwin were arrested and lodged in jail. Fourteen conspirators also were arrested and later released, they all refusing to testify against Prewett except one; he confessed the entire plot.

The story of the murder as told in the evidence is as follows: The settlers had concluded to get rid of Dr. Powers, and several vigilance committee meetings had been held by the conspirators to discuss the question. On the evening of September 17, while Prewett and Irwin were on their way to one of these meetings, they met Dr. Powers. Prewett immediately ordered the doctor to throw up his hands and as he obeyed, Prewett twice shot him with a shot gun, he firing the second shot after Powers had fallen to the ground, dead. The two men then attended the meeting in a cabin on Willows Creek, and when the matter came up for discussion, Prewett exclaimed, "You need not discuss the matter, I have settled it. The old man is dead." The men were all bound by an oath to protect each other and the conspirators then rode to the body and hung it to a limb of a tree.

Prewett's plea was self defense, and according to his story he and Irwin were looking for cattle late on the afternoon of September 17. They came to a cross road and there separated. Shortly afterwards Prewett met Powers, and immediately addressing him said, "Good-day, Doctor"; the latter replied, putting his hand to his pocket, "I will fight you a duel"; "I had my gun across the saddle pommel," said Prewett, "and raising it up I answered 'I don't want to fight a duel'; as Powers continued to get his pistol, I fired, hoping to disable him; he still attempted to draw his weapon, and I then shot him in defense of my life." Prewett on being asked the question by Campbell, "Did you induce persons to assemble on Willows Creek for the purpose of lynching Powers?" Prewett replied, "I decline to answer. I have taken a secret oath not to divulge anything that would implicate others and no penalty that the court could inflict would cause me to associate others with the killing."

On the second day of the closing argument, the court adjourned to Wells' opera house to listen to the speech of D. M. Delmas for the defense and J. H. Campbell of San Jose, for the people. Long before the opening of court the building was packed to its doors, and Delmas closed his argument Saturday evening. Monday morning the house was again crowded, Campbell making a very effective argument against the plea of self defense. The case was given to the jury on the evening of March 15th, and after being out ninety hours, without either bedding or blankets, they were discharged. The jury stood eleven for murder in the second degree and one for acquittal. On the first ballot they stood 9 to 3 and W. H. Phillips in casting his ballot exclaimed, "Here goes old Phillips for not guilty, and he stands by it until doom's day."

Prewett was held in jail until June 16, 1886, and the case was then continued from time to time as it was impossible to obtain a qualified, unprejudiced jury. Several venires were summoned and excused, and finally every juryman of the county, over 650, was examined and excused. This practically ended the case as far as concerned Prewett and he was released on bail.

In the meantime a curious event happened, a county election had taken place and the defendant's attorney, N. C. Briggs, was elected district attorney. As he was disqualified to prosecute the case of "The People vs. John L. Prewett and Andrew Irwin" Judge Breen appointed Judge Montgomery as assistant district attorney. The case was called April 15, 1887, and continued from time to time until December, Prewett being released under bonds. December 1st Irwin was tried as an accomplice to the murder and Montgomery succeeded in not only getting a jury, but after twenty-two hours deliberation, they brought in a verdict of murder in the second degree. On the 19th of December Judge Breen sentenced him to a life imprisonment.

Murder was in the air, and the following year William H. Stone, who had been one of Prewett's bondsmen, was in jail for the killing of Cornelius Waters, July 5, 1888, at Mulberry. It was a long contested quarrel over sixteen acres of land which both parties claimed. Waters claimed it as government land. Stone paying no attention

to his claim, plowed and sowed the land, and in July set a heading crew at work cutting the grain. Waters kept watch on Stone's proceedings, and riding up the field on the day of killing, he remarked to some parties nearby, "I will put a stop to that business." Riding into the field where Stone and his son Edward were standing, some distance from the header crew, hot words took place between the old man and Waters and finally the latter drew his pistol and fired. The son stepped between the two men to save his father and the shot struck him in the left arm. The old man immediately drew a revolver and a general fusillade took place, both men emptying their revolvers, with the result that Stone was shot in the face and Waters was killed, shot through the stomach. Stone's wounds and that of his son were not serious, and July 27th he was arrested upon the charge of murder. He was released under $1,000 bail and upon trial the jury failed to agree, the jury standing six to six. On his second trial, in March, 1889, he was convicted, but again released under $15,000 bonds pending a new trial, which was never called.

San Benito county contains an area of 1,476 square miles of mountain and valley land, 650,000 acres being what is known as "plow land." On this land wheat was grown in large quantities until 1874, but in that year it was discovered that the soil produced a very superior quality of Timothy wheat and oat hay. Since that time hay has been one of the principal products, over $300,000 being realized last year, 1909, for hay alone. The county now produces one-third of all the hay grown in California and it is in great demand throughout the eastern states for trotting and running stock. So large is the hay product that the R. P. Lathrop Company have erected warehouses, the largest in the world, the barns, 100x420 feet, having a total storage capacity of 16,500 tons.

Another important industry is that of fruit, especially in the San Juan district, and last year one commission firm alone handled over 800,000 tons of San Benito fruit. The raising of poultry and eggs is extensively carried on and the country is dotted with poultry farms, San Benito being the second largest poultry county in the state.

The dairy business is rapidly growing in importance and the Hollister Creamery turned out 200,000 pounds of butter and 600,000 pounds of evaporated cream. A farmer in the San Felipe Valley manufactured 325,000 pounds of cheese. Berries and other fruits are raised to considerable extent. The lower part of the valley is principally given up to the raising of finely bred cattle and draft horses.

Another product which is of considerable importance is quicksilver from the New Idria mine, situated in the southwestern part of the county. This mine, discovered in 1851, and worked since 1853, has produced millions of dollars worth of the liquid metal, and it produces more than one-half of the world's supply of quicksilver. The output yearly averages nearly 7,500 flasks, each flask weighing 75 pounds. Nearly 400 men are employed the year around in getting out the precious metal. In early days the mine was purchased by J. A. Forbes at a cost of one million dollars. Later it was in litigation for nearly fifteen years under the name of the McGarrahan case. Bret Hart made the New Idria the basis of his famous story, "The Lost Mine."

Many of the employes of this mine are Chilenos, and on the evening of April 21, 1901, Antonio Ruiz was foully murdered by two Mexicans, named Cota and Gonzales. Crushing in the victim's skull with the butt end of a rifle they robbed him, set fire to his house and fled to the hills, near Mendota. Word was immediately sent to Sheriff Croxon and in less than forty-eight hours he had the prisoners in the Hollister jail, without means to employ counsel. Judge Dooling appointed Judge Montgomery to defend them and although convicted on their first trial, July, 1901, he succeeded in obtaining a new trial, the supreme court declaring that errors had been made during the trial, by admitting Sheriff Croxon's evidence in regard to Cota's confession. On the second trial they were again convicted of murder in the third degree, the jury affixing the penalty, and sentenced to death by Judge Dooling; they were hung in December, 1902, in San Quentin.

For many years agricultural fairs were held for

the exhibit of pavilion displays and live stock and horse racing. The association was organized in 1891, with F. A. Cunning as president, M. T. Dooling secretary and J. A. Barg as treasurer. A tract of land on the Santa Ana road of some fifty acres was rented from the Hollister Land Company and a half mile track enclosed. For sixteen years fairs were held, but the association is now defunct and the race track property is in litigation.

One of the defendants in the suit is Thomas S. Hawkins, the pioneer banker of the town. The bank of Hollister was established in 1873 and later absorbed the San Benito Bank established by R. L. Baldwin. This bank at present has a paid-up capital of $250,000, a reserve surplus of $150,000, and is under the same management as the San Benito Savings Bank, established some years ago. The Farmers and Mechanics Bank, organized many years ago, was merged into the First National Bank. The three banks now have on deposit nearly three million dollars, a splendid showing for a little county of 7,000 inhabitants.

The oldest land mark in Hollister is a portion of the Old Hollister House, now located on Fourth street, opposite the grammar school. It formerly stood upon the site now occupied by the school and the property was sold by Hollister, perhaps in 1869, to F. I. Hodges, a miner, who came from the mines with some $40,000. Hodges rented the place to Montgomery, he opening the well known "Montgomery House." On the night of November 2, 1877, the building was destroyed by fire, the firemen, however, saving the wing of the building. As it was in the way of street improvements the unburnt portion was removed to its present location and is now occupied by Mr. Hodges' widow.

In this house J. N. Thompson, the pioneer school teacher, opened the first public school. Mr. Thompson was born in Ohio in January, 1844, and coming to California in 1869, he located in Hollister. The San Justo Association realizing the value of good schools donated to the school trustees of the Hollister district (Thomas S. Hawkins, J. A. Owens and James Swain) $1,400 to erect a school building, at the foot of San Benito street, together with the land on which it stood. The building was in course of construction when Mr. Thompson arrived and as he had had two years experience in teaching in Ohio, he was engaged to teach the school at a salary of $75 per month. The school for two weeks was taught in the Hollister House, the schoolhouse at the end of that time being finished. Mr. Thompson opened the school with ten scholars, among them the present Judge M. T. Dooling, and at the end of the four months term he had enrolled 72 pupils, with an average attendance of 60.

In that year, 1869, there were five school districts across the mountains, and in 1875, the number of districts had been increased to twelve, namely: Hollister, San Juan, Erie, Fair View, Jefferson, Live Oak, Loan Tree, Pacheco, Santa Ana, San Benito, Tres Pinos and Union.

There were at this time 1399 children of school age, between five and seventeen, and 862 were attending the public schools, 196 private schools, and 398 had no schooling. Six years later, 1881, the report gives 1,539 children of school age, and 1195 in school with thirty-three teachers and twenty-four school districts and schools. In 1884 there was a decrease, attendance of pupils being 1,143, with 90 only in private schools and 438 not receiving any school instruction. The census marshal of 1890 reported 1,918 children in the county, 1909 being of lawful school age; of this number 1388 were being educated, 136 of them in private schools and 392 were running wild. At this time there were fifty-one school districts and forty-two primary and nine grammar grades. The schools were all taught in wooden buildings, forty-three in number. Four years ago, 1905, the schools made a splendid showing; there were in the county 941 families, with an aggregate of 1,615 school-age children. The public schools were educating 1,352, and 281 were not receiving any education. The teachers numbered forty-seven, fifteen of them being normal school graduates and ninety children were that year prepared to enter the high school.

In most of the school districts the school-

houses were small buildings, costing from $1,000 to $1,500 each. But in the Hollister district the citizens take pride in their buildings; the Pioneer schoolhouse was soon overcrowded and in 1875 the trustees erected a fine two-story lath and plaster, four-room building at a cost of some $6,000. This building was used for the primary and grammar grades until 1881, when more school room was an actual necessity. An addition was then made to the Pioneer building at a cost of $1,800 and the primary grades occupied that building.

The first graduating exercises from the grammar grade took place June 3, 1881, the graduates being Bell Hitchcock, Olena Wekk and Ella McCray. Ten years later "more school-room" was the cry and the present grammar school site, the south half of the block, was purchased, and the trustees erected a splendid eight-room building with all the modern improvements, including basement heater and ventilating flues, at a cost of $30,000. In 1909 they purchased the north half of the block for play-ground purposes and State Superintendent Hyatt commenting on this improvement said, "It is a splendid thing to have doubled the schoolhouse grounds in such a manner. Opportunity to play is just as necessary to young children as opportunity for food or drink. I would venture to recommend bars, swings, ladders, etc."

Three years after the building of the grammar school, August 29, 1895, a high school was organized in the old grammar school building, and during the first six years fifty-seven scholars graduated. The graduating class rapidly increased in number and the largest class of any one year, twenty, received their diplomas in June, 1909. The high school that year bid goodbye to the old schoolhouse, to enter, August 23, 1909, a magnificent new county high school, erected on West street. A special bonding election for the new high school was held July 14, 1906, and the bonds carried by a splendid majority, yes 587, no 201. A two-story brick and steel building, with all the latest improvements, was erected at a cost of $45,000. All the necessary appliances for high school and laboratory work were purchased and the students can fit themselves either for Stanford or the State University, the school being upon the accredited list of both universities.

No greater help can be given to a high or grammar school than a good library, and Hollister needs a public library. Their present library was established many years ago by the Mechanics Association, and maintained in a little old wooden building; it contains only about 900 volumes. The books are loaned free to Hollister citizens, the country residents paying about twenty-five cents a month. About 375 books are issued each month. Fremont Parlor No. 44, N. S. G. W., have taken the matter in hand and are now working to have erected a Carnegie Library.

The church organizations of Hollister are a leading factor in social as well as religious life, the town having six church denominations, as follows: Methodist Episcopal North, Rev. Frederick Sheldon, pastor; Christian Church, Rev. John Young; Presbyterian, Rev. James Falconer; Episcopal, Rev. Robert Connel, he also having charge of the chapel in Gilroy; Methodist Episcopal South, Rev. William Goodpasture; and the Catholic with Fathers Brady and Tayes in charge.

The Methodist Episcopal North was organized in August, 1869, the Rev. William McDonald there holding services in January of that year in the Hollister House. Later, services were held in the schoolhouse, in Baldwin's and Brown's Hall, and in 1878 the trustees purchased the Morris Seminary on the corner of Monterey and Seventh streets. H. Z. Morris, the teacher and first county superintendent, had died in June of the previous year. Later, at a cost of $1,600, the present church was erected.

The Methodist Episcopal South was organized in 1874 and a creditable house of worship erected on a lot corner of Monterey and Fifth streets. The present pastor, Rev. Mr. Goodpasture, believing it would be a good plan to establish a so-called Institutional Church, such as those of the eastern states, interested the Hawkins brothers and their sister, together with others, in the movement, and subscriptions were obtained for the new church, along Y. M. C. A. lines. The

entire building, including an auditorium, Sunday-school rooms, gymnasium, swimming tank, reading rooms, etc., was planned, to cost about $15,000. The old wooden building was moved to the south and fitted up for social purposes, and a new brick church erected with a frontage on both streets of 200 feet. The building was finished in February, 1910, and fifty cents per month is charged for the use of gymnasium and swimming tank. Strangers are always welcome and rooms of rest have been provided for those residing in the country.

The Catholic Church on West street, between Fifth and Sixth, is one of the largest and best in Hollister. Early in the history of the town the building was erected and in 1889 it was enlarged, and a new altar and stained glass windows put in at a cost of $8,000. The sisters of the "Sacred Heart" conduct a school at the foot of Fifth street; the building is a large two-story brick, and the grounds are handsomely laid out in plants, trees and shrubbery.

An institution of great value to the country is the Hazel Hawkins Memorial Hospital erected for the general use of the public, by Thomas S. Hawkins, as a memorial to his step-daughter, Hazel, who died because of lack of delicate surgical treatment. The handsome two-story structure was erected at a cost to the generous donor of $45,000 and it was dedicated with appropriate ceremony on the afternoon of November 23, 1908, with vocal and instrumental music and addresses by Judge M. T. Dooling in behalf of the public, Dr. McNulty of San Francisco for the physicians, and Dr. Cloas of San Juan. The presentation of the deed to the hospital was made by Thomas S. Hawkins to the board of trustees previously appointed, consisting of N. C. Briggs, M. T. Dooling, R. P. Lathrop, William Palmtag, A. D. Shaw, C. S. Hawkins and George H. Moore and the chairman of the board, N. C. Briggs, received the gift in a very appropriate speech. The building has accommodations for twenty-five persons, is heated by steam, has perfect ventilation and a surgical room fully equipped with all manner of surgical instruments. In training, there are at present six nurses, with Virginia Blair as superintendent.

Rooms have been fitted up for the various secret societies, one room being especially fitted by Mount Lodge No. 166, I. O. O. F. This is the largest lodge in the county, 180 members, and was organized June 20, 1870, in the attic of the Montgomery House with a charter membership of fifteen. They purchased the W. C. Land property, their present building, in 1877, paying $6,000, and eight years later remodeled the second story for lodge purposes; they dedicated the hall October 18, 1885. The earthquake damaged the building to the extent of $3,000, but again refitting the hall at a cost of $2,500, they now have one of the handsomest halls (35 x60 feet) in the state. Fidelity Lodge of Rebekahs was instituted July 27, 1875.

In the year 1870 San Benito Lodge of Masons was working under a dispensation from the Grand Master, and October 17, 1871, in the bedroom of a brother Mason, the lodge was instituted with R. Ruckledge as the first Worshipful Master. Their hall later was over Cox' store and in 1885 they celebrated St. John's day, June 24, with appropriate exercises. Forming in line, they marched to the depot, and there met San Jose Lodge No. 10 of San Jose, Texas No. 46 of San Juan, Keith Lodge No. 187 of Gilroy, and led by Hastings' Pythian Band of Santa Cruz, they marched to Staube's Grove. Prayer was offered by Grand Chaplain William Winter, and the president of the day, N. C. Briggs, then introduced the orator, William J. Hill of Salinas. In the evening, at Beatty's hall, they danced away the hours.

The Masons had all their plans made for a plain brick $20,000 hall and building, when the earthquake completely demolished the building in which they were located. Their plans were immediately changed for a steel and brick building on San Benito, corner of Sixth, and the corner-stone was laid June 1, 1907, with appropriate ceremonies by Grand Master Edward Hart, the Watsonville Commandery Knight Templars acting as escort to the Grand Officers. In the evening the Grand Master was tendered a ball in the Brown & Chappell building. The temple complete, with lot and furniture, cost about $36,000. The furnishings of the hand-

some hall cost about $3,000 alone. The lodge at present has a membership of 105, George A. Jean being Worshipful Master. Athena Chapter, Order of Eastern Star, have a large and flourishing chapter.

In the county there are published four weekly newspapers, one, the Tres Pinos *Tribune,* being published at Tres Pinos. The oldest paper, the San Benito *Advance,* is issued by A. D. and A. E. Shaw, their father having first issued the *Advance* in June, 1872. The Hollister *Free Lance* was issued in 1883. The present proprietors are Stevenson and Hall. The Hollister *Bee* is a lively little paper.

The newspapers were completely demoralized by the earthquake of April 18, 1906, but the *Advance* published an extra regarding the crushing to death of Mrs. Griffith by the falling of a heavy iron girder as she ran out of the collapsing Lathrop Building, and the complete covering of Annie Berg from the falling debris of the Naderman Building. Miss Berg was unconscious when taken out and died the following day. According to the experts on quakeology, Hollister was on the extreme line of the "fault," but nevertheless the damage ran up into the thousands of dollars. The Lathrop Block collapsed completely, together with the Naderman and the Grangers Union Building. The Mason Hall was completely wrecked, the I. O. O. F. Hall badly damaged, and the second story of Rosenberg's store went down with a crash. The building of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart was twisted and thrown out of place about eight feet. The loss was estimated at $100,000, yet the hearts of the people went forth in sympathy for those who in the stricken metropolis had lost everything, and in less than two days generous-hearted Hollister had sent on to San Francisco food, clothing, twenty cases of eggs and $1,400 in money.

In the growing town of Hollister some form of government was necessary and the legislature at their request gave them a town charter, which provided for town trustees, a marshal and treasurer. In the following year, 1875, a town hall, a two-story wooden building, was erected at a cost of $10,000, where now stands the present hall. The money was raised from a $20,000 floating bond issue. After the earthquake a special election was held July 14, 1906, for the bonding of the town, to obtain money for a new town hall, the old building being badly demolished. The bonds carried by a good two-thirds majority, yes 492, no 297, and the board purchasing the adjoining lot, erected at a cost of $14,000 the handsome Hall of Records. The board also made arrangements with the Masons for the placing of a town clock on the corner of the Masonic Temple. The clock was purchased at a cost of $675 and it strikes the hours and half hours on a 500-pound bell.

The town has an excellent water system which was first put in operation in 1875 by R. M. Shackford. Boring artesian wells, he installed a costly pumping plant and built a reservoir with a capacity of 200,000 gallons on top of Sally Hill. Financially unable to carry out his plans, although the town trustees gave him a bonus of $9,000, his plant, February 9, 1879, was sold at sheriff's sale and it was purchased by a corporation, the Hollister Water Company. This company immediately began making extensive improvements, pipes were laid to all parts of the city, with hydrants for fire purposes, and water was brought from Cienega Valley fourteen miles distant, through a ten-inch iron pipe. From this source a strong pressure and plenty of water was obtainable in case of fire, and the fire department with their 75-pound pressure can play a stream of water higher than any building in Hollister. In May, 1906, a second reservoir was dug, with a capacity of 300,000 gallons.

The streets of Hollister are shaded with a splendid growth of Locust, umbrella and pepper trees planted many years ago, but it is only within the past two years that she had arisen to her present high standing. During this time, miles of concrete side and cross walks have been laid and San Benito street its entire length is now a handsome, paved thoroughfare. It has all the up-to-date improvements, sewerage, gas, electricity and telephones and over $300,000 have been expended in public and private improvements.

A public park is now contemplated, the old Boyd lumber yard, 300 feet square, San Benito and East streets being selected. Such a park was one of the first plans of the town, and it was proposed to lay out a park on Sally Hill. Evergreens and firs were donated and planted by J. Berg in 1876, but the project was abandoned as people did not enjoy climbing. The trees, however, rapidly grew and it has since been used as a picnic ground.

No civic improvements can be successfully carried out, except with the co-operation of the merchants, and the Merchants Association, deeply enthused with civic pride, in their banquet November 12, 1909, in the Hotel Hollister, mine host, J. L. Welch, heartily endorsed the building of good roads, the park, the lowering of the steep San Juan grade and improved schools. Said Dr. H. J. Macomber, "For twenty-three years I was a resident of Los Angeles, and I know the value of these things."

"Let us then be up and doing,
With a heart for any work,
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Seek to labor and not shirk."